MASTER
NEGATIVE
NO. 92-80636-1

MICROFILMED 1992

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from
Columbia University Library

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States -- Title 17, United States Code -- concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material...

Columbia University Library reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

AUTHOR:

HEEREN, ARNOLD
HERMANN LUDWIG

TITLE:

HISTORICAL
RESEARCHES INTO...

PLACE:

LONDON

DATE:

1846-1857

Master Negative #

92-80636-1

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

930
H363

Heeren, A[rnold] H[ermann] L[udwig] 1760–1842.

Historical researches into the politics, intercourse, and trade of the principal nations of antiquity. By A. H. L. Heeren ... Tr. from the German ... London, H. G. Bohn, ~~1847–57.~~ 1846-1857.

4 v. front., fold. pl., maps (partly fold.) fold. plans. 23cm.
Vol. 1–2 have general t.-p. only; v. 3–4. special t.-p. only.
Vol. 3: 2d ed.; v. 4: New and improved ed.; v. 1 [4th ed.]

CONTENTS.—v. 1. Asiatic nations: Persians, Phœnicians, Babylonians. ~~1854.~~ 46 v. 2. Asiatic nations: Scythians, Indians, Appendixes. 1854.—[v. 3] Carthaginians, Ethiopians and Egyptians. 1857.—[v. 4] Ancient Greece, tr. by George Bancroft. Political consequences of the reformation. The rise, progress and practical influence of political theories. The rise and growth of the continental interests of Great Britain. 1847.

Subject entries: History, Ancient.

3-1236

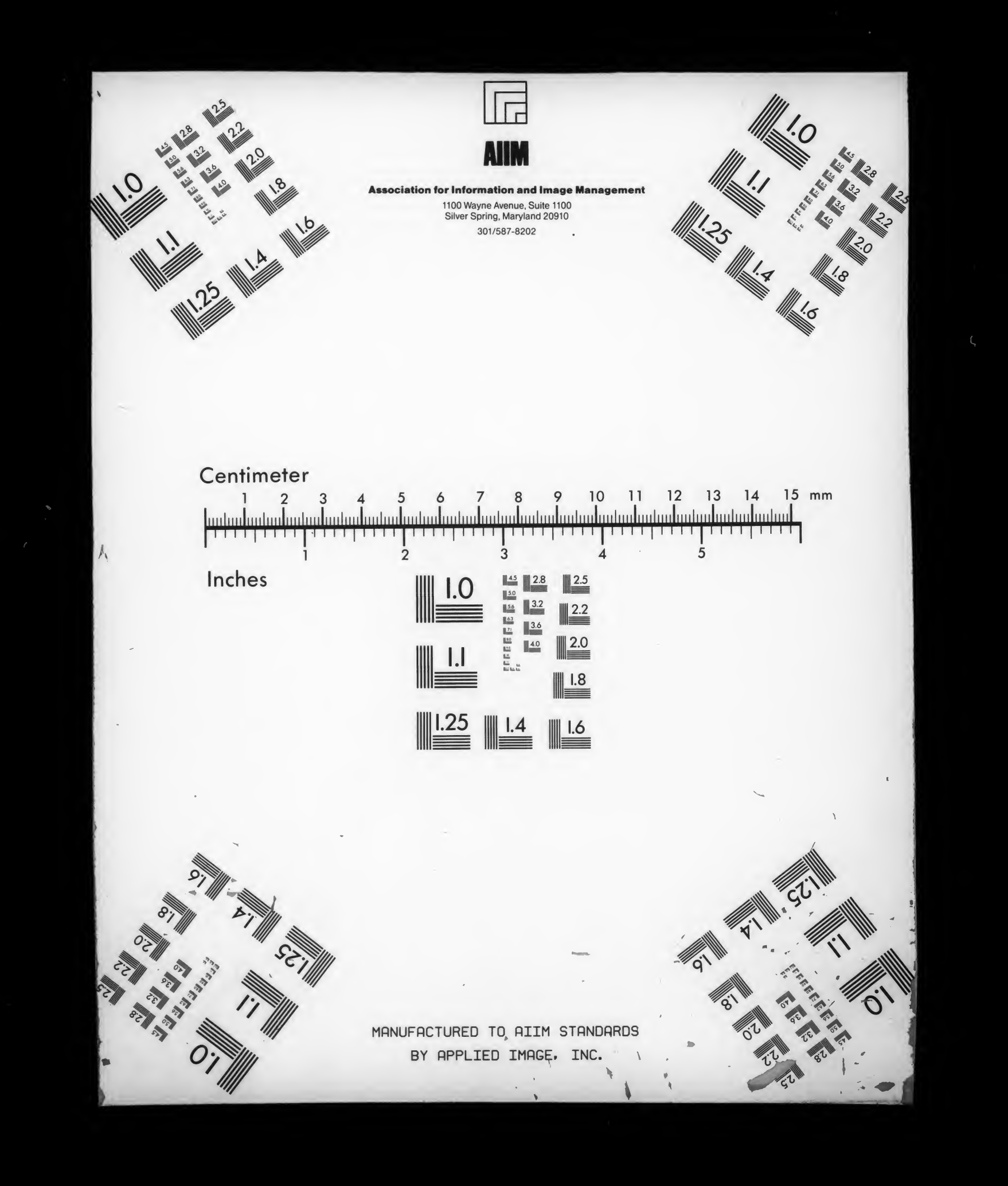
Library of Congress, no. D57.H46.

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11X
IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB
DATE FILMED: 7/9/92 INITIALS TM
FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

VOLUME 1


AIIM
Association for Information and Image Management
1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910
301/587-8202
Centimeter
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 mm
Inches
1 2 3 4 5
MANUFACTURED TO AIIM STANDARDS
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.

Columbia University
in the City of New York

THE LIBRARIES



GIVEN BY

Prof. E. R. A. Seligman

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN.

PART I. ASIATIC NATIONS:

CONTAINING THE PERSIANS, PHŒNICIANS, BABYLONIANS, SCYTHIANS, INDIANS, AND VARIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL APPENDIXES, SOME NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

VOL. I.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

KNIGHT OF THE NORTH STAR AND GUELPHIC ORDER; AULIC COUNSELLOR AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN; AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER LEARNED SOCIETIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. I.

ASIATIC NATIONS. PERSIANS, PHŒNICIANS, BABYLONIANS.

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCCXLVII.

Gift
Prof E R A Seligman
4-7-31

930
H363
v. 1

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

TO THE READER.

As a publisher, I feel great satisfaction in placing these volumes, which complete the great work of Professor Heeren on the Politics, Trade, and Intercourse of the principal states of antiquity, in the hands of the English reader. I trust I shall at least deserve his thanks for opening to him a new and interesting source of instruction and pleasure; and that he will bestow the same indulgence upon the translation of this portion of the work, which he has shown to the volumes on the nations of Africa.

I am emboldened to claim this indulgence with somewhat more confidence in the present instance, as I have not personally so much to dread from censure. Of the two volumes just referred to, it is now very generally known that I am the translator, and I cannot but feel grateful for the gentleness with which their defects have been passed over. As the greater part of the present portion of the work has been done by two gentlemen in every respect much better qualified for the task, the same degree of forbearance, I trust, will not be required; praise could scarcely be more liberally bestowed. My own sense of the imperfection of the performance, naturally induces me to ascribe this to the value of the original work; still there is some satisfaction in having given such a version as should cause that to be readily appreciated, and with that I am content.

Of the volumes now presented to the public, part of the first, containing the Persians, has been translated by a gentleman eminently qualified for the undertaking, and who has spared no pains to give the sense of the German with accuracy. He has besides referred to almost all the original authorities, and from his attainments in classical literature, I feel no doubt that the reader will find much of the spirit of Heeren's original work preserved in the English version. The same may be said of the

gentleman into whose hands the remainder of the work, containing the Babylonians, the Scythians, the Indians, and Appendixes, has fallen. But, in addition to his other attainments, an intimacy with the languages and learning of the East have peculiarly qualified him to do justice to this portion of the work, as will be apparent from the notes with which he has enriched it. For the portion of the work devoted to the Phœnicians, and the first chapter of the Babylonians, I have to solicit for myself the indulgence of the reader. I feel it proper to mention this, lest others should be censured for what I may have done amiss.

In this portion of his work Professor Heeren has thrown considerable light upon the commercial relations of the ancient Jews, as well as upon the writings of the prophets in general. Many of his views being based upon the conjectures and laborious researches of the learned Michaelis and Gesenius, two men who have attained the highest rank as biblical critics, it has been necessary to follow their translation and interpretations, which in many places differ from the generally received versions both of Germany and England. As, however, the Divine authority of the inspired writers is left wholly unimpaired, and no point of doctrine is at all involved in these investigations, they have been given as found in the German; and must be considered, in their true character, as illustrations of those highly interesting parts of sacred history which have reference to the life and manners of the early Asiatic nations.*

With regard to the present translation it remains to be added, that it has been made from the last and best edition of the original German, and from a copy supplied for that purpose by the author himself, who has likewise favoured the publisher with the following papers, never before published, expressly for this edition.

1. A paper on the Navigation of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to Britain, and their Settlements on the Coast, forming Appendix VIII.

* It seems to me, from a casual glance at the interpretations and commentaries of Michaelis and Gesenius, that by a judicious selection from them, a highly interesting volume might be formed, full of instruction and novelty for the English biblical reader.

2. A paper read before the Royal Society at Goettingen, on the commerce of the city of Palmyra, forming Appendix IX.

3. A paper containing a brief sketch of the works connected with Sanscrit literature, which have appeared since the last German edition of these "Researches," together with a confirmed statement of the author's method of determining the several ages of Sanscrit classical compositions, forming Appendix X.

4. A paper on the ancient commerce of the island of Ceylon, forming Appendix XI.

Valuable as are the works of Professor Heeren, it is hoped that this additional matter, together with the pains which have been taken with the work in general, will enhance the merits of this translation to the English readers, and insure it that success which the publisher anticipates.

PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

If the practical direction, which in modern times has been given to knowledge and science, is a general advantage, it is more especially so in the study of antiquity. During a long period this was confined merely to ancient languages, or to such trifling investigations as degraded the pursuit. But the spirit of the age, which has reformed so much, has also prevailed here, and given a new direction to this branch of learning.

Besides *words, things* have been found worthy of attention; and it is only by an application to these that the study of antiquity has preserved and augmented its credit.

The present work, it is hoped, will further contribute to raise the character of this pursuit. The subjects on which it treats, as set forth in the title, are, "The Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the States of Antiquity;" and as I can have no apprehensions respecting their lack of importance, I have only to hope that my labours may be found worthy of them.

It has not, however, been my design to write a history of the nations of the ancient world; for I have no desire to repeat what has already been, in some instances, very ably related by others. Neither have I attempted, as the title page might seem to suggest, a general history of politics and commerce; nor do I even in any way pledge myself to discuss all that relates to these interesting topics. The way has been too little travelled for any single man to enter fully upon it. A clearer light must also be first thrown on the natural history of the ancients, and more accurate information be collected respecting their wares and merchandise, than we yet possess.

My plan has no greater scope, if I except the general preliminary views, than the delineation of particular nations, principally with reference to the two express objects which I have already men-

tioned. But the choice of these nations,—as I have limited myself to no quarter of the world, to no particular climate, but selected such as appeared most remarkable for their government, or trade, or both,—not only extends our horizon to the most distant boundaries of history and geography, but affords such a variety of objects, as must necessarily give a high degree of interest to these researches.

All here, however, depends upon the principles according to which, and the spirit in which, these delineations are drawn. Pure love of truth, the first virtue of the historian, will not I trust be found wanting. In no part of my work have I any hypothesis to establish, any darling proposition to support, or any opponent to refute. Upon every occasion I have stated that which I have found, and stated it just as I have found it; the certain as certain, the probable as merely probable. To do this, however, a judicious selection and critical examination of the sources whence materials were to be drawn was necessary. I have, therefore, made it my first rule to take, not merely credible, but, as far as possible, contemporary writers for my authority; and have only made use of later writers, in cases where it appeared that their information was drawn from the times under consideration. The sources from which these drew I have always endeavoured to point out, and the citations have been subjected to an accurate revision. An unnecessary assemblage of quotations I have carefully avoided; still, I hold it to be the sacred duty of an historian to add them where required; for he by no means has a right to expect that the reader should believe him upon his mere word.

It was of course necessary that learning and research should form the foundation of my labour; but I have endeavoured to restrain them merely to the groundwork. It has already been a frequent subject of complaint, that our literature boasts but few historical works distinguished for more than simple research. But although my performance is not a history, in the strict sense of the word, yet it belongs to that class; and I trust that a series of pictures of nations, drawn with spirit and fidelity, will help to supply the deficiency complained of. It has then been my wish to write a work which might interest and instruct every reader not entirely uninformed, and especially the young admirers of historical science. To attain this end I have felt the essential importance of the greatest possible clearness and precision in the descriptions which I have given. I have therefore laboured hard to obtain this object; and have entirely sacrificed to it all those ornaments with which so many disfigure, while they seek to embellish history.

How far I may have attained my object it is not for me to determine; but I think I may fairly venture to refer to the favourable reception which this attempt has met with since its first appearance, both from the well-informed of Germany and of foreign countries, as a proof that I have not altogether failed. I may venture to do this so much the more, as I fortunately know sufficiently well that the good opinion entertained of my work has been formed by the well-informed and independent, and not by the Aristarchs of our literature. This approbation, together with the light which modern geographical discoveries have thrown upon these subjects, imparted to me as it has been by the noble liberality of a government, long known in Germany and Europe as the constant protector of every useful science, has encouraged me to use the greatest exertions to render my second edition, published in 1805, and again, the third in 1815, as complete as my abilities would allow. But it lies in the nature of these investigations that they never can be complete. Every advance made in the knowledge of countries and nations, and the sciences connected with and depending upon it, throws a new light upon them. And how great has been this advance during the ten years that has elapsed since the third edition! How many of the countries of Central Asia, Persia, and Judæa—how completely those of Northern Africa, Ægypt, Æthiopia, even as far as the distant Meroë—have been rescued from obscurity!

That I have lost no opportunity of improving this, the fourth edition, which forms the second half of my historical works, will be better seen from an inspection of it than from any assertions I can make. All that could be gathered respecting Asia, from the works of Kinneir, Ker Porter, Pottinger, Stamford Raffles, and others; as well as from the learned investigations of Rhode, Gesenius, and Brehmer, has been diligently made use of. Scarcely

a page will be found without addition and improvement; some chapters, as those upon Persepolis, Babylon, and so forth, have been wholly or in great part re-written. In some particulars in which I have become better informed, I have altered my text; in general, however, I have had the satisfaction to find, that progressive discovery has not contradicted my earlier views, but rather, frequently in a surprising manner, confirmed them. If, then, the reader, after consulting this edition, will take a retrospective glance at the state of our knowledge of antiquity thirty years ago, when these Researches first appeared, I may confidently expect from his impartial judgment the opinion that I have not written in vain.

According to the original plan of this work, the reasons for which are stated in the Introduction, it comprises the period previous to Alexander the Great, so that the principal nations of three quarters of the globe will be treated of in the same number of parts, each of two or three volumes.* A fourth, containing the Macedonian-Roman period, might very well be added to them, which would complete the whole of antiquity.

The Introduction placed at the beginning is confined entirely to general views of politics and commerce, and will give the reader some previous acquaintance with the ground which he has to wander over.† In the Asiatic Nations I have treated of the Persians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Scythians; to these were first added in the third edition, the Indians. The investigations respecting the Persians present the picture of a vast despotic empire, such as Asia has in all times contained. It will, therefore, serve as an introduction to the greatest part of the history of this portion of the globe. The explanations which I have inserted respecting Persepolis would necessarily belong to my plan, from the monuments there being so very important in the study of Persian antiquity and government, even if they were not in themselves of the highest interest.

* These three parts are now all translated into English, and may be had complete.

† This Introduction will be found in some copies prefixed to the first volume of the African Nations.

The second volume, devoted to the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Scythians, contains on the other hand, more especially a key to the earliest commerce and intercourse of the ancient world; and of the great highways through Asia, upon which it was carried on. All that I have to premise respecting the Indians, will be found in the preface to the volume devoted to that people.

The maps of Asia and Africa, which accompany the work, represent these two parts of the world in the time of Alexander; and possess some value from their having, for the first time, the great trading routes accurately marked upon them. I have only to add, that these maps have been constructed principally for the illustration of this work alone, according to which they must be judged.

I owe especial acknowledgments, and the public as well as myself, to my learned friends the Aulic councillor M. Tychsen, and M. Grotefend, formerly of Frankfort, and now director of the Gymnasium at Hanover, for the valuable information they have furnished me with; which will be found in the Appendixes, and which make no trifling addition to the worth and importance of this part of my work. To the extensive acquaintance of the first with the languages of the East, the reader is indebted for the interpretation of the Indian words adopted by ancient writers from the Persian; whereby an additional light has been thrown upon the ancient languages of Asia. But the kindness of M. Grotefend has led him to furnish the reader at my request with "an essay upon the arrow-headed character, with an attempt to decipher the inscriptions at Persepolis." To these there is now added a second upon "Pasargadæ and the tomb of Cyrus." These will enable the reader to form his own judgment upon these interesting discoveries. I have also added two plates containing the recent deciphering of the Zend alphabet, together with other apparatus for reading it, and the interpretation, as far as the discovery at present reaches.

There can be no greater enjoyment to the inquisitive spirit, than to find light where he has hitherto found nothing but darkness! More than once I have experienced this agreeable sensation in the progress of the present investigations. And I may

venture with the more confidence to deliver this new edition, probably the last that will pass from my hands, to the reader, because happily I can safely assert, that much which formerly I could present to him only in doubtful and obscure gloom, will now be seen in the full and clear light of day.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE

ASIA 1

NATIONS OF ASIA. PERSIANS.

CHAP. I. A GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, ACCORDING TO SATRAPIES 59

Countries on this side the Euphrates :—

I. Asia Minor 65
II. Syria and Phœnicia 81

Countries beyond the Euphrates :—

I. Countries between the Tigris and Euphrates 84
II. Countries between the Tigris and Indus 88
III. Persian India 178

CHAP. II. ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

I. General and historical account 207
II. Power and privileges of the monarch. Limitations imposed by the code of Zoroaster. Court, Harem, etc. . 230

PAGE

III. Administration of the provinces. Financial system. Satraps 261

IV. Military affairs of Persia 275

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAP. I. Internal Condition and Government 292

CHAP. II. Colonies and Foreign Possessions 302

CHAP. III. Navigation and Sea Trade 325

CHAP. IV. Manufactures and Land Trade 341

BABYLONIANS.

CHAP. I. General View of the Country and its Inhabitants . . 371

CHAP. II. Commerce 413

REDUCTION RATIO CHANGE(S) WITHIN TITLE

ASIA
FLORENTE PERSARUM IMPERIO

[The Names between brackets are the Modern Names]

EUROPA

ASIA

AFRICA

EUROPA HERODOTI

SCYTHIA

SARMATAE HEROD.

(SIBIRIA)

(TARTARIA)

MASSA-GETÆ

THRACIA

PONTUS EUXINUS

CASPIUM MARE

PONTUS MARES

ASIA MINOR

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA

SYRIA

PALESTINA

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIA DESERTA

ARABIA FELIX

ÆTHIOPIA

MARIS MEDITERRANEAN PARS

EGYPTUS

MEDIA MAGNA

PERSIS

CARMANIA

GEDROSIA

HARIA MAIOR

BACTRIANA

INDIA

Neuri

Androphagi

Melanchlæni

Iwan Palus Herod

Cognita

Jyrcae

Thyssagetæ

(Altai M.)

Agathyrsi

Carpates M.

Maris Fl.

Scythæ Aratores

Scythæ Georgi

Scythæ Nomades

Scythæ Regii

Budini et Gelones

Scythæ Exsules

Agrippæi (v. Calmyccæ) Herod

(Ural M.)

Alazones

Callipidæ

Hippanis (v. Bog)

Tyras (v. Dniester Fl.)

Hypanis (v. Dnieper)

Panticapes Fl.?

Geyrus?

Scythæ

Hylæa

Regii

Hypacyris?

Tanais

Tanais (v. Don)

Rha hod. Wolga?

Exampæus

Olbia

Carcine

Lycus Fl.

Chersonesus Taurica

Pons Maeotis

Phanagoria

Sindi

Panticapæum

Diosc. Fl.

Caucasus

Caspii

Pasicæ

Daritæ

Pantimeti

Paricanii

Caudarii

Orthocorybantii

Aral Lac

Jaxartes Fl.

Aparytæ

Satta gydæ

Dadicæ

Utii

Myci

Thamanci

Sarangæ

Oxus Fl.

Chorasmii

Derbices

Dahæ

Nisæa

Ochus Fl.

Polytimetus

Maracanda

Nautaca

Petra

Sabæ

Gaza

Gyrcschata v. Gyropolis

Nura

Cyrus Fl.

Aornos

Bactra

Zadracarta

Hecatompylos

Alexandria in Ariis (Herat)

Ariaspæ Pactyica (Cabul)

Taurus M.

Drangæ

Ortospana

Dragogi

Arachotas

(Alexandria)

Agriaspæ

Candaha

Nysa

Taxila

Indus Fl.

Hydaspes Fl.

Lahore

Malli

(Multan) Calleri

Hyphasis Fl.

Xatri

Ossadii

Tractus arenosus

Padæi Herod

Patala

Indus v. Indes

Arabitæ

Oritæ Ora

Ichthyophagorum Herod

Ora

(Omanum)

Ichthyophagi

Mare (Darkhar)

Sin. Persicus

Hamozia

Sidodona

Tarrias

Ila

Gogana

Taoge

Rogonæ

Parætaceni

Sagarti

Uxii

Susa

Sitacene

Susis

Cissii

Elymæi

Cossæa

Media

Matieni

Zagrus M.

Ecbatana

Rages

Caspiæ Pylæ

Xysa

Desertum abundans

Desertum

Charax

Eulæus Fl.

Pasitigris Fl.

Tigris Fl.

Euphrates Fl.

Babylonia

Palmyra

Thapsacus

Arsissa Pal.

Araxes Fl.

Araxes Fl. Persepolis

Carmana

Paracanii?

Ethiopes Asiatici Herod

Macoraba (Mecca)

Leuce Come

Thebæ

Memphis

Heliopolis

Pelusium

Damascus

Byblus

Berytus

Sidon

Tyrus

Ptolemais

Samaria

Ammonitæ

Moabitæ

Midianitæ

Idumæi

Lac Asphaltites

Hierosolyma

Petra

Desertum

Mons Casius

Nilus

Arbela

Gaza

Araxis Pal.

Araxes Fl.

Cyrus Fl.

Araxes Fl.

Araxis Fl.

Araxes Fl.

Araxis Fl.

Araxes Fl.

Araxis

60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125

50 45 40 35 30 25 20

(S I B I R I A E P A R S

(NERT SCHINSK GUB.)

(Irkutzk)

(Lenae fontes

(Baikal L.)

Jyrcae

Thyssagetæ

(Altai M.)

Budini et Gelones

Scythæ Exsules

Agrippæi (v. Calmyccæ)

Herod

(Ural M.)

(Irtisch fontes)

(Yenisei) fontes

Issedones

(T A R T A R I A M A G N A)

R M A T A E

H E R O D

Tanais (v. Don)

Rha hod. Wolga)

MASSA-GETÆ

(A G U R)

SERICA

Thina Peripli ?

Issedones

Scsatae?

(TANGUT REGN)

Caucasus

IBERIA

Saspires

Chaldæi

ALBANIA

Allarodii

Cyrus Fl.

Araxes Fl.

CASPIUM MARE

Caspii

Pasicæ

Daritæ

Pantimeti

Aral Lac

Jaxartes Fl.

Paricanii

Orthocorybantii

Candarii

MAS SAGETÆ

Aparytæ

Satta gydæ

Dadicæ

(Casgar)

(Yerkend)

Turris lapidea

DESERTUM ARENOSUM

SERICA

Utii

Myci

Thamanci

Sarangæ

Oxus Fl.

(BUCHARIA MAJOR)

Sabæ Gaza

Gyreschata v. Gyropolis

Nura

Maracanda

auro abundans

(Serteni)

Chorasmii

Derbices

Polytimetus

DIANA

ZACÆ

(BUCHARIA MINOR)

(BADAKSHAN)

(BELUR Land)

(TIBETUS PARVA)

Seu INDIA BOREALIS Herodoti

et Ctesiae

Mustagvel Imaus M.)

hodie COBI

(Hoang-Ho fontes)

(Yang-tse Kiang font)

Dahæ

Nisæa

Petra

Oxus Fl.

Aornos

Bactra

Ochus Fl.

Jaxartes Fl.

Margus Fl.

Dargomanes

BACTRIANA

PARTHIA

HYRCANIA

MARDI TAPURI

Zadracarta

Ecbatana

Hecatompylos

Caspiae Pylae

Alexandria in Ariis (Herat)

Artacoana

Cephenes M.

Paropamisus M.

Cabul

Gurdus Fl.

Indus Fl.

Massaga

Peucela

Bazira

Taurus M.

Aria

Palus

Prophthasia (Zarang)

Drangæ Pars

Ortospana

Dragogi

Caudana

Nysa

Taxila

Indus Fl.

Hydaspes Fl.

(Cyshmir)

PAROPAMISUS

INDIA

Lahore

Sangala

Adrastae

Malli

Multan Cathari

Hyphasis Fl.

(Delhi)

Hesidrus Fl.

Ganges Fl.

Dewa Fl.

(Tesho Lomba)

(TIBETUS MAGNA)

Elymaei

Cossæi

MEDIA MAGNA

ARIA

Desertum

Sitacene

Parætaceni

abundans

Cissii

Susa

Uxii

Sagarti

Eulæus Fl.

Choaspes Fl.

Pasitigris Fl.

Persepolis

PERSIS

Arachosii

Agriaspæ

ARACHOSIA

Alexandria

Zarangæi

Oxydracae

Acesines Fl.

Malli

Xatri

Ossadii

Carmana

CARMANIA

Taoge

Hercinii

Gogana

Rogonis

Arsacs Fl.

SIN. PERSICUS

Ichthyophagi

Hamozia

Ila

Tarsias

Sidodona

Paracanii?

GEDROSIA

Arabitae

Oritae Ora

Ichthyophagorum

Ora

Æthiopes Asiatici

Herod

Indus v. Indus

Sindus Fl.

Mundami

Patala

Tractus arenosus

PADÆI Herod

Indus Fl.

Ozene

(Omanum)

Cragrus Pr.

Barygaza

Indi Calantiæ

(Cheiera)

Agara

Ionames Fl.

Canoge

Sinus Fl.

Calinipaxa

Palibothra

(Beraree)

PRASII

Matura

Erannoboas Fl.

Hastinapur

MAGADA (BAHAR) (BENGAL)

INTRA GANGEM

Ganges Fl.

Ganges

EXTRA GANGEM

CHR

MARIS MEDITERRANEAN PARS
ASIA MINOR
PONTUS
Mares Macrones
Mosynœci
Chalybes v. Chaldæi
Scythini
Saspires
ALBANIA
Albrodii
ARMENIA
Taochi
CAPPADOCIA
Lycaonia
PHRYGIA
PAPHLAGONIA
BITHYNIA
LYDIA
CARIA
LYCIA
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
Cyprus
PALESTINA
Ammonitæ
Moabitæ
Midianitæ
Desertum
ARABIA PETRÆA
ARABIA DESERTA
ARABIA BATHEI
EGYPTUS
ÆTHIOPIA
ARABICUS SINUS
(NEDJED)
ARABIA
DESERTA
(Omanum)
ARABIA FELIX (SEDJAR)
Thuriferæ Regio
Sachalitæ
(Sachalites Sinus refertus Insulis odoriferis)
Chatramotitæ (Hadramaut)
Sabæi
Wadan
Babelmandeb fret
(Cap Gardafui)
Socotora
AFRICA PARS
OCEANUS INDICUS
S.W. Monsoon. April May June July Aug. Sept.
N.E. Monsoon. Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Febr. March
Pantimeti
Utii
Myci
Thamanci
Sarangæ
Aparytæ
Satta gydæ
Dadicæ
HARIA MAJOR
Sabæ
Gaza
Gyreschata v. Gyropolis
Nura
Chorasmii
Derbices
(BUCHARIA)
Maracanda
DIANA
ZACÆ
(BUCHARIA)
(BADAKSHAN)
Nautaca
Petra
Oxus Fl.
Dahæ
Nisæa
PARTHIA
HYRCANIA
Polytimetus
Margus
Bactra
BACTRIANA
Aornos
(BELUR)
(TIBETUS seu INDIA BOREALIS et CHINA)
Caspius Pr.
Hecatompylos
Zadracarta
Alexandria in Ariis (Herat)
Artacoana
Arius Fl.
Margus
Dargomanes
Taurus M.
Aria
Palus
Prophthasia (Zarang)
Drangæ
Ortospana
Dragogi
Zarangæi
Arachotus
(Alexandria)
Agriaspæ
ARACHOSIA
Paropamisus M.
Pactyica
(Caubul)
Bazira
Peucela
Indus Fl.
(Caschmir)
Candaha
Nysa
Taxila
Hydaspes Fl.
Lahore
Oxydracæ
Acesines Fl.
Malli
Sangala
Abiædæ
(Multan)
Calheri
Hyphasis Fl.
(Delhi)
Xatri
Ossadii
Besidrus Fl.
Arabitæ
Oritæ Ora
Ichthyophagorum Æthiopes Asiatici
Ichthyophagi
Ora
Patala
Tractus arenosus
RADÆI Herod.
Indi Calantiæ
LARIKE
(Guzerat)
Barygaza
Padar Fl.
Muziris
Nelcynda
LIMYRICA
(Elephantis)
(Salsette)
Quilliene
Cory
Plutarch
Ptolemæus
Strabo
Eratosthenes
Agathemerus
Herodotus
Arrianus
Pliny
Ptolemy
Thebæ
Memphis
Pelusium
Heroopolis
Petra
Asphaltites
Lacus
Hierosolyma
Damascus
Palmyra
Heliopolis
Emesa
Tripolis
Byblus
Berytus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemaïs
Joppe
Gaza
Rhodus
Ephesus
Smyrna
Colophon
Sardes
Pergamus
Pitane
Adramyttium
Troja
Abydus
Sestus
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Cos
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Rhodus
Cyprus
Paphos
Citium
Salamis
Tarsus
Issus
Mazaca
Comana
Tyana
Sebaste
Ancyra
Gordium
Gangra
Amasia
Tibareni
Cerasus
Trapezus
Sinope
Thymiamaterium
Halys Fl.
Iris Fl.
Thermodon Fl.
Phasis Fl.
Araxes Fl.
Cyrus Fl.
Araxis Fl.
Euphrates
Tigris
Taurus M.
Nisibis
Carrhæ
Thapsacus
Circesium
Edessa
Antiochia ad Chalybon
Beræa
Chalcis
Arbela
Assyria
Zabatus Fl.
Scenitæ Arabes
Matieni
Zagrus M.
Ecbatana
Rages
Media Magna
Media
Cossæi
Elymæi
Susiana
Susa
Uxii
Cissii
Parætaceni
Desertum abundans
Sagarti
Persis
Persepolis
Araxes Fl.
Carmana
Carmania
Gedrosia
Paracanii?
Hamozia
Sidodona
Tarsias
Ibi
Gogana
Hercynia
Tauce
Ragonis
Rhogonis
Teredon
Charax
Pasitigris Fl.
Eulæus Fl.
Palus Chaldæa
Paludes
Susiana
Babylonia
Cunaxa
Murus Medicus
Opis
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Arderica
Is
Zabatus Fl.
Tigris Fl.
Gyndes Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Thapsacus
Nisibis
Carduchi
Taurus M.
Araxes Fl.
Araxis Fl.
Araxes Fl.
Persepolis
Sinus Persicus
Ichthyophagi
Gerrha
Thylos
Arabitæ
Mare (Dahalitæ)
Ora
Oritæ Ora
Arabius Fl.
Sinus v. Indus
Musicani
Tractus arenosus
Patala
Padar Fl.
Indi Calantiæ
Pragrus Pr.
Sachalites Sinus refertus Insulis odoriferis
Thuriferæ Regio
Sachalitæ
Sanaa
Mariaba v. Saba
Racma
Muza (Mocha)
Ganna
Saba
Adulis
Nili fontes
Merœ
Meroe
Axume
Macoraba (Mecca)
Chavila
Haran
Thebæ
Leuce Come
Sinus Heroopolites
Sinus Elanites
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Indicus
Sinus Barygazenus
Sinus Cambaicus
Sinus Cambaicus
Sinus Cambaic

ASIA

FLORENTE PERSARUM IMPERIO

[The Names between brackets are the Modern Names]

OCEANUS INDICUS

MARE CASPIUM

ARIA

PARTHIA

HYRCANIA

MARGIANA

BACTRIANA

SOGDIANA

(BUCHARIA MINOR)

(BADAKSHAN)

(BELUR Land)

(TIBETUS PARVA)

Seu INDIA BOREALIS Herodoti et Clesiæ

(TIBETUS MAGNA)

PAROPAMISUS

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM

(BAHAR)

(BENGAL)

MAGADA

PRASII

INDIAE CITERIOR

PENINSULA

DESERTUM ARENOSUM

SERICA

auro abundans

(Sertem)

hodie COBI

(Hoang-Ho fontes)

(Yang-tse Kiang fontes)

(Mustagh el Imaus M.)

PERSIS

CARMANIA

GEDROSIA

ARACHOSIA

DRANGIANA

Parætaceni

Sagarti

Dragogi

Zarangæi

Agriaspæ

Paræcanii?

Ichthyophagi

Ichthyophagorum

Ora

Æthiopes Asiatici

(Omanum)

Thamanci

Utii

Myci

Sarangæ

Chorasmii

Dahæ

Derbices

Dadicæ

Sabæ

Gaza

Gyrcesphata v. Gyropolis

Nura

Maracanda

Nautaca

Petra

Bactra

Zadracarta

Hecatompylos

Alexandria in Ariis (Herat)

Artacoana

Aria

Palus

Taurus M.

Prophthasia (Zarang)

Ortospana

Candaha

Nysa

Tarila

Arachotus

(Alexandria)

Pactyica

(Cabul)

Massaga

Peucela

Aornos

Indus Fl.

(Cyshmir)

Hydaspes Fl.

Lahore

Malli

(Multan)

Calheri

Sangala

Hyphasis Fl.

Xatri

Ossadii

Sydracæ

Acesines Fl.

Arestæ

Patala

Arabitæ

Oritæ Ora

Arabius Fl.

Sindus v. Indus

Musicani

Tractus arenosus

PADÆI Herod.

Indi Calantiæ

Barygaza

LARICE (Gazeræ)

Ozene

Dahi

Ganges Fl.

Besidrus Fl.

Palibothra

Agyna

Jomanes Fl.

Canoge

Sonus Fl.

Maura

Erannoboas Fl.

Hastinapur

Dara Fl.

Gangis emporium

Chryse

Tagara (Ellora)

Plutana

Elephanta (Salsetta)

Calliene (Carli)

Muziris

Nelcynda

Tanjore

Comaria Pr.

TABROBANE (Hod. Ceylan)

Sinus Chrysen aurigantium

Maabar

(Chavalipuram)

(Teshu Lombo)

Ptolemæi Monasterium

Sachalites

Thurifera Regio

(SEDJAR)

Sachalites Sinus refertus Insulis odoriferis

Dioscoridis Ins.

Dragonis Pr.

S.W. Monsoon. April May June July Aug. Sept.

N.E. Monsoon. Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. March

Milne sc. 79 Radford St. Bedford Row

ASIA.

Of the three divisions of the ancient world there is none which more attracts and rewards the attention of the philosophical historian, engaged in the investigation not of individual nations but of the human race, than Asia. It was on Asia that the first dawn of history broke; and during succeeding ages, when Africa was involved in almost total obscurity, from which Europe herself was slowly disengaged, there rested upon Asia a degree of light which, if it did not illuminate equally all the great events of which that continent was the theatre, served at least to illustrate their general course, and to furnish important data towards the history of the human species. The further we advance in such inquiries—the more that we compare the various traditions of different nations respecting their several origins and ancient history, and the better we are enabled to contrast the diversities of their external characters, the more do we find ourselves constantly directed to Asia as the central point—the more are we impressed with the conviction that in that great continent was the cradle of mankind, whatever may have been the influence of remote climates and favourable or unfavourable circumstances to ennoble or degrade the original stock. Even when we trace the progress of the arts and sciences, notwithstanding the pains which the nations of the West have bestowed in cultivating such pursuits, and conferring upon them, as it were, an impress of their own, we find ourselves uniformly recalled to the East as the place of their origin; and it is there that we discover the native seat, not only of our own religion, but of all other modes of belief which have become at any time predominant in the world.

Even in respect of her geographical position, Asia has

been favoured beyond either of the other portions of the old continent. Its territory begins in a degree of N. lat. beyond which the globe ceases to be habitable to men, and, filling the whole extent of the temperate zone, stretches her vast peninsulas alone far into the space between the tropics, and one of them, the easternmost, nearly to the equator. Her richest and most fruitful provinces occupy the degrees of latitude which, in the case of Europe, are lost in the Mediterranean; and it is only the extremities of her territory which suffer from an excess of heat or cold. Europe, on the other hand, appears on the map of the world only as a sort of appendage to the north-western portion of Asia; and Africa, whose widest extent lies beneath the equator, and whose regions are principally situated within the torrid zone, can boast very few parts which, in temperature of climate, can vie with the advantages possessed by the greater part of Asia.

The vast extent of this last continent, whose area is four times as large as that of Europe, and nearly a fourth greater than that of Africa, presents the noblest theatre for displaying, in their utmost perfection and greatest variety, the inanimate as well as the animated wonders of creation. Europe has no production which Asia has not; and most of those which she possesses in common with the latter are inferior, except as far as they may have been improved by the skill of Europeans. Africa indeed has some which belong to her peculiar position and climate; the race of negroes, for instance, is confined to that continent, as well as some plants and animals which flourish no where but under the equator: but however striking and foreign the appearance of nature may be in Africa to Europeans, it is nevertheless for the most part invariable; and the inhabitant of Caffraria might believe himself at home on the coasts of Barbary, where he would find nearly the same races of animals, the same vegetable productions, and the same climate. On the other hand, how vast a variety reigns in Asia! How different is the face of nature in the wide steppes of the Mongols—in the flowery vales of Cashmere, and the sultry flats of Bengal!—or again, in the perfumed groves of Ceylon, the snowy mountains of Siberia, and the shores of the Arctic Ocean!

But, independently of her geographical position, Asia possesses other marked advantages over Africa. The means of access from without, and of internal communication, are as difficult in the case of the latter, as they are easy and unencumbered in that of the former. The seas by which Asia is surrounded, form on every side, but especially on her southern coast, (the original seat of civilization,) vast gulfs, which stretch far into the interior, and terminate in the embouchures of mighty rivers; facilitating the safe exchange of articles of commerce.

The structure of the continent, and the equal distribution, throughout its extent, of considerable rivers, is probably a principal reason why the interior of Asia is not found to contain any deserts of sand of like magnitude with those which in Africa present such formidable impediments to commerce. An exception must be made in the case of Arabia; a peninsula which in its natural features, as well as in its position, appears almost to belong to the adjoining continent of Africa. It is true that Asia abounds in vast pathless steppes, but these are by no means beset with the same dangers which menace the traveller in the deserts of Africa. On the contrary, Central Asia contains only one waste to be compared for extent and desolation with those of the other continent, that of Cobi in Little Bucharia; which, however, only obstructs the way to the most remote country of the East, China Proper, of which it is the boundary to the west and the north; opposing no obstacle to the free intercourse of the other Asiatic nations.

To enable us to form an adequate notion of the natural features of the different parts of Asia, and the intercourse of its inhabitants, which is dependent on the former, it is necessary in the first place to become acquainted with the great mountain-ranges which stretch across this portion of the globe, and determine in a great measure the nature of the soil, and the modes of life of its occupants. Two of these vast chains of mountains extend across the continent from west to east, forming by their ramifications to the north and south, by which they are connected together, a species of gigantic network; or, as it were, the skeleton, on which the surface of the whole country is disposed, and to which it is attached. The first of these, which was probably in

a great measure unknown to the Greeks, extends through the southern part of Siberia, and, with many changes of appellation, is styled in general the Altaic range. Beginning just above the Caspian, it sends off a branch to the north, which, under the name of the Ural, stretches as far as the Arctic Ocean. It then, with a mean elevation of not more than six or seven thousand feet, traverses the southern part of Siberia, becoming wider as it approaches the east, till, not far from the Pacific Ocean, after having united to itself a considerable branch of the great southern range, it fills the whole territory of the Tungusians and the shores of Siberia. For an accurate account of this great chain of mountains we are indebted to the recent researches of some scientific Russian travellers, before whose expedition our information respecting it was very defective; and in the time of the ancients its very existence was almost unknown.[1] Much, however, still remains to be explored, particularly in the eastern portion of the chain.

The other great range of mountains, which, under the name of Taurus, in like manner stretches transversely through the whole of the continent from west to east, was much better known to the ancients. It commences in the peninsula of Asia Minor, of which it occupies the southern provinces, Pisidia, Licia, and Cilicia.[2] Thence it stretches, with a very considerable elevation, through Armenia, sending off a branch which, with a northerly direction, fills up the country between the Caspian and Euxine, and bestows upon it the appellation of Caucasia.[3] From Armenia the main branch extends through the countries to the south and south-east of the Caspian, through the northern part of Media, and the districts, once so celebrated, of Hyrcania, Parthia, and Bactriana, till it reaches the eastern boundaries of Great Bucharia, or the ancient Sogdiana. Here it divides into two principal branches, one of which takes a north-easterly, the other a south-easterly direction. Conjointly, they form, as it were, the shores of a huge sea of sand, mentioned by Herodotus under the general name of the Sandy Desert, but called in modern times the Desert of Cobi. The part which takes a northerly direction, a portion of the ancient Imaus, Belur-tag, or mountains of Cash-gar, forms the northern boundary of this huge waste, and passing through the countries of Eygur, Mongolia, and Sungaria, becomes united to the Altaic chain on the confines of Siberia. The south-eastern branch of the same range forms the boundary of Hindustan to the north, passes through Great and Little Thibet, and loses itself in Central China, on the borders of the Pacific. Its appellations vary with the countries through which it passes: the part which skirts Little Bucharia, bearing the name of the Mus-tag or Snowy-mountain, being another branch of the ancient Imaus; while the mountains of Cabul and Candahar, which form the boundaries of Hindustan, were comprehended by the ancients under the name of Paropamisus. Their easterly continuation, beginning from the lofty peak near Cabul, swell to the snowy heights of the Himalaya,[4] whose summit, as has been ascertained by the adventurous researches of the English, is elevated to the enormous height of twenty-five thousand feet above the level of the sea;[5] taking from the Cordilleras of South America the reputation they enjoyed as the highest mountains of the globe. From this point two ranges of hills descend southward, and terminate in the capes of Comorin and Malacca; forming as it were the spinal ridges on which hang the two great Indian peninsulas.

The courses of these great chains of mountains determine also those of the rivers which spring from their sides, and intersect in every direction this quarter of the globe. From the northern range, the Altaic and its dependencies, flow the mighty rivers of Siberia, surpassing in magnitude any of the old world; which following the inclination of Siberia towards the north, empty their waters into the Arctic Ocean. These are the Irtish, the Yenesei, and the still more considerable Lena: all unknown to the ancients, and for an acquaintance with which we are indebted to recent geogra-

[1] Desguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. part ii. p. 111; Abulgazi-Khan, *Hist. Genealog. des Tartares*, p. 30; et ibi not.

[2] Arrian. *de Exped. Alex.* v. 5.

[3] The name of Caucasus was used by the ancient geographers properly to designate the mountains lying between the two seas above mentioned; but has been also improperly applied to other parts of the Tauric chain, particularly the mountains of northern India. Cf. Arrian. l. c.

[4] Elphinstone's *Account of Cabul*, p. 85.

[5] According to the measurements of Webb. *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi.

phers. The four great rivers, however, of Southern Asia, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Indus, and the Ganges, were even then well known, rising in the range of Mount Taurus, and taking a southerly course till they lost themselves in the Indian and Persian Oceans. From the lofty ranges of Mustag and Imaus, which unite on the borders of Little Bucharia, the two great mountain-chains before described, spring, to the west, the Jihoon, or Oxus, and the Sirr, or Jaxartes, which take a westerly direction through Great Bucharia towards the Caspian, and lose themselves in the sea of Aral; though it is probable that both, or at all events the Oxus, may formerly have reached the greater of those two inland seas. On the eastern side of the same ridge rise the great rivers of China, the Hoang-ho and Yang-tse-Kiang, which severally traversing the northern and southern parts of that empire, fall into the Eastern Ocean. If to these we add the Volga, or Rha, (the latter of which names it has received from none but Ptolemy,[6]) we shall have enumerated all the chief rivers of Asia, or at least all that come within the compass of the present treatise. An acquaintance with these is of the highest importance, not only for the purposes of general geography, but especially for the object before us. They not only serve as the great landmarks of the political divisions of Asia, but also as the principal means of communication and commerce; and it was on their banks that the capitals of the East, the seats of civilization, of splendour, and luxury, were first established.

The mountain-ranges which we have described divide Asia into three parts, essentially distinct from each other with respect to climate and the properties of their soils; and presenting differences no less striking in the modes of life and manners of their inhabitants. The northernmost portion, known at present by the name of Siberia, and extending from the back of the Altaic ridge to the Arctic Ocean, will be seldom mentioned in the present treatise, having continued unknown to the ancients, with the exception of some loose traditionary legends, to be noticed in their proper place. More thinly-peopled regions, inhabited only by hunters and fishermen, offer indeed a curious field of observation to the philosopher, showing how the human race can subsist in the neighbourhood of the very pole; where even the savage himself is compelled to acknowledge the inclemency of the climate, and to hope, as a recompence for his sufferings, an inexhaustible hunting-ground of reindeer beyond the grave.[7] The historian, however, will find in these desolate regions little worthy his remark, at least till the philologist shall have prepared the way for his researches, since the few traditions extant among these tribes, which their manners and exterior seem to confirm, tend to show that they are offshoots, at least in part, of the great original stocks of Central Asia, driven by wars, or other contingencies, into those remote countries, whose snowy fields were not likely to invite any voluntary settlers. Yet even these regions must not be altogether forgotten, as the sequel of the present inquiries will prove that they have been peopled from times of the most remote antiquity, and possibly more thickly inhabited at that period than at present.

[6] Probably the same with Araxes, an appellation applied to several rivers.

On the other hand, the vast regions of Central Asia, which form the area enclosed between the Altaic and Tauric ranges, and partly filled up by those mountains, present a rich field of speculation to the antiquary and historian. These vast tracts of level steppes extend, under the names of Mongolia and Tartary,[8] from the Caspian to the Pacific. They embrace the abodes of the Mongol tribes, the Kalmucs, and Sungarians, and others apparently produced by a mixture of these; and are divided by several considerable streams, flowing, for the most part, towards the Caspian, but which do not sufficiently irrigate these immeasurable plains, as to make them capable of tillage. Besides, these districts are among the most elevated regions of the globe, and on that

[7] See Georgi *Beschreibung der Völker des Russischen Reichs*, p. 383. In the almost universal belief, among the Siberian tribes, of a kind of continuance after death, it is found, according to this writer, that it is precisely the inhabitants of the wildest and most savage regions that form the most pleasing pictures of a future state; while, therefore, others hold it to be sorrowful, and regard death on that account as a misfortune, these meet it with joy. Certainly a very interesting fact.

[8] The perpetual confusion between the names of Tartars and Mongols, (of which Desguignes is especially guilty,) has been the source of serious errors in the history of nations as well as in geography. The Mongols and Tartars are distinct races; the principal territory of the former lies to the north, that of the latter to the south of the Sirr-Darja, or Jaxartes of the ancients, the proper limit of the two races.

account, though lying between 40° and 50° N. lat., and consequently in the same parallel with Italy and the south of Germany, are far from enjoying the same degree of temperature with those countries. They do not, however, present many spots altogether arid and unproductive; but, on the contrary, are for the most part covered with herbage, which occasionally attains such a luxuriant growth as to equal the height of the cattle which feed there.[9]

This natural condition of the soil, added to another peculiarity, the almost total absence of woods or forests, has had great influence in determining the manner of life of the inhabitants of those regions. In their native country they could never occupy fixed abodes, nor apply themselves to the pursuits of agriculture; and while history presents many examples of nomad tribes having adopted the settled habits of the nations they subdued, it affords none of a similar change effected in their native country; where, on the contrary, they appear destined to lead the wandering life of shepherds and herdsmen. These vast and level plains are accordingly studded, instead of with cities and houses, with tents and encampments, the ordinary abodes of these migratory tribes, often surrounded for leagues by their innumerable flocks and herds of sheep and cattle, of horses and camels, which constitute their riches, and supply all, or nearly all, their limited wants. The milk and flesh of their cows or their mares form their principal food; and they learned at an early period the art of extracting from the former an intoxicating drink.[10] The skins of the same animals, with the hair of their camels, furnish them with a coarse clothing for themselves, and with coverings for their tents; and the canes growing on the banks of their inland seas and rivers are readily fashioned into bows and arrows. The soil of their interminable territory is the common property of all; and they migrate without difficulty, accompanied by their numerous herds, from an exhausted to a fresh pasturage, or from a poorer to a richer district.

Their social relations have, as might be expected, been greatly influenced by these peculiarities of their situation. It is impossible that they should adopt those civil constitutions to which we have been accustomed from our youth, and which are the consequences of settled habitations, domestic tranquillity, and established possessions. The place of these was supplied by the natural bond of consanguinity; which became proportionably stronger than among Europeans, inasmuch as it embraced not only individual families but whole tribes and nations. Each race was subdivided into many tribes, which often swelled into mighty nations, which were split, according to circumstances, into a greater or lesser number of hordes, each comprehending a larger or smaller proportion of individual families. The heads of families and tribes take the place held by the civil magistrate in more polished nations, and exercise at the same time the offices of judges during peace, and leaders in war, with an authority which has often degenerated into unlimited despotism.[11] It also not unfrequently happens, that the chief of a tribe becomes by the preponderance of his power, or by free choice, the head of the whole nation, and ends in being a monarch, and perhaps a conqueror, like Cyrus, Attila, and Timur, spreading death and desolation over flourishing countries, and inundating more than one portion of the globe with his innumerable armies. The sequel of these treatises will show how important it is to a correct knowledge, not only of Asiatic history, but also of the human race at large, to possess clear views respecting the manners and institutions of the nomad tribes. It was among them that the greatest revolutions in the history of mankind, which not only determined the fate of Asia, but shook Europe and Africa to their centre, had their origin. It would almost appear to have been the design of Providence to continue these nations in a state more true to nature, and nearer by some degrees to their original condition, in order to renovate by their means (as history proves to have been often the case) the more civilized races of the world, which had prepared, by degeneracy and luxury, the way for their own destruction.

The third, or southern division of Asia, is partly filled up by the ramifications of Mount Taurus, before described, and partly lies to the southward of these, comprehending also the peninsula of Asia Minor, where that range of hills com-

[9] *Hist. Geneal. des Tartares*, p. 126, et ibi not.
[10] Pallas, *Gesch. der Mongol. Völk.* i. 133.
[11] Pallas, i. 185.

mences. Beginning at 40° N. lat., this division extends in the form of a vast continent, as far south as the tropic of Cancer, beyond which the three great peninsulas of Arabia, Hindustan, and Malacca, extend far into the torrid zone. It comprises, therefore, the richest and most fruitful regions of the globe—Asia Minor, all the provinces of modern Persia, from the Tigris to the Indus, the northern part of Hindustan, as well as the two peninsulas on either side of the Ganges, and lastly Thibet, and the whole of China Proper. With the exception of a few arid tracts or mountainous regions, the whole of this vast extent of country has been blessed with the choicest gifts of nature; enjoying not only a temperate climate, but fertilized by a multitude of rivers of all sizes. The treasures of the vegetable kingdom are there found in the utmost profusion and variety; and the animal creation, whether quadrupeds, birds, or insects, there attain the highest perfection; the cotton-plant and the silk-worm are natives of the soil; the most precious spices and aromatics are peculiar to this region; and even those commodities which have acquired a fictitious value from the caprice or wants of mankind, gold, precious stones, and pearls, abound there.

It is no wonder that the inhabitants of such a region, surrounded by such natural advantages, should cease to be the same with those who wander over the wild steppes of Central Asia. Providence appears to have designed that they should here cease to lead a pastoral life, and to have pointed the way to a more dignified and cultivated mode of existence; and history proves how early and how constantly they availed themselves of the privilege. The earliest records of the human race ascribe to this region the first origin of tillage, of the cultivation of the vine, and the establishment of cities and political combinations. It is true that a considerable number of nomad tribes still continue to wander there, particularly where the pasturage is rich, as is the case between the Euphrates and Tigris; and the encampment of a pastoral horde may be often seen close beside the walls of a city. But these are either wanderers from Arabia or the northern parts of Central Asia, or mountain-tribes, possessing a country incapable of being reduced to tillage. On the other hand, it is a remark which the whole course of history tends to verify, that not only have the original inhabitants of

these countries adopted settled abodes, and the relations of social life, but that even the nomad tribes settled among them as sojourners, or as conquerors, have voluntarily exchanged their restless habits for those of a more tranquil and peaceful mode of existence. The parallel of 40° N. lat. accordingly forms, as it were, the invariable boundary of the agricultural and pastoral districts; though it is not necessary to remark, that this distinction must only be received as generally true, and that the transition from the one mode of life to the other is gradual. With this limitation the observation will be found to hold true in every period of Asiatic history. This parallel divides Caucasia from Armenia, Sogdiana, or Great Bucharia, from Bactriana or Balk, and China from Chinese Tartary. The countries to the north of 40° have at all times been principally the abode of wandering tribes of shepherds and herdsmen; and those to the south, of a settled population.

Multiplied and extensive as have been the revolutions of Central Asia, there reigns throughout the history of that continent a uniformity which is strongly contrasted with what we observe in Europe. Kingdoms and monarchies have arisen and decayed, and yet the same character has been constantly transmitted from the former to the succeeding dynasty, a peculiarity which the general tenor of Asiatic history will itself best explain.

The mighty empires which arose in Asia were not founded in the same manner with the kingdoms of Europe. They were generally erected by mighty conquering nations, and these, for the most part, nomad nations. This important consideration we must never lose sight of, when engaged in the study of their history and institutions.

We have already observed, that the whole of Northern and Central Asia is full of such wandering tribes; but in Southern Asia also, many portions of the Tauric range, and the whole of Arabia, (with the exception of its southern extremity, or Arabia Felix,) are occupied by people of the same habits; the dreary deserts of sand in the latter country being even less adapted for cultivation or fixed abodes than the steppes of Northern Asia.

The few observations which we have already made on these nations may convince us that they were formed to

become nations of conquerors. Their mode of life fits them to endure the hardships of war; their limited wants enable them to dispense with much of the baggage which encumber the marches of our regular armies; their countless herds afford an inexhaustible stock of horses for their cavalry, in which their principal strength has always consisted; for even in peace they are so continually moving about, that they are scarcely ever out of the saddle. These predatory habits are a sort of preparation for actual warfare, and inspire them, if not with the firm hardihood and cool courage of Europeans, yet with an audacity and impetuosity in attack, which spring from the habit of encountering danger, and the lust of spoil. The same fierce passions have called forth the locust-swarms of Mongols and Arabians from their steppes and deserts, and attracted from their mountains the Parthians and Persians, to sweep over and desolate the fruitful regions of Southern Asia. Having subdued the civilized nations established there, they extended their dominion as far as their predatory hordes could range, and became the founders of potent empires, exchanging without reluctance their sterile native country for more fortunate situations. An acquaintance, however, with the refinements and luxuries of the conquered kingdoms, and the influence of a milder climate, soon effected a remarkable change in the habits of these conquerors, and they adopted the manners of those whom they had vanquished, with the less difficulty, because a wandering herdsman is attached to no native spot, and knows no home. The consequence was a species of refinement, not of moral taste, but of mere sensual luxury; and the degree to which this was carried was proportionate to the fierceness of the desires by which it was prompted, and the suddenness of the transition from a savage state to one of ease and indulgence. In this manner the conquerors subdued themselves, and resigned their dominion, sooner or later, according to circumstances; while fresh tribes of conquerors, uncorrupted by success, sallied from their ancient haunts, or from other districts, to erect a new dynasty on the ruins of the former, and subsequently to undergo the same vicissitude of degeneracy and subjugation.

Such may be pronounced to be a summary of the whole

of Asiatic history, with the single exception of the Macedonian conquest; the only time when the Europeans have been masters of the interior of Asia. In this manner, of old, the monarchies of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, and the Parthians were founded, and fell; such, in the middle ages, was the history of the Arabian conquest; and such, up to the present day, has been that of the Tartarian and Mongol empires, which still subsist, though in ruins.

This review of the origin of the great Asiatic monarchies suggests of itself the following observations.

I. Instead of a progressive establishment and aggrandizement, these empires appear to have attained at once, or within a very short period, a gigantic stature. The cause is contained in the manner in which nomad tribes effect their conquests, and in which alone they can effect them, if destined to be durable. Extensive tracts of land are necessary for their very subsistence, and as long as they continue victorious, they have no inducement to set any bounds to their conquests. On the contrary, the plunder of one country is an inducement to seek that of another; and this love of pillage, combined with an utter ignorance of geography, has often inspired them with the notion of making themselves masters of all the world (a title they frequently arrogated); an imagination which, though never fulfilled in its full extent, they have so far achieved as to astonish historians. The Saracen dominion extended at one period from Morocco and Spain to Hindustan; and the Mongol armies, under the successors of Ginghis-Khan, fought at the same time in Silesia, and under the wall of China!

II. Nations of this character cannot readily give to their dominions a settled civil constitution. How can they give that which they do not possess themselves? It is much more consistent with the natural course of events that their form of government should be at the first purely military. The administration of the conquered provinces is committed to generals at the head of numerous armies, supported by the vanquished, either as garrisons in their cities, or as wandering hordes. The original office of such a governor was to collect, either arbitrarily or according to fixed proportions, the tribute or donatives imposed on the con-

quered; and for this purpose, to keep them in the most complete subjection. This arrangement frequently degenerates in a short time into another, by which the provinces are delivered over to their governors at the price of a certain yearly sum paid into the royal treasury, which the governor is at liberty to collect, as well as his own exorbitant interest, by any means he can. Consequently it is often the case, that the internal government of such provinces is left untouched; and even the conquered princes, or their successors, are sometimes allowed to retain their offices, unless removed on account of insubordination, or the personal hostility of their conquerors. Such was the custom of the Persians as well as the Mongols; but it would be a great error to attribute this to the clemency or leniency of the conquerors: it was much more the consequence of their ignorance and rudeness, which made them incapable of apprehending at once subjects foreign to all their former habits, and indisposed them to take the pains of learning.

III. At the same time it is natural that from this sort of military government should be gradually formed a civil administration; as the conquerors became by long intercourse with the conquered milder in their habits, and consequently more sensible of the advantages, and better acquainted with the forms of civil institutions; and exchanged by degrees their roving habits for a settled residence in cities. It is true that the genius of Timur, and a few other conquerors, may have so far anticipated the order of time, as to have conceived at once the idea of a more regular form of government; but, in general, it must be borne in mind, that the change was slow and gradual. Those military chiefs, whose authority was circumscribed by no law, as they gradually became better acquainted with civil affairs, took an increased interest in them, and from being mere leaders of armies, assumed the characters of satraps or viceroys; while the jealousy of oriental despotism often purposely placed the latter as spies upon the conduct of the former. In this manner the great Asiatic monarchies generally form a whole, which, uncemented by civil rights and relations, is held together only by the universal pressure of a superior; containing, however, in its subordinate parts,

the most heterogeneous constitutions. The most despotic empires have thus tolerated not only petty kings and princes with limited authority, but even republics, of which the Phœnician and Grecian states, subject to the king of Persia, are instances.

The above observations furnish an answer to a question which naturally suggests itself to the student of Asiatic history, and which is of the highest interest with reference to the general history of mankind, namely, how it came to pass that the system of absolute despotism, which has always characterized the Asiatic governments, should have been so constantly maintained, and, under every political revolution, uniformly renewed?

When the right of conquest and the power of the sword were the foundation of all authority, it necessarily followed that the administration, in its civil department, should bear a despotic character; especially when the unlimited sway of their patriarchal chiefs had already prepared the conquerors for such a system. Strange as it may appear, there were many nations among them, which, while they appeared to enjoy savage freedom, were subject to a rooted and rigid despotism; and among whom the head of the tribe was absolute lord of all his race.[12] This apparent contradiction is readily solved, when we recollect that the paternal authority is the foundation of the patriarchal; and that the former, among uncivilized nations, is at all times strong in exact proportion to their rudeness.

The gigantic extent also of these empires favoured the growth of despotism. That many nations should be subject to one is contrary to the course of nature, since it is obvious then that each people ought to administer its own affairs, although peculiar circumstances may prevail to break through this general rule. The disadvantages, however, of a contrary system, are apparent only when any great deviation has taken place from the natural course of things. A multitude of all nations and languages, differing in manners and religion, are incapable of being governed by the same laws; and the consequence is, that arbitrary power usurps their place. The method of governing by satraps becomes

[12] For instance, among the Mongols. PALLAS, *Geschichte der Mongol. Völkerschaft.* vol. i. p. 185.

the only one by which these discordant elements can be ruled and kept together; and thus a system of despotism is established from one end of the empire to the other, and from the monarch to the lowest subject; the most potent despot not being sufficiently powerful to restrain his viceroys by the steady authority of law, though he may bow them beneath the yoke of force.

In the last place, the inseparable connexion, which we have had occasion to remark, between religion and legislation, must greatly embarrass, if not altogether obstruct, the development of a constitution. A new system of laws would have been equivalent to a change of religion; and even a partial modification of the former would have been looked upon as an innovation on the latter. The difficulties attending such innovations are obvious, but they must have been considerably increased when (as was often the case) not only the ceremonies of religion but those of the court were in the custody of a separate caste, whose interest it was to discourage any attempt to change.

These observations, however, are not sufficient to account for the most gloomy phenomenon in the history of the human race—the fact that the fairest and richest portion of the globe, where the mind of man might have been expected to attain its greatest maturity, has, in all ages, been condemned to perpetual slavery. . Admitting that the chains of the Asiatic nations were forged in their very infancy, and that the spirit of conquest only riveted them more firmly, still we may ask, how their strength came to be so impaired, that, in the periods of their greatest prosperity, they were unable to shake off a yoke which, to European nations, appears intolerable?

To answer this question we must go back a step, and seek the cause of the phenomenon in the defective constitution and condition, not of their civil institutions, but their domestic relations. For reasons, the discussion of which lies beyond the limits of the present researches, these are very different among the great nations of Central Asia from the manners of civilized Europe. Polygamy has at all times prevailed there; and polygamy, according to all the principles of our nature, has a tendency to promote unlimited despotism.

No one, who is aware how closely they are connected, can deny the influence which the better or worse condition of the domestic relations has on those of the society at large. The popular saying, that a republic to be permanent must be founded on virtue, appears to be only a consequence of the more general principle, that civil freedom is closely connected with morality; and that the one inevitably perishes with the other. Now there is no one custom more adverse to virtue in general, especially the domestic virtues, the chief sources of all true patriotism, than that of polygamy: by this many explain the phenomenon that no nation practising polygamy has ever attained to a true republican constitution, nor even that of a free monarchy.[13] Nay, it may be confidently asserted, that it would be unable to maintain a government of this kind even if presented with it.

Polygamy at once produces domestic tyranny, by making woman a slave and man a tyrant; and society at large thus becomes a combination, not of fathers of families, but of household tyrants, who by the practice of tyranny have been fitted to endure it. He who is tyrannical in authority will be abject in submission.

A plurality of wives also, as it diminishes conjugal tenderness, saps the foundations of parental attachment; and thereby impairs the interest which every member of the state should feel in its preservation and prosperity. The ideas of country and family, which among the Asiatics appear to have been always separated, if the first of them be not altogether wanting, have been ever closely associated in the minds of the nobler nations of Europe. Attachment to the one has always produced devotion to the other: the best father of a family has always proved the best citizen; and from this source has flowed, not only a respect for the authority of law and the magistrates, but that heroic courage and contempt of death which fired the rude inhabitant of ancient Germany, when fighting for his wife, his chil-

[13] That is, a nation in which polygamy is not only tolerated but established. Among the Greeks it was permitted, but never customary. I must content myself with merely indicating in this place, for the researches of others, another field of extensive interest, namely, the question how far polygamy and monogamy have influenced private law. If I am not mistaken, this might be made the foundation of an entirely new classification of legal enactments, which might lead to highly important conclusions.

dren, and his country, to rush upon the pikes of the Roman legions.

But the evil effects of polygamy have always been principally manifest in the higher classes, among whom the intrigues and jealousies of their wives are augmented in proportion to their number, and their common tyrant ends by becoming the slave of his wives and their eunuchs.

The government of a haram has always been the same, modified only by the casual influence of personal character; and we shall see in the course of the present inquiries, how minutely the interior of the courts of Susa and Persepolis corresponded with those of Ispahan and Constantinople, and how in every case the same causes were followed by the same consequences.

When a system of despotism was based on the general practice of polygamy, it is evident that the nations of the East could never hope to shake off the former, so long as their domestic relations continued unaltered. At the same time, they occasionally experienced the milder moments of despotism, whenever a prince of just and gentle character happened to ascend the throne.[14] The nature of their government, however, continued the same; and such as no single monarch, however excellent, could alter; because he must first have metamorphosed the entire nation, and rooted out ancient habits and manners, which it was out of his power to effect. If the above remarks appear to militate against the hypothesis of those who confidently expect a progressive improvement of the whole human race, they may at least confirm us in the agreeable assurance that Europe is secured by a more perfect state of morals from a despotism like those of the East. It is true that Europe has had her Neros; but not only was their tyranny of temporary duration, but the most tyrannical of her princes never dared to set all the forms of government at defiance. The characteristic feature of Asiatic despotism is this, that the monarch is taught to look upon his subjects, not as his people, but as his property, whom he is at liberty to dispose of according to his pleasure, except where religion may interpose some restraint. On the other hand, admitting that the tribunals of some of the most despotic rulers of modern Europe, (such, for example, as those of the Tudors and Stuarts,) as well as the revolutionary tribunals, (such as that of France,) were nothing more than legal *forms;* yet as such they were of some value, because they evinced the tacit acknowledgment on the part of the tyrant, that he was subject to the laws, instead of being elevated above them.

[14] The present Shah of Persia undoubtedly belongs to this class of kings, and yet it is remarkable that the English ambassadors have never been able to make him comprehend the limited nature of the royal authority in Great Britain. MORIER'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 215.

The same uniformity which we have already had occasion to remark in the constitutions of the Asiatic nations, is observable also in their commercial intercourse. Although travelling in Asia is less obstructed than in Africa, the character of internal commerce is much the same in both.

In Asia, as in Africa, it is scarcely possible for a traveller to journey in safety alone, and the consequence is, the formation of companies of merchants or caravans, such as we have already described. The length of the journey, extending frequently across desert steppes, and the lawless hordes which sometimes penetrate into more civilized districts and continually infest their borders, and whose rapacious dispositions can only be satisfied by forced and expensive contributions, make it necessary to travel in numbers sufficiently large to protect the travellers and their merchandise. The whole of Southern and Central Asia possesses, however, the invaluable gift of a beast of burden, without which these long and perilous journeys would be impracticable. The camel is found not only in the deserts of Arabia, but among the steppes of the Kirgees and Kalmucs, to the north of the Caspian.

The great rivers of Asia have, it is true, been also used as channels of commerce, but running principally through level tracts of pasture or steppes, their banks are unsupplied with wood fit for the purposes of ship-building; many districts also wanting iron; and these are probably the reasons why the river navigation of Asia has never attained a like importance with that of Europe.

The internal traffic of Asia has, in consequence, like that of Africa, been at all times principally carried on by land, and in the same manner. Still, as the general commerce

of Asia is vastly more considerable than that of the other continent, and the greater part of the countries engaged in it less uncivilized and inhospitable, we cannot be surprised at finding, that, in the former country, the arrangements for the convenience and furtherance of trade are much more numerous. Such are the public roads, and the caravanserais, or buildings for the reception of caravans. In great monarchies, erected like those of Asia by force of arms, the necessity for lines of military communication is soon sensibly felt, for the purpose of maintaining distant possessions, and insuring conquests already made, which can only be effected by keeping open the communications for the victorious armies. Accordingly, in the times of the Persians, no less than in those of the Mongols, we find that royal highways were established through the whole extent of conquered Asia; constructed with an amount of cost and labour which can only be commanded by despotic governments, having the power of concentrating on a single point all the energies and resources of their subjects.[15] It is true that such military highways are not to be always followed by the caravans, which naturally prefer short roads though more desert or difficult, but it is obvious that the internal commerce and communication of the empire at large must have been greatly facilitated by their establishment.

The institution of caravanserais may also be traced to times of remote antiquity; though it has been greatly promoted by the religion of Mohammed, which recommends the establishment of such edifices as a good work.[16] They are usually large quadrangular structures, enclosing an open court, on every side of which is disposed a single or double row of empty chambers, where the traveller is at liberty to take up his quarters for the night, being left to provide for his further accommodation as well as his food.[17] Even if the Asiatics had inns like those of Europe, these would not be sufficient to receive companies consisting of hundreds, nay, thousands, of travellers with their beasts of burden.

It was a necessary consequence of the fact, that the commerce of Asia was principally carried on by land, that it should be materially influenced by the political changes and revolutions which took place there. When new tribes of conquerors emerged from their deserts, and overthrew by their countless hordes an established empire, a revolution so complete could not but affect its commerce also. Nevertheless, it is a remark which the whole tenor of Asiatic history confirms, that, though often interrupted and modified, the commerce of the country was never entirely destroyed. On the contrary, it appears always to have resumed its original position with greater facility than could have been expected; nor are the causes difficult to discover. The victorious nation soon perceived the advantages to be derived from a continuance of the former state of things; the wants of the conquered soon became theirs also; the customs or presents extorted from the caravans which traversed their country enriched them or their chiefs; and it may be added, that a sort of taste for commerce and trade prevails even among the ruder tribes of Asia. Less injury was inflicted on commerce by these changes of dynasty and wars of victorious nations, than by the anarchy into which despotic governments are apt to be dissolved. On such occasions innumerable hordes of banditti are presently formed, which destroy all internal security — the restraint of a superior power having been removed. The anarchy and confusion which so long prevailed in the state of Persia, caused an almost absolute interruption of her commerce.

In this manner, with some partial modifications and occasional interruptions, the internal commerce of Asia continued on the whole the same, through all the mighty political revolutions which affected the interior, from the days of Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar to those of Ginghis-Khan and Timur. As the more recent dynasties were built on the same foundations with their predecessors, so their commerce also retained the same general character. Its principal seats remained unchanged; and the countries in which these were situated were at all times adorned with rich and flourishing cities; which, after the most cruel devastation, rose unimpaired from their ashes. The wants of men, whether natural or fictitious, are too mighty and pressing to be lastingly affected, far less annihilated, even by war or despotism. One

[15] See HEROD. v. 52, for a description of the royal roads of Persia; and compare Marco Polo's account of those of the Mongols, in RAMUSIO *Raccolta di Viaggi*, vol. ii. p. 30.

[16] Herodotus styles them καταλύσεις, loc. cit.

[17] *Voyages de Tavernier*, vol. i. p. 96.

event, however, has made a sensible epoch in the history of Asiatic commerce, and will, it is probable, always continue to influence it—the discovery of a passage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope. It is true, as we have already had occasion to remark, and shall prove more at length hereafter, that even at a very ancient period there existed a communication by sea between the shores of Arabia and Hindustan; and it is well known that this intercourse subsisted, although with some vicissitudes, during the Macedonian and Roman periods, as well as the Arabian and Venetian. But, even at the period of its greatest prosperity, this traffic bore no proportion to the vast land commerce of Asia, through which by far the greater part of the productions of the East, consumed in Europe, was conveyed to this quarter of the world by the ports of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas.

A total change ensued when the Europeans had discovered a way to the East Indies round Africa. Europe no longer received the commodities required through the accustomed channel of Central Asia, but obtained them direct from the southern coasts of that continent, (particularly those of Hindustan,) which from that time necessarily became the principal seats of commerce. In consequence, a large proportion of the internal commerce of the country became attracted to the situations frequented by the European fleets, which were thus rendered the marts for the productions required in the West. Nevertheless, the commerce of the interior continued to maintain itself, as long as the throne of the Persians and Mongols was occupied by princes who, with the love of conquest, possessed some relish for the arts of peace, and sufficient power to assure the safety of individuals within their empire. The iron despotism of the Turks, the anarchy of Persia, and the lawless inroads of the Afghans and Mahrattas on the north of Hindustan, first caused the almost utter ruin of the commerce of Central Asia, and converted into deserts the flourishing countries on the banks of the Euphrates and Indus; where the ruins of what were once royal cities are the only records of their former magnificence.

Of all the divisions of Asia, the Southern, containing the territory of Hindustan, is distinguished by the richness and

diversity of its productions. Here we not only find (with very few exceptions) all the products of other parts of civilized Asia, but so great a variety peculiar to its own climate, that it would appear as if a new and more beautiful creation had sprung up under the hand of nature. Nearly all the spices, which become necessary to mankind in exact proportion to the progress of luxury and refinement, have at all times been peculiar to this region; while two of the most important articles used in clothing, viz. cotton and silk, were first produced here, and continue to be so in an especial degree, though their cultivation has been gradually extended to other countries. These natural advantages have rendered this quarter the principal seat of Asiatic commerce; its productions have flowed from the east to the west in a continual stream; and notwithstanding some occasional deviations in its branches, the main current has never been dried up. The influence which an intercourse with India may have had on the civilization of mankind, is a question worthy the close attention of the philosophical student of history; and one which, notwithstanding the important illustrations it has of late received, has been by no means sufficiently elucidated. It is of the greatest consequence to ascertain the channels through which, at various periods, it found its way, or into which it was conducted; and the whole course of history tends to prove, that the countries which became the staples or the depôts of this commerce, uniformly attained a high degree of opulence and refinement; which, however, gradually changed the habits and corrupted the manners of their inhabitants; at the same time that these were softened, sowing among them the seeds of luxury, and consequently of decline and ruin. The result of this dispensation of Providence (by which the parts of the earth most remote with respect to Europe have been enriched with the most costly and highly valued, though not the most necessary productions) has been, the mutual intercourse and civilization of nations; which, if they had continued unconnected, would have remained still in their infancy, as must be the case with all isolated nations, even if by some strong instinctive effort they succeed in emerging from their original barbarism.

These general observations may enable us to follow with

confidence the light which they throw on the course of ancient commerce, as carried on through the interior of Asia, previous to the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. We have already remarked, that the nature of caravan communication requires the establishment of certain staples, or marts for intermediate commerce, from which articles of trade may be forwarded to other countries. Without such resting-places, how was it possible for the laden camel to journey from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean? Or how otherwise could the inhabitant of the interior receive his allotment of the productions of more fruitful countries to supply his necessities?

Staples of this kind appear to have been marked out, as it were, by the hand of Nature herself, and therefore remained the same, as long as Asiatic commerce continued to flourish. Of this kind were the countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, particularly Babylonia, as well as those upon the Oxus, Bactra and Samarcand; and, lastly, the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.

Babylonia was the emporium for the whole of Western Asia, and consequently for the nations of Europe and Asia Minor. We shall have occasion, in another place, to describe at length the admirable situation and peculiar advantages of this district. A considerable portion of the raw produce of India was manufactured here, to which were added the productions of Babylonia itself, the fertility of whose soil, in ancient times, almost surpasses belief.

The territories of Bactra and Maracanda, comprised under the modern appellation of Great Bucharia, are no less important in the history of ancient commerce. They were the depôts of the wares of Northern Asia, as well of those imported from China and Tangut, across the desert of Cobi, as of those brought through the mountains from Great Thibet, and those which were conveyed from India to the Caspian. These were the first resting-places for the caravans arriving from those various countries; and consequently these districts, and others lying under the same latitude, to the west of the Caspian, became the natural markets of the various tribes of Central and Northern Asia; which being more or less acquainted with the productions of the south, have at all times resorted hither to supply their

wants. We must not be surprised therefore at discovering on this frontier of the nomad districts, (an expression which may be explained by what we have already remarked,) a great extent of internal commerce, and a no less astonishing variety in its inhabitants.

Lastly, the sea coasts of the Mediterranean, particularly the countries of Phœnicia and Asia Minor, were the natural marts for all the oriental merchandise destined for the ports of Europe and Africa. The inhabitants, whether Greeks or Asiatics, were disposed by the situation of their country to a seafaring life; and their harbours became the places of exchange for the three quarters of the globe, where the silver of Spain, and the amber of Prussia, were bartered for the spices of Hindustan, and the frankincense of Arabia. Their territories consequently became the richest in the world; and, previous to the erection of the Persian monarchy, were adorned by a multitude of flourishing commercial cities, which formed an almost unbroken line from the straits of Byzantium to the confines of Egypt; presenting a picture of prosperity, only to be paralleled at the present day by the cities of North America.

If the above remarks may have the effect of throwing some light on the general course and character of Asiatic commerce, this will be increased by considering what were the principal objects of that traffic in ancient times, compared with the present. We too often find ourselves without the information necessary to follow the course of trade into the most remote regions; but when we meet with the mention of articles which are unquestionably peculiar to certain countries, we are warranted in concluding that a communication then existed with those countries, though we may be unable to define its nature and extent. A piece of sugar, or a morsel of pepper, in a neglected corner of a village inn, would be a certain proof of the trade with either Indies, even if we possessed no other evidence of the commerce of the Dutch and English with those countries.

Notwithstanding the multiplicities of the natural productions of Asia, I hope to be able to illustrate the principal articles of her commerce under the following heads.

I. Precious commodities, including gold and silver, as well as precious stones and pearls.

II. Articles used in clothing: wool, cotton, silk, and furs.

III. Spices and aromatics.

I. We cannot avoid being struck by the prodigious abundance in Central Asia of the precious metals, particularly gold, whether in ancient or modern times; and the proofs of this fact, under the dynasty of the ancient Persians, no less than that of Arabians and Mongols, are too authentic to leave room for any reasonable doubt. It has been the constant taste of the Asiatics to employ their gold, not so much in coinage, as in ornaments of every sort, and embroidery. The thrones of their princes, the furniture of their palaces, and especially all that belongs to the service of the royal table, from the time of Solomon to the present day, have been fashioned of massive gold; their weapons have been always thus decorated, and dresses, or carpets, embroidered with gold, have been at all times among the most valued commodities of the East.[18] This splendour was not a prerogative confined to the Persian monarchs alone, as if they had bought up the gold in every part of their dominions to dazzle the eyes of their subjects. The same practice prevailed through all the gradations of that system of despotism. The satraps were comparatively as wealthy as their master, and their inferior officers again in the like proportion.[19] We meet also with occasional instances of private individuals possessed of immense wealth;[20] and, according to Herodotus, even a pastoral nation of Eastern Asia had most of its utensils of gold.[21] We are naturally tempted to inquire where the mines were situated from which this mighty continent was so abundantly supplied with that precious metal?

Gold and silver, as far as we know, are exclusively the productions of mountainous regions, from which they are sometimes carried down by the torrents which rise there, and finally collected or washed from the sands in which they are deposited. Flat countries, however much they may be favoured by nature in other respects, produce no gold; of

[18] Compare the account of CHARDIN, ii. p. 370, with XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 215. ed. LEUNCL. The descriptions given by both authors, of the riches and splendour of the Persian kings, so closely resemble each other, that they would seem to have proceeded from the pens of contemporaries.

[19] See HEROD. i. 192.

[20] Ibid. vii. 27.

[21] The Massagetæ, HEROD. i. 215.

which the rich alluvial tract of Bengal is an instance, though the contrary opinion has been entertained by many. On the other hand, if we follow the great mountain ranges of Asia, and compare the evidence they afford with the express testimony of antiquity, we shall be led to the following conclusions:

The mountains of Asia appear to become more abundant in this metal the nearer they approach the east. The western parts of the continent are sparingly endowed with it; while it appears to be accumulated in the eastern.

Asia Minor, it is true, contains the mountain of Tmolus, the gold of which is carried down by the streams of the Pactolus and Mæander; but we have no proof that mines were ever worked there. The produce, however, of the gold sand collected there by the process of washing, (and which appears to have mainly contributed to fill the treasury of the Lydian kings,[22]) seems to have been considerable; though small in comparison with the wealth of other Asiatic monarchies. The heights of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian, contain, it is true, a portion of the precious metals; but, as far as we know, more silver than gold.[23] The former was obtained there by mining, even in times of remote antiquity: the latter is not mentioned as having been found there; unless we choose (with some of the ancients) to explain, in this sense, the traditional expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece.

The continuation of the chain of Taurus, through Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, and Persia Proper, as far as the borders of Bactriana, or Great Bucharia, although not altogether devoid of this metal, is by no means rich in it. At all events we have no evidence from history that mines were ever worked there with tolerable success.[24]

The first chain of Asiatic mountains abounding in gold, appears to commence on the eastern borders of Great Bucharia, where the range of Taurus divides into two branches, encompassing Little Bucharia and the desert of Cobi. The streams which, on their descent from these mountains, take a westerly direction, or, flowing to the east, lose themselves

[22] HEROD. vi. 125. Cf. STRABO, p. 928.

[23] STRABO, p. 826. MÜLLER, *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 14.

[24] CHARDIN, vol. ii. p. 28.

in the sands of the desert, all carry down gold; a proof that rich veins of that metal exist in the bosom of the mountains; accordingly these mountains, as well as the adjacent districts of Great Bucharia on one side, and the desert to the east, have, at all times, been renowned for their productiveness in gold; but especially, as we shall have occasion to show, during the dynasty of the Persians, the gold of this country was collected by their tributaries, the inhabitants of Northern India.[25]

The more easterly portions of the Tauric range also abound in gold, as we know to be the case with the mountains of Great Thibet, of China, Siam, Cochin-China, and Malacca.[26] The fact, however, is all that we know; these countries continuing to be for the most part very imperfectly explored by Europeans. During the Persian era they were altogether unknown; the geography of Herodotus terminating with the desert of Cobi and the adjacent mountains.

We must conclude, therefore, that the only territories of the southern half of Asia known to the ancients as abounding in gold, were Lydia, and the mountains which form the boundaries of Great and Little Bucharia; and with respect to the latter of these two districts, we have the express evidence of Herodotus, that the gold was not only collected by washing, but by the process of mining.[27] Yet it is evident that the produce of these gold countries, however considerable, (and the amount may in some degree be estimated by the tribute paid by the Indians,) bore no proportion to the quantity of gold then existing in Asia. Whence then were these treasures derived? Did they come from the south-easterly parts of the continent already referred to? Or were the mines of Siberia worked at that early period? Let us first examine this last supposition.

The discoveries of the Russians have proved that the range of hills which, under the name of Altai, divide Siberia from Great Tartary, are not without gold. In this case also we find a confirmation of the remark already made, that the eastern branch of these mountains, the highest and most extensive, is also the most abundant in gold. The Russian gold mines begin on the other side of the sea of Baikal, and are situated principally in the province of Nertchinsk, along the river Onon, which empties itself into the Amoor; being worked by the inhabitants of those districts, the Daourians and Tungusians.[28] The Tungusian country, which lies to the east, and is subject to China, contains a continuation of the same chain of mountains, and has at all times been celebrated for its productiveness in gold.[29]

[25] Herod. iii. 102. Cf. Abulgazi, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 388 *(et ibi not.)*: Müller, *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, iv. p. 183; Bruce, *Mémoire*, p. 123, *etc.*

[26] Rochon, *Voyage à Madagascar et aux Indes*, p. 297.

[27] Herod. iii. 106.

We have already remarked that the Altaic range, with the adjacent regions, particularly towards the east, was, in ancient times, beyond the limits of certain and ascertained geographical knowledge. We must be content, therefore, with a probable instead of a positive reply as to the question whether these mines were anciently worked or not: some traces, however, of such operations appear as early as the dynasty of the Persians.

As the first proof, it may be observed that we find many of the nomad tribes of Northern Asia to have possessed an abundance of gold, such as the Massagetæ to the north-east of the Caspian, whose utensils were made of this metal; and still further to the north, the Arimaspians, of whom the fable was, that they obtained their gold by stealth from the griffins.

Secondly, Herodotus describes the north of Europe as being very rich in gold. "In the north of Europe" (he says) "there appears to be by far the greatest abundance of gold: where it is found I cannot say, except that the Arimaspians, a race of men having only one eye, are said to purloin it from the griffins. I do not, however, believe that there exists any race of men born with only one eye."[30] It

[28] See Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, s. 204. By recent statements we have been furnished with the means of ascertaining the revenue of the Russian mines, in gold and silver. The former is estimated at 1600lbs. (40 poods), the latter at 50,000lbs. (1250 poods). See the tables of the classical work of M. Von Hermann, *On the Importance of the Russian Mines*. As the revenue of these mines is not more than this, even at the present day, notwithstanding they are worked scientifically, both in the Uralian and Altaic chain, it is probable that anciently it was still less considerable.

[29] Müller's *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 200, *etc.*

[30] Herod. iii. 116.

must be remembered that Herodotus considered the Euxine, the Caspian, and the river Phasis, as the boundaries of Europe and Asia, and consequently by the north of Europe, we must understand, in this place, the whole of what we denominate Siberia; the vast extent of which continued unknown to Herodotus, but concerning which he believed in general that it stretched eastward to the centre of Asia, and consequently exceeded in size that quarter of the globe. His expression, therefore, "the north of Europe," may be applied also to the north of Asia. If, however, we confine his meaning to Europe, properly so called, we must believe him to refer to the Carpathian mountains, which even at the present day exceed all the other mountainous parts of Europe in their productiveness of gold, and the Agathyrsi, a nation situated in their vicinity, are described by him as having abundance of this metal.[31] This last interpretation, however, appears to be contradicted by the fact, that Herodotus is contrasting the north with the west of Europe, and is, therefore, much more probably speaking of Asia, than of a part of Europe which, relatively to Greece, might be considered as lying to the north-west. It must be added, that another passage of the historian evidently fixes the country of the Arimaspians in the north-east of Asia.[32]

Thirdly, we know from recent authority, that in the Siberian mountains are found a multitude of ancient mines, where the operations of mining appear to have been carried on at a very remote period in the same manner as at present. These ancient mines, however, are now nothing more than mere excavations, like the Daourian mines in the province of Nertchinsk.[33] Supposing, however, that our hypothesis be correct, and that the mines of Siberia were worked at a very remote period, this fact proves nothing in favour of those who maintain that the north of Asia was anciently inhabited by a highly civilized people. On the contrary, it is easy to perceive that mining operations of the kind in question may have been carried on by a rude, and even by a nomad nation: no sort of scientific knowledge being required, nor any thing more than a few simple instruments, and a determined spirit of gain.

[31] Herod. iv. 104. [32] Ibid. iv. 27.
[33] Georgi, *Beschreibung, etc.* 204.

At all events, it is evident from the quantity of gold of which we have proofs under the dynasty of the Persians, that the intercourse which then subsisted with the gold countries (whether in Southern or Northern Asia, or in both) was much more considerable than the express testimony of history would lead us to conclude. If it should be thought that Asia, after all, was insufficient to produce so large a quantity of this metal, the observations which we shall have occasion to make on its commerce with the gold countries of Africa will tend to remove this difficulty. But when we consider the flourishing condition of the countries between the Ganges and the Indus during the Persian period; when we remember that Persia bordered on Hindustan, and that the communication between them was open and unimpeded; it becomes at least no improbable supposition, that the utmost regions of the East may even then have contributed their supplies of gold for the general commerce of the world.

Those who are acquainted with Asia must be still more surprised with the prodigious quantity of silver which existed there, as early as the times of the Persian monarchy. The tribute was collected in silver, except in the cases of the Ethiopians and Indians;[34] and silver used, though not so abundantly as gold, for purposes of decoration. At the same time, silver mines are of much rarer occurrence in Asia than those of gold, and the mountain district where this metal is found in the greatest abundance is the western portion of Caucasus, or the country of the Chalybes, which is celebrated on this account by the author of the Iliad:[35]

"From Alybe remote, whence comes the silver ore."

The inhabitants of this district have been at all times engaged in mining; and many ages afterwards, when the Genoese were masters of the Black Sea, they also opened some mines, of which the traces still continue.[36] Besides this

[34] Herod. iii. 95. [35] Homer, *Il.* ii. 856.
[36] Müller's *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, ii. 14. Also on the northern coast of Asia Minor, near the site of the ancient Amisus (Hodie Samsoon). See *Porter's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 696. Attempts have been made to work these mines afresh.

district, we know that Bactriana anciently possessed silver mines of very considerable depth.[37]

Silver is also found in the mines of Siberia, in China, or Southern Asia; but the large annual importations of this metal from Europe, made in consequence of the high price it bears in the East, sufficiently prove that it is found there in very small quantities. We may, therefore, conclude with certainty, that the greater portion of the silver possessed of old by the Asiatic nations was imported; nor can there be much question respecting the channel of its importation.

The richest land in silver then known was the south of Spain, at that time possessed by the Phœnicians. The latter derived no less an abundance of this metal from their Spanish colonies, than the Spaniards have done from their South American possessions; and by means of their traffic in the interior of Asia it was disseminated through all that continent. The extent of their land-traffic would therefore be sufficiently proved by the vast abundance of this precious metal in the Persian empire; even if there were no express testimony to the fact.

With respect to the less precious metals, it is sufficient in this place to remark, that the nomad tribes to the east of the Caspian possessed, even in the time of the Persians, the use of brass or iron, as is proved by the description Herodotus has given of their military accoutrements.[38] Does not this circumstance give countenance to the supposition, that even at that period the country between the Arctic mountains and the Altaic range was not altogether unexplored?

The taste for precious stones was no less universal in Asia than that for the precious metals; and may be traced, as appears by the decorations of the Jewish hierarchy, to a

[37] Ctesias, *Indica*, c. ii.; who asserts that they are deeper than those of India. Traces of such mines, of great depth, from which gold and silver ores had been extracted, are to be found in the mountain of Waisli-Kara, in the territory of Chiwa, near the river Oxus or Jihoon. See *Allg. Geogr. Ephem.* August, 1804, p. 447. Morier assures us that they are still worked, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 238. The same author informs us that the greater part of the silver met with in Persia comes from the mines of Bucharia and Aderbijan.

[38] Of the Massagetæ Herodotus relates, that they have no iron, but are acquainted with the use of brass, which is very abundant in their country. As for the other nations of this quarter of Asia, which formed part of the army of Xerxes, he mentions their pikes, swords, daggers, etc., but does not say of what metal they were made.

period anterior to the Persian monarchy. They were employed not only as ornaments, and to embellish furniture, but still more to be engraved as signets. This usage appears especially to have prevailed among the Babylonians; every one of whom, according to Herodotus, possessed an ornament of this description.[39] It is probable that the Medes and Persians borrowed this practice from the Babylonians; which they carried so far as to ornament the hilts of their poignards and cimeters, their armlets and chains, their cloths, and even the accoutrements of their horses, with precious stones.[40] We frequently find the sardine stone, the onyx, the sardonyx, the emerald, and the sapphire, to have been employed in this manner; but the labours of the learned have shown the extreme difficulty there is in ascertaining the true application of these terms.[41] Mineralogists admit that the sapphire can be no other than the lapis lazuli,[42] but the question is more difficult as respects the smaragdus, or emerald, which appears to be frequently confounded with a species of fluor-spar.[43] The name of sardine stone appears to be a generic one, comprehending all the finer species of hornstones or agates, of various colours, according to which they appear, in part at least, to have been classed. The red were denominated cornelians; the white, from resembling the colour of the nail, onyxes; and those compounded of both, sardonyxes.[44] To the same class belonged the chalcedony, etc.

The further discussion of such questions I must leave to mineralogists, and content myself with endeavouring to point out the quarters from which these precious minerals were derived. My observations respecting the Carthaginian commerce may have proved that a great proportion of them, particularly those denominated chalcedonies, were obtained

[39] Herod. i. 195.

[40] Arrian. vol. vi. 29.

[41] Considerable progress has, however, been made in this respect since the appearance of the first edition of this work, by the edition of *Marbodus de Gemmis*, by Beckmann. The researches of the Count von Veltheim, in his *vermischte Schriften*, and the controversy between MM. von Köhler and Brückmann, have brought the question to nearly as complete a settlement as appears possible.

[42] Beckmann, *Gesch. der Erfind.* iii. 182, sqq.

[43] Ibid. iii. 297, sqq. M. von Veltheim, *Ueber die Statue des Memnons, und Neros Smaragd.*

[44] Brückmann, *Ueber den Sarder, Onyx und Sardonyx*, p. 3.

from the interior of Africa, by means of the caravan-trade of that nation. It is no less certain that the emerald has been discovered in the mountains of Upper Egypt, and upon an island in the Arabian Gulf; and the finest description of emerald is called by the Persians, the Egyptian. At present we are only concerned with Asia, which also abounded in these precious stones; but, as we have had occasion to remark with respect to her gold mines, the eastern parts of the continent were more plentifully endowed with these treasures than the western.

According to Tavernier, who has been the first modern traveller to describe them with accuracy, diamond mines (properly so called) are first met with on the eastern coast of Hindustan, in the kingdom of Golconda.[45] The antiquity of these mines is very doubtful; and, as far as I know, diamonds, properly so called, are no where mentioned by the Grecian authors contemporary with the dynasty of the Per-

[45] TAVERNIER, vol. ii. p. 267, sqq. Tavernier mentions only three diamond mines; that at Raolconda near Visiapoor; that of Coloor, in Circars, at present forming part of the British dominion, about fifteen miles from Masulipatam, where about sixty thousand men, according to that traveller, were then employed (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 278); and lastly, that at Sumelpoor or Guel, on the south-west boundary of Bengal. These are marked upon a map of Rennel, communicated to me by Blumenbach, together with the following: One at Gandicotta in the territory of Tippoo Saib, about one hundred and forty miles north-west of Madras, between Gooti and Cuddapah. Another at Beiragoor, seventy miles south of Sumelpoor or Sumbelpoor, also set down in Rennell's map; and a third, at the upper portion of the peninsula near a place called Pannah, about seventy miles south-west of Allahabad on the Ganges. We are indebted for the best information respecting the present state of the diamond mines of the peninsula to the lamented BENJ. HEYNE, in his *Tracts Historical and Statistical on India*, London, 1814; see treatise II. *Account of the Diamond Mines in India.* The author speaks only of the mines which he himself visited; in number four or five. The first lies in Circars, near the village of Mallevilly, sixteen miles in a direction W. S. W. from Ellora in Circars. This still belongs to the Nizam. Another near Cuddaza on the river Pannar, which has been worked for centuries. It is still worked, but appears almost exhausted. Then comes, at no great distance, the chain of hills of Gandicotta, where the mines are little more than deep pits, the operation of mining being very clumsily carried on, and more as a matter of chance than science. Respecting the mine of Pannah in Bengal, the best account is contained in WALTER HAMILTON'S *Description of Hindustan*, vol. ii. p. 325. The diamonds are there separated from the earth by the process of washing. Though this mine lies within the immediate possessions of the English, the right of obtaining the diamonds is conceded to the Rajah. This last mine is the most important to the student of antiquity, as proving that a diamond mine existed in the parts of India then known to the ancients. The district of Pannah belonged to the territory of the Prasii, the most powerful of all the Indian tribes, whose chief town Palibothra, near Patna, has been looked upon as the capital of all India.

sians; but among the inhabitants of Hindustan they were used from the most remote period, as I shall have an opportunity of showing in the portion of my work relative to that country. As for the other precious stones already enumerated; a passage among the fragments of a contemporary writer, Ctesias, throws considerable light on the question of their origin. "Ctesias," (says Photius in his *Excerpta*,) "in his description of India, speaks of the gigantic dogs of that country, as well as of the great mountain where the mines are situated from which the sardine, the onyx, and other precious stones, are procured, which are used as signet rings. They occur on the boundaries of the Great Desert, in which, at the distance of ten days' journey, is a temple of the Sun."[46]

It is probable that the mountains here meant are those on the confines of Little Bucharia.[47] Ctesias, as well as Herodotus, describes only the northern part of India, the part with which the Persians were acquainted, lying east of Bactriana; that is, the mountainous range of Mus-tag, or Imaus, which, as we have already remarked, was fruitful in gold. The observations of modern travellers have proved that these mountains abound also in other precious minerals, particularly the lapis lazuli, which is no where else found in such perfection. Of this we find evidence as early as the writings of Marco Polo, and the trade in this mineral, and its high price, have at all times attracted attention.[48] The missionary Goez, who travelled from India to China through Little Bucharia, in the year 1605, has given us still more ample information respecting the same. Precious stones, particularly the jasper and lapis lazuli, form the principal articles of commerce of this country,[49] and so profitable is

[46] CTESIAS, *Indica*, cap. 5.

[47] On the other hand, the COUNT VON VELTHEIM, in his Treatise On the Onyx-mountains of Ctesias, (*Sammlung vermischt. Schriften*, ii. p. 237,) endeavours to prove that by these are meant the Bala-Ghaut, not far from Berodh in the Deccan. In my observations on the commerce of the Babylonians, I shall have occasion to return to this subject. I do not mean to deny that onyxes may have been obtained from this quarter, but I do not believe it to be the mountain to which Ctesias must be understood to refer.

[48] MARCO POLO, apud RAMUS. ii. 10: compare ABULGAZI-KHAN, *Hist. des Tartares*, 388, 416, and BECKMANN, l. c.

[49] *Allgemeine historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*, B. vii. p. 544, 549. According to GOEZ this must be the celebrated stone *Yu* or *Yu-she*, (thus it ought to be written, instead of *Tu-she*, as is observed in a note,) of which, according to a recent author, (HAGER, *Panthéon Chinois*, p. 82,) the *Vasa Murrhina* are made. But the name of *Yu* appears to be as indeter-

this trade as speedily to enrich those who prosecute it. We gain by this a proof, that as early as the Persian monarchy Little Bucharia was the seat of an active commerce; and the mention of a temple of the Sun in the midst of the desert of Cobi, (by which, agreeably to oriental usages, we must understand a caravanserai, erected under the protection of a neighbouring temple,) affords us perhaps the earliest indication of a trade with China.

Lastly, pearls have been at all times esteemed one of the most valued commodities of the East. Their modest splendour and simple beauty appear to have captivated the orientals, even more than the dazzling brilliancy of the diamond, and have made them (probably in consequence of some secret sympathy) at all times the favourite ornament of despotic princes. In the West, the passion for this elegant luxury was at its height about the period of the extinction of Roman freedom; and they were valued, in Rome and Alexandria, as highly as precious stones. In Asia this taste was of more ancient date, and may be traced to a period anterior to the Persian dynasty; nor has it ever declined. A string of pearls of the largest size, is an indispensable part of the decorations of an eastern despot: it was thus that Tippoo was adorned when he fell before the gates of his capital; and it is thus that the present ruler of the Persians is usually decorated. It is well known that at present pearls are fished up principally in the Persian Gulf, and along the shores of Ceylon, and of the peninsula of Hindustan; and these also appear to have been the quarters from which they were derived of old. Nearchus, the commander of Alexander's fleet, makes mention of a pearl-fishery off the islands in the Persian Gulf, observing, "that pearls were fished up here as well as in the Indian Ocean;"[50] by which last expression we must, beyond question, understand the strait between Taprobana or Ceylon, and the southernmost point of the mainland of India, Cape Comorin; whence Europeans, at present even, derive their principal supplies of these costly natural productions.

It is a much more difficult, but at the same time more important point, to ascertain the various materials for clothing which were then known to the East; not that there is any lack of passages in ancient authors referring to this topic, but because the expressions employed are not so technically accurate as to enable us to determine with certainty the article meant. At the same time, some of the most important questions respecting Asiatic commerce depend upon our interpretation of these passages. Materials for clothing, either raw or manufactured, have at all times been one of the most important articles of exportation produced by the East, to which we are indebted for the most costly of these commodities. Besides cotton and silk, at one time peculiar to her, the East produces the finest wool, camels' hair, and that of the Angora goat, and hemp, at least equal to any known in Europe. The value of these materials has been at all times greatly enhanced by the beauty of the dyes, in which the East always surpassed the rest of the world; possessing a variety of the materials for dyeing such as no other region can boast.

The above subjects would require each of them a separate treatise to enable us to do them justice: in a general work like the present, nothing more than the general results of such inquiries can be looked for.

There is no doubt that the use of cotton, as early as the Persian monarchy, was not only known in Asia, but very extensively adopted; of which Herodotus himself furnishes proofs. He was aware that it came from India, where it formed the habitual dress of the inhabitants;[51] and mentions it in several parts of his work, as being worn by the Egyptians and Persians, as well as the Indians. The *sindones byssinæ* of the Persians,[52] were certainly cotton garments, as appears from a passage of Theophrastus presently to be cited; and Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians wrapped their mummies in cerements made of the same stuff;[53] which assertion is best illustrated by recent observations made on existing mummies, proving these cerements to be of cotton.[54]

minate among the Chinese as that of several precious stones among ourselves. See *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, vol. vi. p. 259: from which it is evident that stones of all colours were thus denominated by the Chinese.

[50] ARRIANI *Indica*, p. 194, ed. STEPH.

[51] HEROD. iii. 106. "The trees in their woods bear a species of wool, which for beauty and goodness surpasses that of the sheep. The Indians use this for clothing."

[52] HEROD. vii. 181. [53] HEROD. ii. 86. (*σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι.*)

[54] BLUMENBACH, *Observations on some Egyptian Mummies*, p. 12.

If we add, that Herodotus appears, particularly when describing the dress of the Egyptian priests,[55] to have used the term *linen* to express *cotton*, we may conclude that the use of dresses of this material was very generally adopted even beyond the confines of India. To these proofs must be added the decisive testimony of an excellent writer and naturalist, Theophrastus; belonging indeed to a later epoch, but contemporary with Aristotle and Alexander, and who probably derived his information from more direct sources, perhaps from the testimony of Nearchus.[56] He tells us, "That in the island of Tylos, situated in the Persian Gulf, are large plantations of the cotton tree, (*Gossypium arboreum*, Linn.,) from which are manufactured clothes called *sindones*, of very different degrees of value, some being costly, others less expensive. The use of these is not confined to India, but extends to Arabia" (meaning, it is probable, Babylonia, or Irak-Arabi). After these express testimonies, no further evidence appears necessary to prove the universal use of cotton at that period. It is true that Herodotus tells us that India was its native soil, but it appears to have been also cultivated in the islands of the Persian Gulf, in Arabia, and probably in Egypt; and that the manufacture of it formed a considerable branch of ancient commerce.[57]

It is much more difficult to determine whether the use of silk as an article of dress was then known to the East; and to what extent it prevailed. Neither Herodotus, nor any other writer contemporary with the Persian empire, mentions by name either the silk-worm or the stuffs manufactured from its thread. The term of *Serica*, the name of the Seres, afterwards so familiar, were then unknown, and Strabo is the first Grecian geographer, of those whose works have come down to us, by whom they are alluded to. Yet we are not without evidence which makes it highly probable that an extensive use of silks may have existed in Asia from a very remote period.

[55] HEROD. ii. 37. The express testimony of other authors would prove that the dress of the Egyptian priests was not of linen but of cotton. Cf. FOSTER, *De Bysso*, p. 85.

[56] THEOPH. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9.

[57] An excellent account of the different species of cotton trees known to the ancients may be found in FOSTER, *De Bysso Antiquarum*, p. 38, sqq. Compare BECKMANN'S *Beiträge zur Waaren-kunde*, i.

If it were certain that the Hebrew words translated "silk" in the Old Testament, really had this signification, we should need no further proof of this fact. Who does not remember, from Luther's version, "the silken curtains of the temple, the silken cords of the tabernacle, and the silken garments of the men of Tyre?" But as the true rendering of the original in these cases cannot be determined with certainty, and as most interpreters deny the possibility of silk being meant, we are compelled to seek for other evidence. Let the following observation be premised.

It is incorrect to suppose that the silk-worm with which we are familiar is the only animal of the species whose labours are capable of being converted into an article of dress, and actually are so employed. Asia produces a variety of insects of the same class, and there is no doubt that the web of many of them was used, even in ancient times, as a material for clothing.[58] But when we consider that the descriptions of the insect in question are seldom scientifically exact, and incapable of being so, we may clearly perceive the difficulty of defining whether, by the term Bombyx, is meant the insect with which we are acquainted, or another. However interesting, therefore, this question may be to the naturalist, it is of less importance to the historian of ancient commerce, who may well be content with more general conclusions.

The first Grecian author who has made mention of the silk-worm, and described its metamorphosis, is Aristotle in his Natural History.[59] His account, however, does not tally with the silk-worm known in Europe, and it is probable that he had another species in view, though his commentators are by no means agreed on this point. He tells us that the web of this insect was wound off by women, and afterwards woven, and names a certain Pamphyle, of Cos, as the inventress of this art. Whence then was the raw material derived? The Grecian philosopher does not expressly inform us, but Pliny,[60] who has translated his words, and perhaps had a more accurate copy before him than we possess, speaks of Assyrian, that is, Asiatic silk, and interprets in

[58] WALTER HAMILTON, *Description of Hindustan*, p. 29, relates the same in his account of Bengal, in the present day.

[59] ARISTOT. *Hist. Nat.* v. 19.

[60] PLINY, xi. c. 22, 23.

this manner the obscure expressions of Aristotle. "The Grecian women," he says, "unravel the silken stuffs imported from Asia, and then weave them anew; whence that fine tissue, of which frequent mention is made by the Roman poets under the name of *Coan vests*." A celebrated scholar understands this passage as implying that all the Asiatic garments, described as silken, were in fact only half composed of silk, and supposes that the Grecian women separated the two materials of which they consisted, and that, the cotton woof having been withdrawn, the texture was filled up with silk alone:[61] an interpretation which, though favoured by the passage of Pliny, is inconsistent with the expressions of Aristotle, as they have come down to us.[62]

However this may be, and whether the silk was derived from the insect with which we are acquainted, or another, it is certain that a trade with Asia in silk existed as early as the days of Aristotle; as stuffs of that material were to be found even in Greece, though perhaps in small quantities. As for the extent and magnitude of this commerce in the interior of Asia, it will be sufficiently illustrated by what I have occasion to say respecting certain dresses, which I consider to have been of silk, namely, those denominated *Median*. These dresses were not worn by the Medes alone, but adopted from them by the Persians, and again the custom was borrowed from them by several neighbouring nations, whose costume Herodotus has described. If we were only sure that these dresses, so often alluded to, were really of silk, the antiquity and extent of the Asiatic trade in that article would be at once manifest: and if we suppose that, instead of being entirely of silk, they were only half silk, (as is the case in many countries of the East,) still these particulars would remain equally certain.

On these points, however, we must not expect more than a certain degree of probability. In the absence of any express contemporaneous authority, we are left to conclude,

[61] Foster, *De Bysso Antiq.* p. 16.

[62] Salmasius (*ad Solinum*, p. 101) has shown that Pliny misunderstood Aristotle, and put a construction of his own upon his words. The Greek, "Τὰ βομβύκια ἀναλύουσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναπηνιζομέναι, κἄπειτα ὑφάινουσι," means nothing more than, "females wind off the web of the silk-worm, and then weave the threads;" not, as Pliny would interpret it, "unravel the texture of the dress, and then weave it over again."

from a comparison of various circumstances, that the dresses in question were of silk. It is clear, from the testimony of contemporary authors, that these Medish dresses formed a peculiar description of clothing, distinguished above all other articles of dress with which the Greeks were acquainted, by the beauty, the variety, and, as it were, the play and splendour of their colours.[63] The use of them was confined to the rich and great, and accounted an article of luxury. A Medish robe and cimeter, a chain of gold, and a richly caparisoned horse, were the customary marks of distinction bestowed on their favourites by the kings of Persia; just as at present is the caftan, which also is always of silk.[64] It may also be observed, that the same dresses which were denominated by the Greeks *Median*, were styled by Roman poets *Assyrian*.[65] Now it is unquestionable, that by the latter were meant silken dresses, Assyria, like Media, being the term employed by writers imperfectly acquainted with its geography, to denote the whole of Central Asia, whence silken stuffs were derived; these writers neither knowing nor suspecting that they came from a distance so immense as Serica, properly so called, on the confines of China, or even from China itself. To these arguments must be added the express testimony of a credible, though more recent author. Procopius,[66] speaking of the introduction of silk into Europe, says, "From this web are manufactured the dresses which the Greeks denominated Median, and which are now called *Seric* (or silken)." To myself these proofs appear conclusive, but I leave the point for others to decide; abstaining in this, as in every other part of my work, from maintaining as a certainty what, after all, may be hypothetical. I hope to recur once more to this question.

The finest description of wool, manufactured principally in Babylonia and the Phœnician states, was the production of many parts of Asia. Herodotus[67] himself has given us a description of the Arabian sheep, distinguishing the two sorts of which the breed is composed, that with a long, and

[63] Zenoph. *Cyrop. Opp.* p. 213.

[64] Xenoph. *Anab.* i. p. 249. Compare the accurate description of the Persian *Khilat* in Morier, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 93; and the immutability of Asiatic customs will very strikingly appear.

[65] See the quotations apud Foster, loc. cit.

[66] Procop. *Persic.* i. 18.

[67] Herod. iii. 113.

that with a broad tail. In the mountains also of Northern India, the district of Belur, or the vicinity of Cashmire, were found then, as at present, large flocks of sheep, which constituted the wealth of the inhabitants;[68] and no one acquainted with ancient history needs to be reminded of the rich fleeces of the sheep of Asia Minor, particularly those in the territory of Miletus. The Milesian wool was accounted by the Greeks the finest of all; probably because they confounded with the native fleeces of Miletus the wool of Arabia and Central Asia exported from that city.

There are also abundant proofs that another branch of trade, now of great importance, that of furs, not only existed in the times of which we are speaking, but had attained considerable importance. Supposing it to have been less important than it is at present, the cause was not so much from want of acquaintance with the fur countries, as that the temperate climates enjoyed by the then civilized nations of the world rendered this article of dress unnecessary. The Grecian colonies to the north of the Euxine formed, however, an exception to this rule. They drew supplies of peltry, the skins of the otter and beaver, from the very interior of Russia,[69] and possibly even from the shores of the Baltic, and easily disposed of them in the neighbouring country of Thrace, the inhabitants of which were principally clothed in furs. It may be observed, that the Amazons are also occasionally represented in sculpture as thus habited, or rather (which is observable) loosely arrayed in furs. The use of them would appear to be in general a matter of luxury as well as necessity, even in warm climates, as it continues to be at present among the Turks. In his account of the army of Xerxes, Herodotus enumerates several nations habited in the skins of animals, as, for instance, various tribes from the east and north-east of the Caspian Sea, and adjoining the Sea of Aral; such as the Caspii, the Utii, etc.; as well as the inhabitants of the rugged mountainous tract on the south-east boundary of Great Bucharia, the Pactyes of Belur-Land, and others.[70]

The third grand division of Asiatic merchandise is that of spices and aromatics. These commodities belong not to

[68] Ctesias, xiii. 22. [69] Herod. iv. 109. [70] Ibid. vii. 67 sqq.

Europe, and yet were used there in enormous quantities as early as the Persian dynasty. Not only among the Greeks, but in every other country not in a state of barbarism, it was the established opinion that no sacrifice could be offered without frankincense; and if we form to ourselves only a general idea of the vast quantities of this aromatic which must in consequence have been daily consumed on the altars of so many cities and nations, we may easily perceive that this commerce must have been one of the most extensive and most lucrative of ancient times.

Arabia, especially towards the south, was the native country of frankincense and the other most valuable aromatics; but the opposite coasts of Africa also abounded in the same. We are indebted to the father of history for an exact description of the different species of these productions, as well as for pointing out the channels through which they were conveyed to the states of the West. We shall find in the sequel that the great maritime cities of Phœnicia[71] were the principal points of exportation, but it is probable that a still larger quantity was conveyed across the Persian Gulf into the interior of Asia. The rites and sacrifices of the disciples of Zoroaster gave a prodigious stimulus to this traffic; and we have instances on record of an almost incredible expense incurred, on the occasion of solemn festivals or funerals, in the article of aromatics.

Of the spices used by the ancients, cinnamon was the most esteemed. At the present day it is found only in the East Indies, but it is difficult to say whether the same was the case anciently. Some very credible authors assert that it was then found in Arabia also: but a comparison of the evidence of others, particularly of the admirable Herodotus, makes it probable that it only passed through Arabia, in consequence of the commercial relations between India and that country, which we shall have occasion more fully to develop in the sequel.

The object of the present general observations has been to throw some light on the principal articles of the ancient commerce of Asia, preparatory to the more accurate inquiries which are to follow. In proportion as our ideas on

[71] See the section on the commerce of the Phœnicians.

the subject are apt to be too narrow, it is incumbent on the historian to extend them gradually; that conclusions which are, in fact, the results of careful investigation, may not assume the appearance of striking but unfounded assertions.

The great influence which diversity or similarity of language has on the mutual intercourse of nations, makes it necessary to advert to this subject with reference to the Persian period. This influence must have been greater of old than it is at present; no languages at that time being so universally disseminated as to form the media of communication abroad as well as at home; at a time also when the separation between different races was much more absolute and complete, and a stranger was not unfrequently at once looked upon and treated as an enemy. The data which the Grecian historians have supplied on this subject are, it is true, more scanty than might have been desired; but we cannot wonder at this when we consider the contemptuous manner in which the Greeks were accustomed to speak of the barbaric languages.

The topography (as it may be termed) of the different languages of Asia, must be viewed in connexion with the diversities of the natural character of the continent. In certain districts of no very large extent occurred a variety of languages completely dissimilar; and, on the other hand, extensive regions might be traversed throughout which the same language prevailed, with occasional variations in its dialects. The first was the case in nearly all the mountainous districts, where a number of independent tribes were established; and also on the sea-coasts, which were naturally the first places to be occupied by foreign settlers of various origin. On the other hand, the more widely-prevalent languages were disseminated through the vast plains which form the interior of Asia. Here also we may remark that the same great ranges of mountains or mighty streams which formed the boundaries of different kingdoms, became also the limits of different languages. One speech prevailed from the Ægean to the Halys; another from the Halys to the Tigris; and again, another from the Tigris to the Indus and the Oxus.[72]

[72] The proofs on which the following conclusions are grounded are to be found in my treatise, *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cognatione et Varietate*, which appeared in vol. xii. of the *Comment. der Gött. Societ.*; an abstract of which may be found in my *Historical Works*, vol. iii. p. 327, sqq. I consider this the proper place to indicate several learned researches, of which I can only state the results in the present work.

In the interior of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys, the prevailing speech was the ancient Phrygian, which even in the time of the Greeks was looked upon as one of the oldest of known languages, the Phrygians themselves being considered one of the most ancient races of that part of the world. It appears, according to the best information we possess, to have been a branch of the Armenian, which, in the time of the Persian monarchy, it nearly resembled. Agreeably to the usual progress of population, it would appear that the Armenians descended from their mountains and spread over the subjacent plains of Asia Minor.[73] The coasts, however, of that peninsula were occupied by settlers of more recent origin. In the rich commercial cities, which lined the shores of Asia Minor, the Grecian language was as habitually spoken as English now is in the states of North America. The original speech of the country appears, however, to have been the Carian, and its dialects; the Lydians, Mysians, and inhabitants of Caria, properly so called, all speaking dialects of the same general language. The northern half of the peninsula was occupied by colonies of Thracians, who settled in Bithynia and carried with them their native language; their territory extending as far as the river Parthenius, which separated them from the Paphlagonians, who spoke a language of their own; if it were not rather a dialect of the Phrygian. A still greater variety of languages appears to have prevailed in the mountainous region on the south of the peninsula, in Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia: but with respect to these we possess no accurate information.

This perpetual change of language ceases as soon as we cross the river Halys and enter upon Cappadocia, comprehending the country afterwards called Pontus. On the eastern bank of this river began the empire of a mighty language, which was spoken from the Halys eastward as far as the Tigris, and from the heights of Caucasus to the

[73] Herod. vii. 73. He makes, however, the Armenians a colony of the Phrygians, and represents the latter as one of the most ancient of nations, and as having migrated from Thrace.

southern coast of Arabia; and which, with some variations, preserves every where a distinctive and original character, being usually styled the Semitic. Its dialects were the Cappadocian, in the western countries on the banks of the Halys; the Syrian, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates; and the Assyrian, on the farther side of the Tigris, in Kurdistan, or the ancient Adiabene; the Chaldæan, in Babylonia; the Hebrew and Samaritan, in Palestine; the Phœnician, in the maritime cities of Phœnicia and their extensive colonies; and lastly, the Arabic, extending not only over the whole of the Arabian peninsula, but also over the steppes of Mesopotamia, which have at all times been frequented by wandering hordes of Arabs. Several of these dialects still survive; with others we are acquainted only through their literary fragments; and it cannot be doubted that at some remote period, antecedent to the commencement of historical records, one mighty race possessed these vast plains, varying in character according to the nature of the country which they inhabited; in the deserts of Arabia pursuing a nomad life; in Syria applying themselves to agriculture, and taking up settled abodes; in Babylonia erecting the most magnificent cities of ancient times; and in Phœnicia opening the earliest ports, and constructing fleets which secured to them the commerce of the known world.

The boundary of these Semitic dialects was the Tigris, if we except another language of the same origin which appears to have prevailed in Assyria, properly so called. On the farther side of that river began the Persian dialects, so far differing from the Semitic, not only in their vocabulary and phraseology, but also in their elements and construction, that it is impossible to consider them as belonging to the same race. Notwithstanding the long-continued and various relations in which the Greeks stood to the Persians, the information they have preserved for us respecting these particulars is so scanty as to be of no essential service to the historian. We are indebted for more important information to the recovered Zendavesta, and the fortunate researches of Anquetil Duperron.[74] By means of these, we are made

[74] Compare (till chance shall have furnished us with a more complete vocabulary of the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Parsi) the dissertations of KLEUKER, appended to the *Zendavesta*.

acquainted, not only with the names of several dialects of the ancient Persian, but also with some of their literary remains, and vocabularies; for instance, the Zend, or language of ancient Media, in which the books of Zoroaster were originally composed; the Pehlvi, spoken in the southern districts, bordering on Assyria and Babylonia; and the Parsi, or ancient Persian, which appears to have acquired extended influence under the dominion of the Persians, and to have swallowed up, as it were, the other dialects. A comparison of these various modes of speech proves them to have been distinguished by many shades of difference, yet displaying such a resemblance in their construction as well as their phraseology, as to show the dialects themselves, as well as the nations which used them, to have been derived from the same origin.

Herodotus himself has remarked a striking variety in the languages of the nomad tribes of Central and Northern Asia. The Grecian merchants who travelled from the commercial cities on the Black Sea, through what is now called the Kipchak, to the countries north of the Caspian, and so on to Great Bucharia, were obliged to take with them seven interpreters, having occasion to pass through as many nations speaking different languages.[75]

Notwithstanding this diversity, it cannot be doubted that some languages were very widely disseminated over these mighty plains, when we consider the vast extension of certain races, the Scythian, for instance, and Sarmatian, which wandered in these regions, and retained, amidst all the variety of their dialects, a mode of speech which characterized and distinguished the whole race; especially when we reflect that the hordes belonging to each race undoubtedly descended from a common origin.

The greatest diversity appears to have prevailed, then as now, in the mountainous region of Caucasus. The great number of small and large tribes who inhabited these districts, to which they had been drawn partly by war, but more generally by the active commerce which prevailed there, brought with them a variety of dialects.[76] Strabo assures us that in the single city of Dioscurias, on the eastern borders of the Euxine, on occasion of the great

[75] HEROD. iv. 24.

[76] HEROD. i. 203.

market held there, no less than seventy different dialects[77] might be heard. Xenophon confirms this statement by some particulars incidentally mentioned in his account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. In Armenia, he was still able to make himself understood by means of his Persian interpreter; but as he approached the shores of the Euxine he fell in with as many different dialects as there were tribes settled there.[78]

The Semitic and the Persian were, therefore, the principal languages of Asia; the latter being spoken as far as the Indus. Our knowledge of the languages prevalent on the other side of that river is, as yet, too defective to enable us to speak with any thing like certainty. Possibly it may be reserved for our own age to arrive at important conclusions on this subject, if the affinity between the Zend and the Sanscrit, the sacred languages of Persia and Hindustan, should be established—if the spirit of discovery which characterizes the British nation, should succeed in rescuing from oblivion some more remains of ancient Indian literature, and a second Anquetil Duperron present the public with the sacred books of the Brahmans, with the same success that his predecessor has illustrated those of the Parsees.

Another fact, suggested by the languages of Asia and the ancient dialects of Persia, is too important to be passed over in silence. Not only in the Persian territory, but in other parts of Eastern Asia, particularly the two Indian peninsulas, we find languages which still subsist, mixed up with others which are preserved to us only in a few written remains. To this class belong, in Persia, the Zend and Pehlvi, already mentioned; in Hindustan, the celebrated Sanscrit, as well as the Pali in the Burman peninsula. It is not, however, our present business to discuss the mutual relations of these languages, nor their degrees of affinity, but only their general characters and origin.

Languages can, of course, be formed and extended only by means of oral use, though their subsequent cultivation may be the effect of writing and literature. The dead languages also of Asia must, therefore, at one time have been spoken; even if this were not fully attested by the circumstance, that several living languages appear to have

[77] Strabo, p. 761.

[78] Xenoph. *Anab.* iv. *Op.* p. 340.

been derived from them. Many reasons may be assigned why they ceased to be spoken. The modifications necessarily ingrafted on a widely-diffused language, communication with foreigners, and still more, subjugation to a foreign yoke, all these, and the like causes, may so corrupt a language, as to give birth to new dialects, capable of even a still higher degree of cultivation. To enable the old language in any degree to maintain its ground, it is necessary that it should derive support from the institutions of religion, which are usually preserved in the more ancient speech. Consequently it assumes in the eyes of the multitude a still higher character, as being a sacred language; and this is especially the case, when there exist in that language certain sacred books, on which the religion is founded. These frequently contain not only the doctrines but the prayers peculiar to that mode of worship, and thus prove the principal means of preserving from complete decay a language which has ceased to be spoken. When we consider that in some countries the priests formed a separate caste, we perceive the necessity these were under of making themselves acquainted with the language of their sacred records; such knowledge becoming among them a learned study. It is well known that this is true of the dead languages of Asia; and even when, as is apt to be the case, the great body of the priesthood shun the labour of learning, and content themselves with reciting formularies which they do not understand, yet the sacred writings are no less certainly preserved, and it can scarcely fail to happen, that some individuals at least will take the pains to become acquainted with their contents.

Strange as it may appear, we have narrowly escaped witnessing a renewal of the same phenomenon in the west of Europe; most of the living languages of which are evidently the offspring of the same deceased mother, the Latin. They sprang from the corruption of the parent stock, became independent, and were cultivated by means of the literature of the nations which spoke them. The Latin, however, still kept its ground, as the organ of public prayer; and even the Scriptures continued to be read in that language. None but ecclesiastics understood it, or rather professed to understand it, consequently it appears to have been on the point of becoming a sacred language, like those of

the East already mentioned. Two circumstances interfered to prevent this: the revival of classical literature in Italy, in the fourteenth century, and its extensive cultivation, so as to furnish a sort of universal language to all the upper classes; and secondly, the Reformation, which by encouraging the practice of preaching and translating the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, gradually did away with the use of Latin among protestants, and, out of the church, among catholics also.

Our present object has been merely to notice this fact with regard to certain Asiatic languages. We shall have occasion to attend to them more in detail when we come to survey each nation individually.

Though we are indebted to modern discoveries for an acquaintance with the whole of Asia, yet a much larger portion than we are apt to suppose, was known to the Greeks as early as the dynasty of the Persians. They were acquainted with the whole extent of the Persian empire, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indus, and as far as the desert bordering Little Bucharia. We find in Herodotus traces of a no less extensive knowledge of the plains of Central Asia, the steppes of the Mongols and Tartars, and of the hordes by which they were traversed, especially those in the vicinity of the Caspian. The northern and eastern parts of the continent alone continued to be involved in obscurity, illumined by some scattered rays of light, which afford grounds for hoping a more complete elucidation of the subject. Of the various tribes of Asia, those alone can attract our attention, which have been distinguished not merely as savage conquerors, but as civilized and commercial nations. The Persians, as the ruling people, justly deserve our first regard, and a knowledge of their empire and its institutions will afford a standard by which to measure those of the other great monarchies established in ancient or modern times in Asia. The Indians still continue in a sort of remote obscurity. The Phœnicians and Babylonians, as the great commercial and manufacturing nations of this part of the world, next demand our observation. Under the head of the Scythians, we shall endeavour to collect all the information we possess respecting the nomad tribes of Central Asia, and the caravan commerce carried on through their country.

PERSIANS.

PERSIANS.

THE Persians have taken more pains than almost any other nation to preserve their records in writing; yet it has been their fate, in common with most other nations of antiquity, to be indebted for the stability of their fame to foreign historians. Notwithstanding the pains they took to register the acts of their government, the original documents of their history, with a few accidental exceptions,[1] have altogether perished; and the inscriptions of Persepolis, like the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, will in a manner have outlived themselves, unless a complete key be discovered to the alphabet in which they are composed. The relations, however, of the Persians with foreign nations, procured them contemporary historians out of other countries, some of whom were at the pains and expense of making researches in Asia itself, in order to be adequately informed on every point. Some of these were Jews, others Greeks: of the former, the sacred annalists Ezra and Nehemiah,[2] with some of the later prophets: of the latter, Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and Arrian. The latter borrowed his materials almost word for word from the accounts of two of Alexander's generals, Aristobulus and Ptolemy Lagus,[3] and in this respect may be considered as entitled to the rank of a contemporary writer and eye-witness of the downfal of the Persian monarchy. The value of this history is enhanced

[1] See the edicts of the Persian kings, in the books of EZRA and NEHEMIAH.

[2] To these must be added the book of ESTHER, which contains a true picture of the manners of the Persian court.

[3] That is, in his principal work, *De Expeditione Alexandri Magni*. In his *Indica* he followed Nearchus, the commander of Alexander's fleet, the journal of whose voyage from the mouths of the Indus to the Euphrates he has given. The *Periplus Maris Erythræi* is the work of another Arrian; the composition (it is probable) of some merchant and traveller of the second century, and consequently inapplicable to the purposes of the present work.

by the critical judgment by which it is distinguished, making it one of the most valuable sources of information to the student in ancient Persian history. The celebrated account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, by Xenophon, is full of valuable details respecting the interior of the Persian empire, though the main design of the work was to record military events; nor is the Cyropædia less instructive: the only composition of the Greeks which breathes an oriental spirit! The Cyrus of Xenophon is a characteristic portrait, sketched after the imaginary features of a Jemsheed, a Gushtasp, and other heroes of the East, clothed in a romantic dress, which could only have been borrowed from that region. Though occasionally the Socratic philosopher and the Grecian commander may be at times too plainly discernible in the historian of Cyrus, yet his work continues to be a masterpiece, no less valuable to the historian, who is prepared to use it with judgment, than to the man of taste.

Ctesias lived as a physician at the court of Artaxerxes, the same prince against whom Xenophon was engaged in the army of his younger brother. His confidence gained him access even to the archives of the Persians, from which, with the assistance of some oral information, he gathered materials for his Persian History, in twenty-three books. Of this work we unfortunately possess only a few fragments,[4] together with some jejune extracts, for which we are indebted to the industry of the patriarch Photius. Had his work come down to us entire, Ctesias would have ranked with Herodotus, who at present holds the highest place.

Herodotus, it is true, visited Asia rather as an observant traveller than an historian; but his love of knowledge and unwearied curiosity—his sound judgment, his candour and simplicity, so conspicuous in every part of his work, (qualities which are the readiest and surest introductions a traveller can have,)—procured him access to the same authorities from which Ctesias derived his information. He has indeed no where expressly informed us that he drew his knowledge of Asiatic history from written records, but the attentive observer cannot fail to remark a multitude of particulars which could scarcely be derived from any other source.

[4] Usually annexed to the editions of Herodotus.

It is obvious that the credibility of these authors (except as far as they may speak from their own observation, or repeat the oral testimony of others) must be dependent on the character and value of such written documents. In what then did these consist? and what was the nature of the Persian archives, of which we often hear, without receiving any accurate account of their origin and character? Oriental history should of course commence with this question, the solution of which is indispensable to all critical examination of past events; and the historian is bound to take care that his readers should not, from European associations, receive impressions inapplicable to the state of things in Asia.

The Persians had not, as far as we know, any historical poet; far less any historian, properly so called; a want common to all the East. The sort of history they did possess was closely connected with their polity, and a fruit of their despotic government, and of the almost idolatrous respect in which their kings were held. Whatever their monarchs said or did was of course worthy of being recorded; and to this intent his person was usually surrounded by scribes or secretaries, whose office it was to register all his words and actions. They were in almost constant attendance on the sovereign, and especially when he appeared in public. They are repeatedly mentioned, on very dissimilar occasions, by Jewish as well as Grecian writers. They attended the monarch on occasion of festivals,[5] of public reviews,[6] and even in the midst of the tumult of battle,[7] and noted down the words which fell from him on such occasions. To them also was committed the task of reducing to writing the commands and ordinances of the king, which, according to the custom of the East, were recorded from the mouth of the monarch, and being sealed with his signet, were immediately despatched according to their destination.

This institution was not peculiar to the Persians, but prevailed among all the principal nations of Asia. The king's scribes are mentioned in the earliest records of the Mongol conquerors,[8] and it is well known that Hyder Ali

[5] Esther, iii. 12; viii. 9: cf. Ezra, vi. 1.
[6] Herod. vii. 100.
[7] Ibid. viii. 90.
[8] Abulfasi, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 323. The present shah of Persia has

usually appeared in public surrounded by forty such secretaries.[9]

Such was the origin of the Chronicles, or Diaries of the Persians,[10] which being deposited in the principal cities of the empire, Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana,[11] formed what were called the Archives of the kingdom. A history compiled from such materials would necessarily be a history of the court rather than of the empire, and the fragments of Ctesias serve to confirm this idea.[12] Many circumstances also, in the history of Herodotus, assume a new character when viewed with reference to this fact. We perceive how he was enabled to record so many conversations of the Persian kings, and even anecdotes of their private life; and we are enabled to assign a much greater degree of credibility to some of the most important facts of ancient history which he has preserved to us. Among these may be reckoned that celebrated catalogue of the army of Xerxes, with a description of the dress and arms of the different nations, and the names of their leaders. It is inconceivable that the historian of Halicarnassus should otherwise have been able to detail, forty years after, all these particulars with the exactness of a diplomatist. He himself makes mention of written records which the Persian king commanded his secretaries to draw up of the muster of his army,[13] of which (unless all historical probability be an illusion) he has preserved a copy.

But it may be objected: What use could Herodotus or Ctesias make of such records? Are we to suppose that they understood Persian? Why should they not? Ctesias, who lived so many years at the Persian court, certainly must; and the same is at least highly probable with respect to Herodotus, who translates Persian words, when he has occasion to cite them, and who was so great and curious a traveller.[14] Besides, the dignity and even the duties of the

his scribe or annalist, who is destined to write his history. MORIER, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 200.

[9] SPRENGL. *Hist. Taschenbuch für* 1786, p. 247, 248.

[10] Styled by Ctesias Διφθεραι Βασιλικαι; apparently they were written on leather or parchment.

[11] EZRA, vi. 1.

[12] Compare the account in ESTHER, vi. 1, 2; where the king commands the Chronicles to be brought, and the part relating to Mordecai is read.

[13] HEROD. vii. 100. [14] Ibid. vi. 98.

Persian kings required that they should always have about them a number of scribes and interpreters, to translate their edicts into the various languages of their immense empire,[15] and consequently it is by no means improbable that documents of the kind referred to may have been composed in more languages than one. The amount of information which Ctesias and Herodotus may have derived from such sources as these must be left for the critical examination of other historians: it is clear from the very circumstances of the case, that they must also have availed themselves of oral traditions, even if they did not expressly declare it.

The multitude of contradictions occurring in ancient Persian history has been a frequent subject of complaint among the learned, but, as far as contemporary authorities are concerned, this discrepancy is rather apparent than real. Herodotus and Ctesias differ from one another only on minor points, respecting which it was difficult, from the nature of the case, to arrive at absolute certainty. On comparing the Grecian historians with the Jewish chroniclers, we do not indeed trace an agreement, but at the same time we discover no contradictions; a circumstance extremely natural, when we consider that the latter treated only of the relations in which the Persians stood to their own nation, concerning which the Greeks gave themselves no concern. A difference in the names or titles of certain kings has occasioned some perplexity; but this has been removed by the labours of the learned;[16] and is the less to be wondered at, because the names of these monarchs were only titles or surnames, of which Herodotus has given a translation.[17] As such they were liable to be changed, and to be variously expressed in different languages.

But when we turn from these contemporary historians to the records of the Persian chroniclers and poets of a later period, we discover not merely occasional contradictions, but, as it were, a completely different history. Among the latter was the historical poet Firdousee, who flourished under the Califate; and more recently, several chroniclers, such as Mirkhond and his son, called, to distinguish him

[15] ESTHER, iii. 12. [16] EICHHORN, *Repertorium*, B. xv.

[17] HEROD. vi. 98. Darius signified the *mighty*; (Ἐρξεις) Xerxes, the *warlike*; Artaxerxes, the *great warrior*.

from his father, Khondemir; both belonging to the fourteenth century. They derived their information respecting the fortunes of their race partly from written records, partly from tradition, which, in the East, has been continued from the earliest ages to the present.[18] Such records are not without their importance, as acquainting us with the opinions entertained by existing nations, respecting the history of their forefathers, and placing it in the point of view in which it is contemplated by the Orientals: we cannot, however, admit them to possess any high degree of historical authority, when we reflect on the shortness of the time since they have appeared, and consider the extent to which every traditionary account must necessarily be distorted in a long succession of ages. They cannot therefore be put on a footing with the accounts of contemporary historians, and in the following inquiries, we shall place our dependence entirely on the latter.

[18] An account of Persian history as drawn from these sources may be found in the *Allg. Welthistorie, (Universal History,)* vol. iv. p. 318, sqq. The judgment passed in the text on these records applies of course only to the early periods of Persian history: as respects later stages of the same history, for instance, the reigns of the Sassanian princes, (of which SILVESTRE DE SACY, in his *Monumens de la Perse*, has presented us with a translation,) these records cannot be denied considerable historical importance.

PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

A Geographical and Statistical Survey of the Persian Empire, according to Satrapies.

THE Persian empire owed its origin to one of those great political revolutions which are of such frequent occurrence in Asia, and the rise and progress of which we have already considered in general. A rude mountain tribe, of nomad habits, rushed with impetuous rapidity from its fastnesses, and overwhelmed all the nations of Southern Asia, (the Arabians excepted,) from the Mediterranean to the Indus and Jaxartes. Even the nearest parts of Europe and Africa were shaken by their onset, and to a certain extent subdued; and in spite of frequent insurrections which broke out in these and other portions of their empire, and were not always completely repressed, the Persians continued to maintain their general supremacy for a period of full two centuries.[1]

Their conquests were effected with the headlong rapidity which characterizes the wars of barbarous and nomad tribes. Their first great monarch, Cyrus, Cores, or Khoosroo, conquered all the provinces which formed the Asiatic part of the Persian empire; and although his early history is wrapped in the same obscurity in which the history of extraordinary men, who emerge unexpectedly from humble fortunes, is necessarily involved, yet sufficient is known respecting him to enable us to follow the general course of his achievements. There existed at that time in Asia three principal nations which had compelled the rest to pay them tribute: the Medes, nearly allied to the Persians; the Babylonians

[1] According to the best chronologies, Cyrus became the master of Asia 560 B. C., and Darius III. perished 330 B. C.

or Chaldæans (both in Central Asia); and the Lydians, in Asia Minor. The last, under their king Crœsus, had already pushed their conquests as far as the river Halys, (their territory up to that period having been extremely limited,) and were consequently possessed of the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, a dominion pretty nearly equal in extent to the states of Germany.[2] The empires of the Medes and Babylonians were of older date, but both, like that of Persia, owed their origin to conquest. The Tigris bounded Media to the west, and had been fortified by the erection of a line of strong places, of which Mespila and Larissa have been mentioned by name;[3] at the same time that it appears from the lamentations of contemporary Jewish writers,[4] and from a passage in Herodotus,[5] that they occasionally advanced their conquering armies beyond the western boundaries of their empire, and penetrated even to the banks of the Halys. We cannot exactly define how far their dominion may have extended eastward: apparently it was of different extent at different epochs. From the books of the Zendavesta it would appear certain that they anciently possessed Aria and Bactriana, as far as the Oxus and Indus; but at the same time it seems certain, that independent kingdoms were subsequently erected in those provinces. One thing is clear, that a variety of nations were subject to them, for Herodotus tells us that the several states were ranked one above another according to their proximity to the seat of empire. "The Medes," he tells us,[6] "like the Persians, looked upon themselves as the first people in the world, and valued other nations in proportion as they were situated near them; esteeming those the least who are the most remote. Under their dominion the different nations were set over one another; the Medes being rulers over all, and in a particular manner over those who were situated next to them: these, again, had dominion over their neighbours, and the latter over those that came next in locality." At the same time we learn from other passages, that the government, like that of other Asiatic kingdoms, was one of

[2] HEROD. i. 28.
[3] XENOPHON, *Anab. Op.* pp. 308, 309.
[4] ISAIAH, xiii. 17, 18.
[5] HEROD. i. 103, where the Halys is named as the boundary of the Persian empire.
[6] HEROD. i. 134.

satrapies, each foreign satrapy being intrusted to a Mede; and the system being probably nothing more than a classification of the different nations, each satrap receiving the tribute collected by his more remote neighbour, which was passed from one to the other, till it was handed over to the king's treasury, by the satrap stationed nearest to Media, properly so called. Previous to the empire of the Persians, the Medes were the more wealthy and more civilized race; the Magian being their established religion. They had become wealthy, not only by their conquests and the accumulation of a large tribute, but also in consequence of the position of the country, situated on the great commercial highways of Asia. Their government was completely despotic;[7] the courts of their kings being guarded by a rigid system of etiquette,[8] and distinguished by a taste for magnificence, which could only be gratified by such a system. The description of the Persian court, which was founded on that of the Medes, will illustrate this.

The Babylonians, to whom we shall devote a separate portion of this work, had attained a much higher degree of civilization. As the Median empire embraced almost all the provinces of the East from the Tigris to the Indus, so the dominion of the Babylonians extended over the portion of Asia westward of the Tigris, as far as the shores of Syria and Phœnicia. They were masters of this territory for nearly one hundred and twenty years; the interval between the foundation of their empire by Nebuchadnezzar and the conquest of Cyrus.

These three dynasties were all successively overthrown by the arms of Cyrus, their fate being determined by a single, or, at the most, by a second battle; the common fortune of despotic governments, which are held together solely by the force of the king's troops, and fall to pieces when these are vanquished. These nations, subject to an unlimited despotism, were unacquainted with that internal strength which a state may derive from the excellence of its constitution, the source of all true patriotism, and which renders its overthrow all but impossible in any equal contest.

[7] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 13.
[8] HEROD. i. 99.

It could not be expected that a people so rude as the Persians then were, should have given to an empire of such vast extent, and composed of so many incongruous elements, a uniform and harmonious constitution. We shall have occasion to see in the sequel how they acquired the forms of administration they possessed; but in the mean time we must not suppose that even an accurate partition of the empire into provinces, according to fixed geographical limits, the first step toward such a political system, could have been the work of the first conquerors. Even if they had felt its necessity, they were far from possessing a sufficient knowledge of geography to enable them to execute the plan: they were, however, in fact, so far from feeling it, that, under the two first reigns, they do not appear to have even laid the groundwork of such an undertaking. The motive which eventually led to it appears to have been the only one which could well have occasioned it, namely, the necessity of providing for a regular collection of the tribute payable by each nation. Even with respect to the tribute itself, in the times of Cyrus and Cambyses, no established and well-defined system appears to have prevailed, but it was arbitrarily imposed, according to the circumstances of the times, under the names of offerings or presents, (after the custom of the East,) which were not unfrequently the more oppressive because indefinite. The institution of a regular system was first made in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the greatest of the Persian kings, and at the same time the first attempt was made to divide the empire at large into provinces, or, to use the Persian word, satrapies.

An account of these has been preserved to us by Herodotus,[9] as taken from the Persian archives, and forms unquestionably one of the most interesting remains of antiquity. A closer acquaintance with Persian history convinces us indeed that this first outline is inapplicable to the state of the empire in succeeding ages; and the document itself bears manifest traces of being a first essay; a circumstance which rather increases than diminishes the interest attaching to it. We are not to look in this document for a geographical division of the different provinces, but merely for a rude classification of the different subject nations, with a statement of the tribute imposed on each. Even these nations are not always enumerated according to their geographical position, but, for reasons which we cannot divine, remote tribes have, occasionally, as Herodotus himself remarks,[10] been classed together.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Herodotean catalogue of the satrapies can by no means be assumed as the groundwork of a geographical and statistical account of the empire. The historian ought rather to take his position at an epoch when those provincial divisions had become better defined and established; that is to say, about the latter half, or towards the conclusion of the Persian monarchy; and although we possess no enumeration of the satrapies as they existed at that period, such a catalogue may be easily compiled out of the works of contemporary authors, especially Xenophon and Arrian.[11]

The Persian empire at that time embraced the countries extending eastward as far as the Indus, in which direction Darius Hystaspis had pushed an expedition. The Indus,

[9] HEROD. iii. 89—97. Others have already remarked that the Herodotean account of the satrapies is not applicable to subsequent ages of the monarchy. It is indeed generally alleged that the division recorded by Herodotus was a *financial* division, and distinct from the *territorial*; but this idea is unquestionably erroneous. No traces of any such distinction are observable in the whole course of Persian history: on the contrary, the sequel will show that it is contrary to the spirit of their institutions. The financial arrangements of the Persians kept pace with their territorial divisions, and as the latter, in the document referred to, appear extremely rude and imperfect, so the former could not have remained unaltered to the end.

Rennell, in his Geography of Herodotus, has given us an excellent map, accompanied by a learned commentary, on this part of his author, at the same time that he treats the division into satrapies as purely departmental, that is to say, as if each satrapy were composed of adjacent districts. This is contrary to the intention of the author, who expressly asserts that sometimes adjoining and sometimes distant tribes were thrown into the same government (see HEROD. iii. 89). The latter appears, however, to have been the case in only two instances, and the utility of Rennell's map is consequently in no degree diminished.

[10] HEROD. iii. 89. We may also observe that the catalogue referred to comprehends the nations then conquered, or such as were looked upon as conquered. Several of these, protected by their mountains or their steppes, presently made themselves independent, and ceased to pay tribute; of which we shall find several instances in the sequel.

[11] In the book of ESTHER, i. 1, the number of provinces subject to the king of Persia is stated as 127. It does not, however, follow, that these were so many satrapies, because each satrapy commonly embraced several tribes or nations, as from chap. viii. verse 9, this would appear to be the case in the above enumeration.

however, formed at all times the eastern boundary of their dominion, and is mentioned as such by Jewish as well as Grecian authors.[12] We may be inclined to wonder that they never carried their conquests farther, in a country which has at all times especially attracted the cupidity of conquerors by its riches; but the Persians were too much occupied by wars in the West, especially with the Greeks, to have leisure to extend their dominion in the opposite direction, even if the warlike and populous tribes of the interior of India had not been able to oppose their progress. The Caspian and the Euxine, with the intervening range of Caucasus, (the lofty summits of which were never crossed by any Asiatic conqueror before Ginghis-Khan,) formed the natural boundaries of their empire to the north;[13] the nomad tribes which occupy the steppes of Astracan not being their tributaries. To the east of the Caspian, their territory was fenced against the incursions of the Mongul and Tartar hordes by the mighty streams of the Jaxartes and Oxus, and the country between these two rivers, Sogdiana or Great Bucharia, was their farthest province in that direction. To the south, their empire was bounded by the Indian Ocean and the Arabian peninsula, the deserts of which have defied the incursions of every conqueror; and, to the west, it rested on the Mediterranean.[14]

This vast empire was cut, as it were, in two by the Euphrates; a division which was recognised by the Persians themselves, who distinguished their provinces as they lay on this or the other side of that river. This natural division greatly facilitates the survey of the whole, and may be assumed with advantage in the present work. The western or nearest portion of the empire, accordingly comprehends the peninsula of Asia Minor, as well as Syria and Phœnicia; while the farther or eastern half, embraces the countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, with those which extend from the latter river to the Indus. We shall endeavour to illustrate these severally, according to their political demarcations.

[12] Esther, i. 1. Herod. iv. 44. [13] Herod. iii. 97.

[14] The extent to which certain islands of the Ægean, and the districts of Europe bordering on the Hellespont, were subject to Persia, depended on circumstances, and on the extremely variable relations in which the Persians stood to the Greeks.

COUNTRIES ON THIS SIDE OF THE EUPHRATES.

I. THE PENINSULA OF ASIA MINOR, OR NATOLIA.

There are few regions of the ancient world of greater historical importance than that part of Asia usually denominated Asia Minor. Its position rendered it the theatre of almost all the wars carried on between the nations of Europe and of Asia; and it was here that the fate of several mighty empires was decided. But this very circumstance rendered it at all times the prize of the conqueror; nor has it, since the overthrow of the Lydian empire by Cyrus, ever contained any native kingdom of tolerable extent and duration. It was, besides, possessed not by a single race, but by various tribes, some of them established there from time immemorial, while others had migrated from Europe, or the interior of Asia; differing no less in civilization than in origin. The luxurious Ionians and Lydians, whose effeminacy has become proverbial, lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the wild inhabitants of the Pontic provinces, some of whom still tenanted their aboriginal forests, while others lived a Scythian life in their wandering carts. Herodotus[1] mentions thirty distinct tribes, which in his time occupied the interior of this peninsula, and their number was increased rather than diminished in after ages. This diversity of origin would of itself have rendered it difficult for so many nations to combine in one independent state, even if the continual assaults from without, to which they were exposed, had not rendered such a union impossible.

The Persians were the masters of the whole territory, but their power was far from being the same throughout. A

[1] Herod. iv. 38.

dominion established by force of arms may, at the first onset, make no distinction among the conquered; but differences will speedily arise as the power of the conquerors becomes modified by the local situation, the manner of life, or the political constitution of the conquered. The Persians soon discovered, to their cost, that free commercial states, like the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, are not to be subjected to a perpetual yoke, even when they may have been compelled to yield to the first pressure of necessity; and it was soon perceived that the numerous cavalry of the conquerors were much more able to scour the level parts of each district, than to maintain their authority among its mountainous retreats. Accordingly, we often find in the heart of the Persian empire tracts inhabited by free races of mountaineers, who retained their liberty, protected by their fastnesses, or by their poverty: while others, acknowledging the general supremacy of the Persians, yielded a very doubtful and imperfect obedience to their authority, which varied according to circumstances. However imposing may be the aspect of a despotic government, its internal strength is by no means proportionate; and anarchy is invariably its companion, or its follower.

Asia Minor, at that time, contained ten provinces or satrapies, resembling in extent the circles of the German empire.[2] Of these the richest and most cultivated were the three maritime districts to the west, Lydia, Mysia, and Caria; which, as well as Phrygia and Cappadocia in the interior, were subject to the Persians, a kind of exception being however made in favour of the Grecian cities within their limits. The authority of the Persian king was less absolute in the mountainous districts to the south, Lycia and Cilicia; as well as in the northern provinces of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, then styled Little Cappadocia.

[2] I shall refer to authorities under the head of each satrapy as it occurs. When I speak of these different countries as so many satrapies, the expression may require an explanation. It is true that all these different countries did not actually form so many satrapies, but they were destined to become such, even although they had attained a greater or less degree of independence. Darius originally divided Asia Minor into four satrapies, (RENNELL, vol. i. p. 307,) but in no part of the empire was it more likely that continual changes should occur, not only in consequence of the Grecian wars, but the remoteness of the capital.

The satrapy of Lydia was the richest in Asia Minor,[3] and was always accounted by the Persians the most considerable, because at the period of their conquest the Lydians were masters of that part of the continent. Sardes, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings, became the seat of the Persian satrap,[4] and the residence of the monarch, when he visited Asia Minor.[5] It was built in a plain upon the river Mæander, and would appear not to have been distinguished for magnificence, the houses being constructed of, or at least thatched with, reeds.[6] It possessed, however, a citadel, protected by a triple wall, and always occupied by a Persian garrison.[7]

The territory in which Sardes was situated abounded in all the sources of wealth, possessing a rare fertility, an extensive commerce, and even the auriferous mountain of Tmolus. The city was surrounded by spacious plains, renowned in the time of Strabo for their fertility,[8] and through which serpentined the Mæander and Cayster. Lydia was also formed to be one of the grand emporia for the exportation of Asiatic produce into Europe; and although the sea commerce was principally in the hands of the Greek cities of the coast, yet many passages of the ancients prove that a large portion of the land traffic, as might be expected, was carried on by the Lydians. Sardes itself is described as a great commercial city, resorted to not only by Greeks and Phrygians, but even by remote nomad tribes, for the exchange of their various commodities.[9] In particular this was a principal mart for slaves, and hence were derived eunuchs to protect the harems of the Persian grandees; this trade having been apparently carried on there on a large scale.[10]

[3] Lydia (with Ionia, the sea-coast) is mentioned as a satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 12; XENOPH. *Op.* p. 427, and elsewhere.

[4] HEROD. v. 100. XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 245.

[5] XENOPH. ix. 108.

[6] HEROD. v. 101. These were all consumed by fire. The city is subsequently described as magnificent.

[7] ARRIAN, i. 7. The ruins of this citadel may still be traced, seated on an eminence, so steep as not to be approached without difficulty, and even danger. See the account of DR. SEETZEN, *Allg. Geogr. Ephem.* Feb. 1803.

[8] STRABO, p. 929.

[9] STEPHAN. *De Urbib.* v. Ασια. By Asia he undoubtedly means Sardes as there was a tribe there called the φυλὴ Ασιάς; and the Lydians prided themselves on having given a name to the whole continent.

[10] HEROD. viii. 105.

The Lydians have also been celebrated as the inventors of the art of coining money; an art not likely to have been discovered by any but a commercial nation.[11] They were the first also to provide places of public entertainment for the reception of foreigners; and even the custom prevalent among them, that their young women should obtain a marriage portion by the sacrifice of their modesty, proves that their city was the resort of a great number of wealthy strangers. The relations between the sexes are modified and deteriorated in places of great commercial resort; and this is especially true of the Asiatic towns. To attract strangers is the great object, and the manner in which they are allured sometimes takes a tincture from the prevailing depravity of the times.

The industry of this people appears to have been exercised chiefly in the manufacture of articles of luxury.[12] They were clothed in upper and under garments of purple, and were skilled in the workmanship of the precious metals, of which also they invented some new combinations. The temples of the Greeks were crowded with the presents from their kings; which appear, however, to have been generally wrought by Grecian artists. They also exported their unwrought gold into Greece, where it was purchased for the purpose of gilding the statues of the deities.[13] The implements used in various games of hazard, or otherwise, were their inventions, and either exported by them into Greece, or imported by the Grecians. Their commerce bore throughout a passive rather than an active character; nor did they, under the Persians, ever become a seafaring people; even the colonies which they are said, at a remote period, to have sent out to Etruria, having been conveyed in Grecian vessels.[14] Their gold was washed down from Mount Tmolus by the river Pactolus, which ran through their city, from the sands of which it was subsequently collected by washing;[15] there being no proof that they ever carried on the operation of mining. The treasury of their kings, like that of the Persians, was filled with heaps of this precious dust.[16]

[11] Herod. i. 94; where may be also found the authorities for what follows.
[12] Herod. i. 50, etc. [13] Ibid. i. 69. [14] Ibid. i. 94.
[15] Ibid. v. 101. [16] Ibid. vi. 125.

The sea-coast of this rich province was studded with Grecian colonies of Ionian origin, and on that account denominated Ionia; but in the catalogue of the Persian provinces was not distinguished from the rest of Lydia.[17] Twelve of these towns, the most celebrated of which were Phocæa, Ephesus, and Smyrna, formed, for the space of about ninety miles, an almost uninterrupted series of various establishments and edifices, and presented to the stranger, as he arrived by sea, an imposing spectacle of civilization and splendour.[18] They contested with the Phœnicians the advantage of possessing the grand exchange of Asia and Europe; their harbours were crowded by vessels from every port on the Mediterranean, and their fleets of merchantmen and men-of-war covered the Ægean. They had all experienced a great number of political revolutions, by which they had acquired, or maintained, their republican form of government; and the spirit of independence and love of freedom to which these circumstances gave birth, were so effectually stamped upon the national character, that all the force of the Persian empire, though it oppressed, was unable to efface them. They opposed an heroic resistance to the conquering Cyrus; and many of them, after an ineffectual resistance, preferred exile to slavery.[19] They revolted in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and, aided by the Athenians, reduced Sardes to ashes. During the wars between the Greeks and Persians which followed, they sometimes were engaged, by compulsion, on the side of the latter, and sometimes fought against them; their condition with respect to their masters varying with the events of war. The European Greeks never lost sight of the idea of liberating their Asiatic brethren; and this was at all times a pretext for a war with Persia; and, as is apt to be the case with such pretexts, survived the motive which prompted it. The Persians, on the other hand, were at last convinced that free commercial cities could not be reduced to absolute servitude; and as the possession of these towns, which supplied them with the greater part of their navy, was indispensable, they adopted the middle course of bestowing upon them an appearance of freedom. They were not

[17] Arrian, i. 12. [18] Herod. i. 142, etc. [19] Ibid. i. 169.

subjected to Persian satraps, but ruled by magistrates, who, as well as the commanders of the mercenaries which formed their garrisons, were chosen from a party favourable to the cause of Persia. The consequence was, the formation in some cities of an oligarchical constitution;[20] while in others the power gradually fell into the hands of a single man, who, in the Grecian phrase, was usually denominated a tyrant.

The chain of Greek colonies extended also along the coast of the satrapy of Caria,[21] which adjoined that of Lydia to the south. The northern portion of this province, like the preceding, was occupied by Ionians; but the southern coast, with the adjacent island of Rhodes, was colonized by people of Dorian origin, who conferred on all this region the appellation of *Doris*. Miletus, the queen of all the Grecian cities of Asia, was Ionian: the next to Tyre herself in commercial opulence, and the fruitful mother of a hundred colonies, many of which rivalled, and in the end surpassed their parent in riches and greatness. In the general revolt under Aristagoras, Miletus alone equipped a squadron of a hundred triremes; and fleets of equal size are mentioned on other occasions. Her extensive commerce was not confined to the Mediterranean, but sought to monopolize the navigation of the Euxine and sea of Azof: the shores of both were crowded with Milesian colonies: settlements originally made for the benefit of the mother city, but which, in consequence of their favourable situations, soon attained considerable consequence, enabling the merchants of Greece to penetrate into the interior of European and Asiatic Russia, and at a later period, if not then, forming a channel for the introduction of Indian merchandise into the ports of the West.[22]

The Doric colonies, of which Halicarnassus, the native town of the father of history, was the most considerable, did not come up to those of Ionia in the fertility of their

[20] Such appears to have been the case towards the close of the Persian empire. See ARRIAN, i. 17, 18.

[21] Caria is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 20; and elsewhere.

[22] See the excellent probationary Essay of Professor RAMBACH, *De Mileto ejusque Coloniis*. Would that more of our young scholars would in like manner select certain specific subjects belonging to ancient history and geography for illustration!

soil, or extent of their commerce;[23] they were, however, treated by the Persians on the same footing with the others.

The Carians, the original inhabitants of the country, were forced by these Grecian settlers farther back into the interior: they had at one time been a powerful and warlike nation, possessing the islands of the Ægean, pursuing maritime commerce, and practising piracy. They had voluntarily submitted to the power of the Persians;[24] and had been allowed to retain their native princes or kings, of whom mention is made in the muster of the army of Xerxes.[25] Their territory was, however, in the end, treated as a conquered province, and is described by later writers as forming a distinct satrapy.

The satrapy of Mysia,[26] or, as it was afterwards called, of Phrygia on the Hellespont, bordered on Lydia to the north. Even in ancient times it was difficult to define its limits, as it never composed a single state, but consisted of a collection of various tribes. Its shores were occupied by Greeks of Æolian origin, continuing the series of Grecian colonies as far as the Hellespont and Propontis, where Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, eclipsed all the rest. The soil of Mysia surpassed even that of Ionia in fertility,[27] though the climate was not so good: agriculture appears to have been the principal pursuit of its old inhabitants, the Mysians,[28] who were probably of the same origin with the Lydians and Carians, and observed the same religious rites.[29] To the Persians, the possession of this territory was of peculiar importance, as commanding the passage from Asia to Europe; and the more so in proportion as they were led to attach a still higher value to their European possessions in consequence of their wars with Greece, and the apprehension they entertained of the inroads of Greeks or Macedonians.

We also learn from the testimony of Xenophon, that the

[23] HEROD. i. 142. [24] Ibid. i. 174.

[25] The king of Calynda, a Carian city, is there mentioned.

[26] Mysia is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 12, and XENOPHON, *Hist. Græc. Op.* p. 482 and 486: in the first of which places Pharnabazus is styled the satrap of Æolis, and, in the second, of Phrygia on the Hellespont.

[27] HEROD. i. 149. [28] Ibid. i. 36. [29] Ibid. i. 171.

western portion of the adjacent province of Bithynia was attached to that of Mysia, whose satraps took up their habitual residence in the Bithynian town of Dascylium.[30] This fruitful country, thickly studded with villages and country towns, was subject to the Persians; but, as we shall have occasion to show, the relations between the conquered and their conquerors were by no means the same in its eastern division.

The interior of Asia Minor contained the two satrapies of Great Phrygia and Great Cappadocia, between which flowed the river Halys, the most considerable stream in the peninsula. Phrygia,[31] comprehending what was afterwards denominated Galatia, would have formed one of the most extensive provinces of the empire, had not the Persians, probably to prevent this, detached from it two of its limitary districts, and added them to the adjoining governments. These were, to the east, Lycaonia,[32] which they threw to Cappadocia, and, to the west, the territory of the Milyæ, which was considered as a part of Lycia.[33] The Phrygians were not only one of the most ancient and considerable nations of Asia Minor, but also at one period possessed extensive dominion, which appears to have embraced the greater part of the peninsula. They were long celebrated as an agricultural people,[34] and continued to maintain the same reputation under the dynasty of the Persians.[35] The nature of their country, consisting for the most part of a fertile plain, watered by several streams, favoured this mode of life; at the same time that they paid great attention to the keeping of live stock, especially sheep.[36] The sheep reared in the vicinity of Celænæ, one of their cities, were celebrated not only for the fineness of their fleeces, in which respect they rivalled those of Miletus, but for their peculiar blackness, which was so perfect as to be compared to that of the raven's wing.[37] It appears to have been a general

[30] Compare XENOPH. *Op.* p. 509.

[31] Phrygia is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, i. 25; XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 527, *et alibi.*

[32] XENOPH. loc. cit. [33] ARRIAN, i. 24.

[34] They are thus described in the early traditions of some of their kings, for instance, that of Lityersas. See *Bibl. der alten Litt. und Kunst*, st. vii. Ined. p. 9, etc.

[35] *Schol.* THEOCRIT. *ad Idyll.* x. 41.

[36] HEROD. loc. cit. [37] STRABO, p. 867.

property of the interior of Asia Minor, that, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, the cattle reared there had fleeces of a peculiarly soft and delicate texture. The goats and rabbits of the country being no less distinguished for this quality than the sheep; for it is in the territory of the ancient Phrygia that the Angora goat[38] and rabbit are found. The hair of the goat was woven into cloth in the time of the Persians, for we find in Aristotle the remark that the goats of this country were shorn like sheep elsewhere;[39] and garments made of the fur of the rabbit are mentioned by ancient authors of a later period.[40]

The capital of the satrapy was Celænæ, a rich and splendid city, situated on the great commercial highway leading from the interior of Asia to Ephesus and Miletus, and which from this very circumstance became one of the most considerable commercial marts of the interior. Merchants from this place resorted to Carura, situated on the borders of Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia, and celebrated for its spacious caravanserais.[41] Celænæ numbered among its inhabitants, at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the richest private individual of all Asia: wealthy enough to offer that monarch, when he passed through the city, an enormous sum of ready money as a contribution towards the expenses of the expedition, considering himself abundantly rich in his landed possessions and slaves.[42] At Celænæ was the usual residence of the Persian satrap, which was adorned with a

[38] The modern Angora is the Ancyra of the ancients, situated in the north-eastern part of Phrygia, called afterwards Galatia. It must not be confounded with another Ancyra on the borders of Mysia, where the celebrated *Marmor Ancyranum* was found. The hills about Ancyra are at the present day covered with herds of thousands of these goats. PORTER, vol. ii. 720.

[39] ARIST. *Hist. Anim.* viii.; *Op.* i. p. 791.

[40] Consult on these points the learned dissertations of BECKMANN on the camel's hair, or his *Vorbereitung zur Waarenkunde*, B. i. p. 466, sqq. To the rich harvest there stored up, I take pleasure in adding a few gleanings respecting the early manufacture of the Angora fur, to be found in the *Expositio totius mundi* of an anonymous author, in the *Geographici Antiqui* of JAC. GRONOVIUS. The composition belongs to the first half of the fourth century; and the original appears to have been in Greek, of which we only possess a translation in barbarous Latin, not however without its value.

[41] Παυδοχεῖα. STRABO, p. 867. The Carura of Strabo is either the same with, or in the immediate vicinity of, the Cydrara of Herodotus, (vii. 30, 31,) where the road from the interior of Asia parted off to Caria and to Lydia, or to the cities of Miletus and Sardes, and where Crœsus fixed the limits of Caria and Phrygia.

[42] HEROD. vii. 27.

palace, probably erected by Xerxes, as well as with other establishments, and a park of such extent as not only to afford room for great hunts of wild animals, but to permit an army of twelve thousand men to encamp within its precincts.[43]

Other cities of the same satrapy were distinguished, under the Persians, for their importance and wealth, such as Colossæ, Sagalassus,[44] and others of inferior note; and Phrygia at large is described by Herodotus as one of the richest provinces of Asia Minor.

The district to the south-east, called Lycaonia, which, as we have already remarked, was attached to the satrapy of Cappadocia, was a steppe impregnated with salt, and containing a salt lake, named Tatta. Almost the only occupation of the inhabitants appears to have been the keeping of sheep, but, although numerous, these did not equal those of Celænæ in the fineness of their fleeces.[45]

Cappadocia, under the Persians, was the common designation of all the countries between the Halys and Euphrates; the former separating it from Phrygia and Paphlagonia, the latter from Armenia. It comprehended not only Cappadocia, properly so called, but all the districts afterwards known under the general name of Pontus. Writers contemporary with the Persians do not mark any subdivisions of this extensive territory, but Strabo speaks of two distinct satrapies as having existed in the time of the Persians, that of Great Cappadocia, and Cappadocia on the Pontus;[46] from which, in after times, proceeded the appellation of the kingdom of Pontus.

Supposing that such a division was in fact made by the Persians, it would appear to have been very imperfectly observed. The few records we possess of the history of the territory at that period, tend to show that, upon its conquest, a prince of the royal family, the Achæmenidæ, was placed upon the throne, on which his posterity were constantly maintained, with the title of kings. These were generally tributary to the Persians, but occasionally, when favoured by circumstances, asserted their independence; or were even put in possession of some of the adjacent satrapies, without its being possible to define with accuracy

[43] Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 246.
[44] Herod. vii. 30; Xenoph. loc. cit.
[45] Strabo, p. 852, 853.
[46] Ibid. p. 808.

the limits of their territory.[47] At the time of the retreat of the ten thousand, both divisions of Cappadocia appear to have been subject to Mithridates, who, notwithstanding he took part in the revolt of Cyrus, was allowed to retain his dependent authority after the overthrow of that prince.[48] His son Ariobarzanes was created during his father's lifetime satrap of Phrygia, and after his death succeeded also to the hereditary possessions of his family.[49] His successors, the kings of Pontus, down to the celebrated Mithridates, continued to trace their descent from the ancient royal race of Persia, though many objections might have been started to such a genealogy.

Great Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Proper,[50] continued in all ages to be an indifferently cultivated district, with few natural advantages. Wheat was grown where the nature of the soil permitted; but the greater part of the province consisted of lofty downs, fit only for the pasturage of sheep; the climate also being raw and inclement. To these natural disadvantages was added an almost total want of wood, rendering the construction of buildings difficult and expensive. Consequently the greater part of the territory was destitute of towns; the inhabitants, though not migratory, living in open villages, and even their principal city, (as it was called,) Mazaca, resembling more an encampment of shepherds and herdsmen than a regular town. There existed, however, two cities in the more fruitful part of the country, Comana and Morimena, which are remarkable for having possessed, in common with some cities of Asia which we shall have occasion to mention, the traces of a hierarchical constitution.[51]

[47] The fragments illustrative of the history of the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia have been collected with great industry by Vaillant, in his *Historia Achæmenidarum seu regum Ponti Bospori et Bithyniæ.* It is manifest from this work that the early history of these princes, during the Persian monarchy, can only be gathered by conjecture.
[48] Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 427.
[49] Diod. ii. p. 73. ed. Wessel.
[50] Besides the places of Strabo already referred to, Cappadocia is mentioned by Xenophon as forming, with Lycaonia, a separate satrapy. Xenoph. *Op.* p. 427.
[51] I have taken the above particulars from Strabo, but they appear applicable to the state of the country under the Persians. Writers of that age frequently mention Cappadocia, but are so poor in facts respecting it, that it is easy to see they knew nothing about it. No nation of Asia Minor was more

The Cappadocians are always styled by writers contemporary with the Persians, Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians;[52] to distinguish them from the Syrians properly so called.

"Their complexion," says Strabo, "was fairer than that of their countrymen to the south." It is probable, however, that the Cappadocians had themselves assumed this appellation, from motives of vanity. Most of the eastern nations take a pride in bearing a name significant of fairness of complexion. Hence the White Huns, the golden-horde, (among the Kalmucs,) etc. Even the empress of Russia was habitually styled by her oriental subjects, the White Czarina.

Cappadocia on the Pontus, or, as it was afterwards styled, Pontus, was also inhabited by the Leuco-Syri in its western division bordering on the Halys.[53] Besides these, however, were settled there a mixed multitude of tribes, which had probably migrated from the north, and in many respects retained their original barbarism. It is possible that the western division of their territory may have been subjugated, and formed, as Strabo leads us to conclude, a separate satrapy;[54] but the inhabitants of its eastern half, safe in their woods and mountains, paid little or no regard to the authority of the Persian king, except when, for the sake of plunder, they chose to accompany his armies. Many traits respecting them have been preserved by Xenophon and other contemporary authors, which possess all the interest which attaches to the records of a semi-barbarous people. In the most easterly corner of their territory lived the Heniochi, whose name was significant of their manner of life, and their Scythian origin. They migrated, like other Tartar tribes, from place to place in their carts, in which were their habitations. The vicinity of the sea inclined them to maritime pursuits; and the rich trading vessels of the Greeks allured them to practise piracy. The Chalybians occupied a mountainous district in their neighbourhood; a nation celebrated as early as the Homeric poems for their silver mines, and who continued, in the time

rude or uncivilized than these Cappadocians: by the Romans they were only esteemed as good litter-bearers, on account of the breadth of their shoulders.

[52] HEROD. v. 49; STRABO, p. 819. [53] STRABO, p. 822.

[54] Ibid. p. 808. I am not aware of any other place where this territory is named as a distinct satrapy.

of Xenophon, to work them, though then producing nothing but iron.[55] They were at that time subject to their more powerful neighbours, the Mosynæci; one of the wildest and most uncivilized nations of Asia, who were governed by a chief or king, maintained at the public expense in a wooden tower, which he was never permitted to quit. Their habitations were pitched upon the summits of the mountains, at certain intervals, so that the approach of an enemy might be announced from one to the other by signals. Their food consisted of dried fish and chestnuts; the latter supplied in abundance by their extensive forests; and on this diet the children of their principal men were so effectually fattened, that, according to Xenophon, they were nearly as broad as they were long. They practised piracy, in boats containing only three persons, two combatants and one who rowed; they dyed and tattooed their bodies with representations of flowers.

The Tibareni were of less barbarous manners, and inhabited a less mountainous country, reaching to the spacious and fruitful plain of Themiscyra; one of the most fertile spots in Asia, and the ancient seat of the fabled Amazons. This plain, with the surrounding mountains, was covered by woods of fruit trees, many of the most valuable sorts flourishing without cultivation. Corn and wine were no less abundant there, and the vast woods abounded in game. On the coast were the Milesian colonies of Amisus and Trapezus, founded for the purpose of promoting the navigation of the Euxine, and favouring a commercial intercourse with the natives.

In the centre of their territory was situated the city of Comana, resembling one of the same name in Great Cappadocia, not only in its appellation, but its internal constitution. The government was in the hands of the priesthood: the high priest of the deity worshipped in both cities exercising a sort of authority over the town and the adjacent district. Several thousand slaves of both sexes belonged to the temple, as well as extensive landed possessions.

A spiritual supremacy of this kind prevailed in several cities of Asia Minor; as, for instance, at Pessinus in Phrygia.[56] The origin of such constitutions is uncertain; but,

[55] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 357. [56] STRABO, pp. 838, 851.

according to tradition, was of very ancient date. The same cities were also great resorts of commerce, lying on the high-road from Armenia to Asia Minor. The bond between commerce and religion was very intimate; the festivals of their worship were also those of their great fairs, frequented by a multitude of foreigners; all of whom, (certain classes of females not excepted,) as well as every thing which had a reference to trade, were considered as under the immediate protection of the temple and the divinity. The same fact may be remarked here which has obtained in several states of Central Africa; namely, that the union of commerce with some particular mode of worship gave occasion, at a very early period, to certain political associations, and introduced a sacerdotal government.

To the west of Pontus lay Paphlagonia, separated from it by the Halys, here two stades in breadth, and only passable by boats.[57] The eastern division of this country was covered, like the former, with lofty hills, over which the road lay from Amisus to Trapezus, but the western portion of the country formed a noble plain watered by several rivers. This district possessed an excellent breed of horses, from the possession of which the Paphlagonian cavalry came to be accounted the best in Asia. The Persians had taken possession of the country, and the Paphlagonians are enumerated by Herodotus among the tributary nations;[58] but they were too strong to be completely subdued. In the time of Xenophon they appear to have been nearly independent, under a ruler of their own, who, though frequently siding with the Persians, did not hesitate, when inclined by circumstances, to take part with the Greeks; and as the Paphlagonians were able to bring into the field an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, they possessed the means of making their alliances respectable.[59] Sinope, a Milesian colony, the most opulent of all the Grecian towns on the Euxine, was also situated on their coast. It was an independent republic, possessing an extensive territory of its own, but tributary to Persia, at least at certain periods.

One district alone of the northern coast of Asia Minor

[57] Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 358; whence also the following particulars are taken.

[58] Herod. iii. 90.

[59] Xenoph. loc. cit.

remains to be considered, that of Bithynia, situated to the west; a country no less fruitful, level, and rich in pastures, than Paphlagonia, except at its western extremity, where rose the lofty and woody region of Mount Olympus. Like Pontus, it was inhabited by various tribes, all of European origin, from the adjacent kingdom of Thrace.[60] They had no towns, but lived in large open villages, with which the interior of the country was filled in every direction. The level parts abounded in all sorts of grain, as well as vegetables and vines; and fed large flocks of sheep. Their oil, as in many other parts of Asia, was procured from sesamum. The sea-coast was covered with extensive forests, supplying good timber for ship-building, of which the Grecian colonists of Heraclea did not fail to make use.[61]

There is no territory of Asia Minor concerning which the information we possess is more defective, nor one the relations of which to the Persian empire it is more difficult to define. It is true that Herodotus specifies some of the tribes inhabiting Bithynia, both in his catalogue of the satrapies, and his account of the forces of Xerxes;[62] but it is probable that the different tribes were not treated by the Persians on the same footing. The Bithyni were the principal race, occupying the western division of the country. They were subject to a Persian satrap, who was also governor of Little Phrygia, and had his residence in the city of Dascylium, situated between the two provinces, where every thing which could minister to the unbounded luxury of a Persian vice-regal court was found in abundance.[63] The other Thracian tribes, however, which occupied the eastern part of the country, were not subject to his dominion, but governed by a chief of their own, who was an ally and tributary of the Persian monarch; in return for which his authority was maintained, and his country defended by the

[60] Herod. loc. cit.

[61] See Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* pp. 376, 377.

[62] Herod. iii. 90; vii. 72.

[63] Xenoph. *Hellen.* iv. *Op.* p. 509. "Agesilaus marched to Dascylium, where was the palace of the satrap Pharnabazus; surrounded by many large villages, abounding in all the necessaries of life. There were also abundance of animals of the chase; some in enclosed parks, others in the open country. They were surrounded by a stream full of all kinds of fish; and there were also in the neighbourhood a multitude of birds for such as were skilled in fowling."

neighbouring satraps against the assaults of enemies, especially of the Greeks.

It remains to speak of the southern coast of Asia Minor, comprehending the districts of Lycia, Pamphylia with Pisidia, and Cilicia. All these countries were extremely mountainous; the range of Taurus commencing in the first, and extending through the others. The difficult nature of their country always opposed obstacles to their conquest; and though reckoned by the Persians among their conquered provinces, they were in reality far from being always in subjection to them.

Of all these, the Lycians, situated on the sea-coast, were the most civilized. According to Strabo, their cities formed at a very early period a federal league, bearing a close resemblance to that of the Achæans. They held congresses in which their common interests were discussed; and were governed by a president styled Lyciarchus, with other subordinate magistrates.[64] The date of this constitution is uncertain, but the Lycians are always spoken of as a free people up to the Persian invasion; when they sank under the attacks of the generals of Cyrus.[65] Their subsequent revolts prove that they had been reduced to the state of a conquered province,[66] although we do not find any satrap of Lycia expressly mentioned. The same appears to have been the case with Pamphylia; the sea-coast of which was a frequent station for the fleets of the Persians. The rude Pisidians, however, seated on their mountains, gave themselves so little concern about the authority of the Persians, that it appears to have been, as it were, the constant duty of the neighbouring satraps to wage war against them.[67] The same was true of the much more extensive district of Cilicia; which contained, between its lofty chains of mountains, especially in those to the east, spreading plains and valleys, adorned with the most luxuriant vegetation, and producing abundance of every kind of corn, as well as of fruit and vines. Through this elevated country ran the high-road from Lycaonia to Tarsus, a large, opulent, and splendid city on the Cydnus; by which, also, Xenophon, with the army of the younger Cyrus, entered into Upper

[64] Strabo, p. 980.
[65] Herod. i. 28, 176.
[66] Diod. ii. p. 74.
[67] Xenoph. *Anab.* i. *Op.* 244.

Asia.[68] Cilicia was at that time governed by a prince of its own, styled Syennesis, who, though tributary, retained the title of king, and who was treated by Cyrus as an enemy, till he had appeased him by presents. Not only were the limits of his kingdom accurately defined, but Cilician and Persian outposts were stationed over against each other, and the boundary pass secured by gates. On other occasions, however, we find Persian satraps mentioned as governing the country:[69] the ships of the Cilicians always formed a part of the Persian fleet, and Xenophon himself, who mentions the circumstances above referred to, speaks of the country as forming part of the dominions of Persia,[70] a certain proof that the conquerors at first permitted the Cilicians, as they did so many other nations, to retain their former rulers and their internal constitution; and that their dominion continued to be undefined, and was perpetually modified by existing circumstances.

II. SYRIA AND PHŒNICIA.

The countries comprehended by the Greeks under the general name of Syria, formed another principal portion of the Persian territory on this side of the Euphrates; but the term Syria was used by them in so loose and indefinite a manner that a previous account of it is necessary.

The appellation of Syria answers, in its widest signification, to the oriental term *Aram*, and denotes all the countries inhabited by the Aramæans or Syrians; embracing not only the countries on this side the Euphrates, but frequently, also, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and even Assyria properly so called, or Kurdistan, on the other side the Tigris; nothing being more common with the Greek and Roman authors than to interchange the terms of Syria and Assyria. In general, therefore, this name was applied to the extensive plains which stretch from the Mediterranean to Armenia, and the mountains of Persia, throughout which the same language was spoken, differing only in its dialect; a proof that the same race possessed that region.

[68] Xenoph. loc. cit. p. 248.
[69] Arrian, ii. 4.
[70] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 427.

In the more restricted sense of the word, Syria was understood to mean the countries on this side the Euphrates, and lying between that river and the Mediterranean; sometimes comprehending Phœnicia and Palestine, sometimes without including these, especially the former, whose inhabitants, originally of the same stock, soon distinguished themselves from those of the interior by their addiction to maritime affairs. The latter preserved the peaceful habits and dispositions which usually characterize the occupants of extensive and fertile plains. They frequently became the prey of foreign conquerors, without ever themselves becoming conspicuous in the history of the world as such; although the rulers of some of the states into which their country was subdivided, especially the princes of Damascus, occasionally made successful efforts to enlarge their dominion. On the contrary, they devoted themselves to the cultivation of their own territory, which in many parts abounded in wine,[1] corn,[2] and the other necessaries of life; or, where the nature of the soil did not permit this, they became herdsmen, or, more frequently, shepherds. These fruitful situations were principally found in the northern portion of the country, where the chain of mountains which runs along the coast divides itself into two branches, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, whose woody eminences enclose one of the richest vales on the surface of the globe; a district which in consequence of its depressed situation was denominated by the Greeks, the Hollow (or Cœle) Syria. This was looked upon as the most important part of the whole territory, and is frequently named when in fact the whole of Syria is meant. The rest of the country consisted of one uninterrupted plain, diminishing in fertility in proportion as it receded from the mountains and approached the confines of Arabia, and finally becoming, from the want of water, a mere desert, where no further traces of cities or settled habitations were to be found, occupied only by the tents and herds of wandering Arabs.[3] Yet even this sandy waste contained some fertile spots, in one of which Palmyra,

[1] Especially in the territory of Chalybon, the wine of which was held in high estimation. STRABO, p. 1068.

[2] Particularly *wheat*, which no where attained greater perfection than in Palestine.

[3] STRABO, p. 1093.

so celebrated for her magnificent remains, was seated; serving as a halting-place to the Indian caravans, on their way to Tyre and the coast of the Mediterranean. Several other cities were planted in the northern or mountainous region, as Damascus, (at one time the mistress of the whole country,) Chalybon, (or Haleb,) and others; or along the course of the Euphrates, as was the case with Thapsacus, and Circesium, (or Karchemish,) where the Euphrates was usually passed. Even the less fruitful districts were sprinkled here and there with groves of palms; and the ridges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus were crowned with forests of cedar and other stately timber trees, affording an inexhaustible supply of wood for the dock-yards and edifices of the commercial cities of Phœnicia.

As the Persians were always able to sweep with their cavalry the plains of Syria, they treated it altogether as a conquered and subject country; the possession of which was the more important, as it tended to secure that of Egypt, which they were anxious to maintain in subjection, in the same degree that the Egyptians were on many occasions eager to shake off their yoke. It would appear from notices in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that nearly the whole of Syria formed, at the period of which we are speaking, the province of a single satrap, who bore the title of governor of the country "beyond the river,"[4] Palestine being, without doubt, comprehended in his jurisdiction, though occasionally the Jews were governed by a ruler of their own race. At other times we find allusion made to more satraps than one.[5] At a later period we have proof that Cœle-Syria, with Phœnicia, were detached from the rest of Syria,[6] and we may, therefore, conclude that the country was generally, though not always, divided into two governments. The usual residence of the Syrian satraps was near the sources of the little river Dacadacus, about fifty miles to the west of Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where they had a palace and spacious pleasure-grounds, which were laid waste by the younger Cyrus.[7] The residence of the satrap of Cœle-Syria was probably Damascus; but of this we have no positive proof.

[4] EZRA, vi. 6, etc.

[5] NEHEMIAH, ii. 7, 9.

[6] DIOD. SIC. ii. p. 261.

[7] XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 254.

The great maritime towns of Syria, to which we shall subsequently devote a separate part of this work, though annexed in the catalogue of Persian satrapies to that of Cœle-Syria, enjoyed many important privileges.[8] They were of the highest importance to the Persians, not only as being the richest in their empire, but as their fleets enabled them to command the Mediterranean. Besides, these cities had voluntarily submitted themselves to the first Persian conqueror;[9] probably because they very properly considered the payment of a tribute would be less burdensome than a siege and a possible sack of their town; of which the incursions of the Assyrian and Babylonian armies had left on their minds a terrible recollection. In return for this submission, they were allowed to retain their internal constitution, and even their native line of princes; their subjection being confined to the payment of a tribute, for the collection of which the neighbouring satraps were responsible, and to the furnishing a certain contingent to the naval armaments of the Persians. By such moderate concessions they secured the undisturbed prosecution of their commerce through the whole extent of the Persian empire, and requited their masters with a fidelity and zeal which was proof against almost every change of fortune.

COUNTRIES BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

I. COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

THE vast plains enclosed by the above rivers formed, as it were, an isosceles triangle, of which the rivers composed the two sides, and the Tauric range, by which it was bounded to the north, the base. From its situation between the two great streams, the Greeks gave it the name of Mesopotamia;

[8] See the chapter on the Phœnicians below.
[9] HEROD. iii. 19.

an appellation which appears, however, not to have been known during the dynasty of the Persians. It was much more usually considered a part of Syria, because inhabited by a portion of the Syrian race; or as belonging to Arabia, because a number of Arab tribes were accustomed to wander in the steppes it contains; and accordingly we find that the names of Syria, or Assyria, and Arabia are applied to it indiscriminately.[1]

The district thus called, in after-times, Mesopotamia, varies greatly in its natural features. The greater part forms a barren steppe of immense extent, without the smallest inequality of surface, and equally destitute of wood and water, some desert streams excepted, which in dry seasons are totally absorbed. A few plants, of small size, some of them aromatic, and among others a species of absinthium, were its sole vegetable productions. No inhabitants were found there, with the exception of some nomad hordes, partly wanderers from Arabia, partly from the mountainous region to the north. Many districts were totally destitute of grass and fodder: the animals, however, of the desert, wild asses and ostriches, were found in abundance. The former, which have now retired into the steppes of Mongolia and the deserts of Persia, then wandered over these plains, and were chased by horsemen, and caught with the lasso.[2] The ostrich also, which is still so abundant in the deserts of Africa and Arabia, now rarely occurs in the ancient Mesopotamia.

The country improved in fertility as it verged towards the banks of the Euphrates, or rose in the direction of the chain of Taurus. In these parts were found a considerable number of towns of some importance; such as Circesium, Anthemusias, with others near on the Euphrates; and, in the northern part of the country, Zoba or Nisibis. The antiquity of these cities was very great: their inhabitants

[1] It is styled Syria, or Assyria, when understood to comprehend Babylonia. XENOPHON (from whose description in the first book of the *Anab.* the following account is taken) calls it Arabia. Neither he nor Herodotus ever use the term Mesopotamia.

[2] The animal described by ARISTOTLE, *Hist. Anim.* vi. 24 and 36, is unquestionably the Dsiggetai of the Mongols, of which PALLAS has given so interesting an account, *Neue Nordische Beiträge*, ii. p. 1, sqq. Porter met with one in the deserts of Persia, which he was fortunate enough to kill, and of which he has given a plate. PORTER'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 459.

were in a great measure Syrians, and thus the whole territory came to be annexed by the Persians to the satrapy of Syria. The desert part of Mesopotamia appears to have been in a great degree abandoned to itself.[3]

During the empire of the Persians, the southern part of this country, forming the district of Babylonia, and a separate satrapy, was cut off by a wall of bricks, cemented with bitumen, which ran obliquely across the plain from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and was commonly called the Median wall.[4] Like many other structures of the same kind in Asia, it appears to have been designed to repress the incursions of the barbarous hordes, which infested the desert without.

Babylonia formed a satrapy by itself, and though one of the smallest in extent, was in riches and resources the most considerable of all.[5] This important district demands a separate portion of this work for its consideration.

The mountains which bounded Mesopotamia to the north were in a great measure occupied by rude and warlike tribes, which owned no allegiance to the Persian monarch. Their country extended along the banks of the Tigris, from the little river Centrites,[6] (Khabour,) which formed the boundary of Armenia, as far as Cappadocia on the Pontus; as we learn from the interesting recital of Xenophon, whose retreat with the ten thousand lay directly through this territory. The first that he fell in with were the Carduchi, occupying the steep mountains and deep valleys which contain the sources of the Tigris as well as the Euphrates. They dwelt in open villages, situated in the valleys, and enjoyed an abundant supply of corn and wine. Every attempt to subdue them had proved fruitless, and they had even annihilated mighty armies of invaders.[7] The neighbouring satraps could only secure a free intercourse with them by means of previous treaties. They were a prosperous people, possessing houses carefully constructed, and provided with plenty of metal utensils, and so abundant was their country in wine, that it was commonly kept in tanks

[3] On the other hand, a satrap of Arabia is mentioned, CYROP. viii. 230. Whether Mesopotamia, or Eastern Syria, or both, be meant by this term I do not venture to decide.

[4] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 282.

[5] HEROD. i. 192.

[6] XENOPH. *Anab. Op.* p. 322.

[7] XENOPH. loc. cit. p. 356.

or cisterns.[8] To the north of these lived the Chaldæi,[9] inhabiting regular cities; a no less warlike race than the Carduchi, accustomed to fight in linen corslets, with pikes and short swords, with which they sought to cut off the heads of their enemies. Next came the Phasiani and Taochi, inhabiting the interior of the same mountainous district; and then the Macrones, clothed in dresses made of hair; the Colchi, on the sea-coast of the Euxine; and the Mosynæci, the wildest and rudest of all these tribes, situated in the eastern division of Pontus;[10] to whom adjoined the Chalybes, subjects of the former, a nation celebrated in the Homeric poems as possessing mines of silver, but in the time of Xenophon working only iron mines, by which they gained their livelihood.[11] All these tribes, though occasionally enrolled as mercenaries in the Persian armies, paid little regard to the authority of the great king, being sufficiently protected by their mountains and strong holds against the incursions of his troops.[12]

On the other hand, these mountains enclosed an extensive tract, Armenia, which was subject to the Persians, and formed a separate satrapy. It was one of the most elevated regions of Asia, surrounded on every side and intersected by mountains, and of so cold a climate, that even in milder seasons the snow frequently falls deep enough to make the roads nearly impassable. The valleys, however, and the southern parts of the country are not unfruitful. Corn, wine, and pulse are produced there in abundance, though the more constant occupation of the inhabitants has at all times been the keeping of cattle.[13] In the Persian period they did not live in cities, but generally in great open places; even the Persian satrap resided in one of these; or else in under-ground habitations, in which also they kept

[8] PORTER describes the great natural fertility of this country in his *Travels*, vol. i. p. 130. The hills are covered with noble woods: the grapes grow wild, and may be pressed at once. Rice, wheat, and rye abound.

[9] RENNELL, *Illustration of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger*, p. 233, has shown that XENOPHON probably meant Chaldæi, when he wrote (p. 356) Chalybes. In the *Cyrop. Op.* p. 70, the same country is assigned to them.

[10] See above, p. 77.

[11] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 354.

[12] XENOPHON expressly asserts this of the Carduchi, the Taochi, and the Chaldæi, loc. cit. p. 356.

[13] STRABO, p. 800, sqq. For what follows, consult the elegant account of XENOPHON, *Anab. Op.* p. 327, sqq.

their cattle. Every place had its own ruler, who was treated with great respect, and allowed to take provisions wherever he might think proper. It may be remarked, that the nation appears to have been generally distinguished by a singular simplicity of manners, and almost patriarchal hospitality. They were not then infected with the spirit of wandering and love of trade, which at the present day make them so often strangers to their own country; though some traces of such a disposition may be discovered, even under the Persians. They kept up a close commercial communication with Babylon, (whither they exported their wines by the Euphrates,[14]) as well as with Tyre and the other maritime cities of Phœnicia, which took from them their cattle, particularly their mules and horses.[15] The latter were so highly prized, that a yearly tribute of twenty thousand were delivered for the service of the Persian monarch;[16] they were smaller, but more spirited, than those of the Persians, and belonged to the Median breed; which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

II. COUNTRIES OF UPPER ASIA, LYING BETWEEN THE TIGRIS AND INDUS.

We are now arrived at the principal provinces of the Persian monarchy, which contained the abodes of the conquerors, and the capital of the empire. Even at the present day they are comprised under the general name of Persia, though Farsistan, the original country of the Persians, forms a very small part of this territory. Anciently they were called by the Orientals themselves by the common term of Iran, (the Ariana of the Greeks,[1]) and the inhabitants, in-

[14] Herod. i. 194. [15] Ezekiel, xxvii. 14. [16] Strabo, p. 797.

[1] We must carefully distinguish between the terms Aria and Ariana, as used by the Greeks. The former was applied to a province which we shall have occasion to describe in the sequel; the latter is equivalent to Iran, and appears to have been formed from the ancient term in the Zend language, Eriene. The whole of Iran composes a sort of oblong, the Tigris and Indus forming its sides to the east and west, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean bounding it to the south; and the Caspian, with Mount Taurus and the river Oxus, shutting it in to the north. These were also the limits of the ancient Ariana, (see Strabo, p. 1048,) except that, towards the west, its boundary was an imaginary line separating it from Persia Proper. Of this more extensive district, Aria (according to Strabo) formed only a part, distinguished

asmuch as they possessed fixed habitations and laws, were styled Iranians, in opposition to the Turanians, or wandering hordes of Central Asia. The distinction between *our country*, and *not our country*, is that on which the geography of all nations, especially oriental nations, is apt to be grounded. Notwithstanding the great diversity which prevails in these countries, which in superficial extent are at least four times as large as Germany, they all enjoy a delicious climate, the mountainous tracts alone excepted; their fertility being generally proportionate to the supply of water they possess. In some parts it is altogether wanting; and to remedy this, it was usual of old, and continues to be so at present, to irrigate such districts by drawing off streams of water into a multitude of canals. In this manner the Oxus, being divided into forty smaller currents, was made to water an extensive plain;[2] and for the same reason Cyrus devoted a whole campaign to the task of leading off the water of the Gyndes into a number of streamlets.[3] By such means the arid parts were irrigated; the inhabitants either cutting tanks to receive it, or sinking wells; or, lastly, conducting the water of springs from place to place through subterranean ducts.[4] This fact, which the observations of the best informed modern travellers tend to confirm, may explain how it has come to pass that many districts, anciently celebrated for their fertility, are at present barren and unproductive. A single invasion, by destroying the watercourses, is sufficient to reduce in a short time a fertile and flourishing country to an arid desert; and to how many such disastrous contingencies has Persia at all times been exposed!

Of all these districts, Persia, properly so called, (Fars or Farsistan,[5]) unquestionably demands our chief attention, as

by its superior fertility. Herodotus appears to have been unacquainted with the term Ariana; he merely (vii. 62, 66) mentions the Arii, as a nation allied to the Medes.

[2] Herod. iii. 117. The Aces of this author is probably the Oxus.

[3] Herod. i. 189.

[4] An accurate account of these canals will be found in Morier, *Journey to Persia*, p. 163. See also Polybius, x. 28, 3, for the manner in which they were constructed by the ancient Persians.

[5] *Pars* is the Persian, *Fars* the Arabic pronunciation of the word: the Persian termination *stan* denoting *country*. Almost all the modern names of the part of Upper Asia subject to the Persians, end thus: *Farsistan*, the country

the chief country of the conquerors, and the seat of government. It formed a satrapy by itself,[6] independent of the adjacent Susiana, (Khuzistan,) though frequently associated with the latter by ancient writers; forming a country of moderate extent, not much larger than Hungary, but presenting a great variety in its parts.[7] The southern portion, bordering on the gulf to which it has given name, is a sandy plain, rendered almost uninhabitable during the summer months by heat, and by the pestilential winds which blow over it from the deserts of Kerman. It is generally inaccessible on the side of the sea; the flat shore, unindented by any inlet, offering only in one or two places the shelter of a harbour. At a little distance from the sea the land rises as it were in terraces; the surfaces of which form downs, whose rich pastures are watered by a number of rivulets, and covered with villages and numerous herds. Fruits of all sorts are here found in abundance, and the excessive heat of the sea-shore becomes mitigated. Towards the north these agreeable districts pass into lofty and sterile mountains, a continuation of the range of Taurus, enclosing some fruitful valleys, but, for the most part, affording shelter only to a few nomad tribes and their flocks, being generally incapable of tillage. The soil is for the most part arid and unproductive, and the mild climate of the country just described becomes so inclement, that, even in the summer season, the mountain tops are not unfrequently covered with snow. This ungenial region was, nevertheless, the cradle of the conquerors of Asia. Inured from their childhood to a rugged climate, they conquered without difficulty the effeminate inhabitants of the low-lands; but, although it was the policy of their rulers to attach them as much as possible to their barren country,[8] they were soon seduced by the allurements of luxury, and themselves prepared the way for the destruction of their empire.

Not only is Persia Proper memorable on account of its historical associations, but also for the architectural remains

of the Persians: *Hindustan*, of the Hindus: *Kurdistan*, of the Kurds or Koords, etc.

[6] ARRIAN, iii. 18.

[7] Compare for the following particulars, STRABO, p. 1027, with CHARDIN, i. p. 6, etc.

[8] HEROD. ix. 122.

which it continues to present. The ruins of Persepolis are the noblest monument of the most flourishing era of this empire, which has survived the lapse of ages. As solitary in their situation, as peculiar in their character, they rise above the deluge of years which for centuries has overwhelmed all the records of human grandeur around them or near them, and buried all traces of Susa and of Babylon. Their venerable antiquity and majestic proportions do not more command our reverence, than the mystery which involves their construction awakens the curiosity of the most unobservant spectator. Pillars which belong to no known order of architecture; inscriptions in an alphabet which continues an enigma; fabulous animals which stand as guards at the entrance; the multiplicity of allegorical figures which decorate the walls—all conspire to carry us back to ages of the most remote antiquity, over which the traditions of the East shed a doubtful and wandering light. Even the question, What Persepolis really was? is not so perfectly ascertained as to satisfy the critical historian. An answer to this question may, however, be fairly expected, when we consider the ample materials which the traveller and the artist have already contributed.[9]

The common opinion is, that Persepolis was the capital and residence of the Persian monarchs, but a closer acquaintance with the records of antiquity must cause this opinion to appear very doubtful. No contemporary author, Greek or Hebrew, mentions Persepolis by name. It is first alluded to at the period of the decline of the Persian monarchy, the moment of its destruction being that also of its earliest mention. It is to be observed, that the ancient authors referred to—Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon, as well as Nehemiah—were perfectly well acquainted with the other principal cities of the Persian empire, and make

[9] Of the early travellers who make mention of Persepolis I shall only refer to the three best: LE BRUYN, *Voyage au Levant*, vol. iv. p. 301, sqq.; CHARDIN, ii. p. 140; and NIEBUHR, *Reise nach Arabien*, etc. ii. 121, sqq. Whatever may be the merit of each of these, they are all eclipsed by the description, and still more by the designs, of a recent English traveller, SIR ROBERT KER PORTER, *Travels*, vol. i. He not only enjoyed greater opportunities, from a more abundant leisure and longer stay near the ruins, than any of his predecessors; but as an artist he leaves them at an immeasurable distance behind him; not only by the beauty, but also by the accuracy of his designs.

frequent mention of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. Nor can their silence respecting Persepolis be attributed to accident, for they mark the portions of the year which the Persian monarchs used to spend at their several residences in such a manner as to leave no portion of the year vacant for Persepolis.[10]

It is clear, therefore, that Persepolis must not be put on the same footing with those other great cities, as one of the proper and permanent residences of the king. Nevertheless it is styled by the most credible historians, the capital of all the empire;[11] and the conduct of Alexander, who, seeking to avenge himself on the Persians, laid waste Persepolis, while he spared Babylon and Susa, confirms the idea that this place possessed a more peculiar and exalted character. The mystery which appears to hang over its history confers additional interest on its ruins: a mystery which nothing but the light of critical investigation can dispel. Let us see whether it may not suffice to guide us by an untried path, among ruins and sepulchres, to a more elevated point of view, whence we may command a prospect of this field of desolation above the mists by which it is enveloped!

The proper way of replying to the question, What Persepolis was? is by showing what it is; and to this end, I shall endeavour to give a general sketch of its ruins, without entering into a description of their details, which could not be intelligible without the designs of Niebuhr, Chardin, or Porter.[12]

The ruins of Persepolis are situated in a plain encompassed by mountains, and named from a village it contains, the plain of Merdasht, connected, to the north, with another called that of Mourghaub, and together with this, extends from 30° to the 31° of N. Lat., a distance of about fifty-four miles from south to north, not, however, without inflections. It is watered by a considerable stream, the Bend-Emir, or

[10] See the places quoted by BRISSON, *De Regno Persico*, p. 88.

[11] It is styled *Caput Regni*; Μητρόπολις τῆς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείας—*Regia totius Orientis*, etc. See BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 96.

[12] To assist the imagination of my reader, I have added a plan of the remains of Persepolis or Chehl-Menâr. I must beg my reader to consult the designs of Chardin and Niebuhr, or rather those of Porter, on which my description is grounded.

Araxes of the ancients, which receives a smaller river, the Kur, (Cyrus,) and empties itself into a lake not far from Shiraz. To this copious supply of water the fertility of this district is to be ascribed; over the whole extent of which are scattered ancient ruins of very different dates; bearing inscriptions in a variety of languages, and works of art in very different tastes. In order to make the following account intelligible, it is absolutely necessary to describe the different classes to which these various remains may be referred. These may be described as three.

I. The ancient Persian remains, belonging to the old empire of Persia, and some perhaps to a still more remote period. II. Those of the era of the Sassanian princes, the second Persian empire, which arose out of the Parthian, in the third century. III. The Arabic, Neo-Persic, and other inscriptions, belonging to the period of the Califate; copies of which, with their explanations, are to be found in Niebuhr.[13]

Those of the last class, containing nothing but some moral observations on the perishable condition and mutability of all human things, may be passed over in silence; nor does the second class demand more than a single observation or two, which I shall make in this place, that I may not again recur to the subject.

The monuments of this date consist partly in relievos, partly in inscriptions, hewn in the rocks, at the distance of about five miles from Persepolis, or Chehl-Menâr properly so called.[14] They are styled *Neksh-i-Roostem* (the *Image of Roostem*); from an idea that they represent the achievements of that fabulous hero of the Persians. The labours, however, of a learned Frenchman[15] have made us better acquainted with their true meaning, by deciphering the inscriptions beneath, which are couched in Greek as well as Persian characters.[16] They refer to kings of the Sassanian

[13] NIEBUHR, p. 139, sqq.

[14] NIEBUHR, p. 154, pl. xxxii. See also PORTER, pl. xi.—xxxiv.

[15] DE SACY, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793-4. The inscriptions of the third class are also explained in an appendix.

[16] Properly speaking, they are in the ancient Pehlvi language, (see above, p. 47,) which under the Sassanides, though no longer a living language, was, in a manner, the language of the learned, answering in some respects to the Latin in Europe, as the most ancient translations of the Zend writings had been composed in it. At present it is rare to meet with a Parsee priest who

dynasty, as is proved by the style of the head-dress of the figures, the same with that which invariably appears upon their coins. As these princes chose to derive their descent from the ancient kings of Persia, whose successors they styled themselves, they endeavoured to perpetuate their memory by monuments placed as near as possible to those of the former race, and on this account the neighbourhood of Persepolis, styled by them *Istakhar*, became as much classical ground with them as it had been with the ancient Persians; though their monuments were not confined to its vicinity.

The remains of the first class, or the old Persian monuments, with which alone we shall at present concern ourselves, are of a totally different character, so different that, fortunately, there is no danger of confounding them with those of a later epoch. To this class belong the ruins of the palace of Persepolis itself, called by the Arabs, Chehl-Menâr, or the Forty Pillars; with two great sepulchral monuments in their neighbourhood.

2dly. Four sepulchres, resembling the former, situated about five miles farther towards the N. E., near Neksh-i-Roostem, and dignified with the name of the Tombs of the Kings; with the remains of some ancient edifices in their neighbourhood. Besides these, there are other ruins lying between Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem, consisting in columns, pillars, and tombs; some of which do not appear to have been ever completed. In the next place, are situated in the plains of Mourghaub the ruins of Pasargada; and, lastly, more to the north, those of Bisoutoun, on the confines of Media; with others of inferior consequence scattered here and there. It is clear that our observations ought not to be confined to a single spot, as anciently the whole of this territory was classical ground. The principal ruins are those of Chehl-Menâr,[17] and are evidently the remains of a great and splendid edifice, arresting the attention

understands it, and Europeans are acquainted with it only by means of the little vocabularies which ANQUETIL DU PERRON has preserved for us. The inscriptions of the ancient Persian era, or the first class, which we shall proceed to consider, are totally distinct from the above.

[17] See the plan annexed. The pillars are not exactly forty, but the Persians use the term to express any large number, and have applied it to other great palaces; for instance, that at Ispahan. CHARDIN, ii. p. 33.

of the spectator even by their remarkable position. They are situated on the declivity of the mountainous region of Persia, and rising, as it were, from the very foot of the hill where it meets the plain. That lofty and rocky chain of hills, of the most beautiful grey marble, forms a sort of crescent, opening to receive the back part of the ruins, while their front extends far into the plain. They are constructed on a platform hewn out of the rock, and facing the four quarters of the heavens.[18] The nature of the ground, of which the architect appears to have availed himself, gives the whole building the aspect of an amphitheatre erected on three terraces rising successively above one another. The whole is built of marble, quarried in the neighbouring hills, and so artfully are these enormous blocks disposed upon one another, without lime or cement, that it is often difficult, by the nicest observation, to detect their junctures. The passages from the lower to the upper terraces are by marble staircases, wide enough to allow ten horsemen to ascend abreast.[19] The staircase of the first terrace (*a*, *b*; see the plan) led to a portico, of which only four pilasters (*cc*, *dd*) remain standing, which, grouped in pairs, form the entrance towards the north and south. A pair of fabulous animals, of colossal size, are sculptured on each, and appear to have been placed there as sentinels to guard the entrance. Between them are situated (at *e*) four columns; every thing else here is in ruins. From this first terrace you ascend by steps (*g*, *i*) resembling the first, only less wide, to a second terrace, where you find one, or more properly four colonnades, (H,) a considerable number of the columns of which still remain. They are fluted, about forty-eight or fifty feet high, and of such size that three men can with difficulty encompass them. Instead of capitals, they are surmounted by the heads of animals *addossed*, as a herald would term it, the space between the heads being hollow, and probably designed to contain the supports of a

[18] PORTER, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 582.

[19] The three terraces are indicated on the plan by the capital letters A, B, C. PORTER, p. 644, distinguishes them into five, but it appears to me more simple to treat of them as three, and to consider the fourth and fifth (which are scarcely distinguishable from one another, in consequence of their ruins) as portions of the third.

flat roof;[20] so as to form a great peristyle of the whole edifice. These colonnades lead to several edifices still standing, of which the largest (*r*) is situated on the same level; the others (*s*, *t*, *x*, *w*) stand higher up, and form, as it were, a third terrace. They all contain a number of apartments of various sizes, and appear to have been occupied as habitations. The interior of these buildings is decorated with numerous designs, which are doubly interesting to the antiquarian, as evidently referring to the destination of the building to which they are attached. We have already mentioned the fabulous animals by which the entrances at *c* and *d* appear to be guarded; in like manner the walls of the staircase at *g* and *i* are adorned with a great number of human figures, distinguished from one another by the variety of their dresses and attributes, and apparently forming a procession. The walls and entrances of the buildings further back are no less plentifully sculptured with representations, either of persons of rank, with their attendants and insignia, or the combats of wild or fabulous animals, sometimes with one another, and sometimes with men. On the face of the rock,[21] from which the terrace projects on which the building stands, are two sepulchral monuments at *d* and *e*. A façade has been formed in the surface of the cliff, at a considerable height from the ground, behind which is a square apartment, at present to be approached only by an entrance forcibly broken open; the true entrance having never been discovered by the closest investigation. Beneath, the rock has been cut away perpendicularly, so as to make all access impracticable. The façades of the two sepulchres are nearly similar, and the same singular arrangement prevails in four other tombs, about nine miles from the first, at Neksh-i-Roostem; in a mountain, called from that circumstance, The Mountain of the Tombs of the Kings.[22]

Such is the general aspect of these celebrated remains,

[20] PORTER (vol. i. p. 635) has shown that this was probably the case; and compares very aptly the account of the palace of Solomon, 1 KINGS, vii. 2, 3.

[21] The mountain is now called Rachmed.

[22] PORTER has delineated (plate xvi.) the mountain of Naksh-i-Roostem; and (plate xvii.) the lowermost of the two sepulchres, the interior of which he also explored. CHARDIN, on the other hand, has given engravings of the two monuments near Persepolis. They differ only in some unimportant particulars.

which I shall now endeavour to illustrate. The first terrace is approached by a single ascent from the west, consisting of a double staircase of blocks of marble, forming two ranges of a hundred and three steps, of such proportions, as to prepare the mind of the stranger for the colossal objects which await him; though, at the present day, a large part of the lower half of the staircase is unquestionably covered with earth.

On the first terrace, (A,) the fabulous animals which appear to guard the double portal at *c* and *d*, necessarily first attract our attention. They are of colossal proportions; twenty feet in length, and eighteen high, and stand upon a plinth five feet high; their heads and fore-quarters projecting from the rest of the body, which is cut in relievo. Many other monstrous figures are sculptured on the walls, as architectural ornaments, or as symbolical representations belonging to a mythology altogether peculiar; from which the ancient artist drew his ideas. They are all capable of being explained; but their explanation uniformly tends to show that this mythological system was of Oriental-Persian, or rather, of Bactro-Indian origin. The native land of all these chimeras is the range of mountains denominated that of Badakshan or Cashgar, (the probable abode of the old Medo-Persian race,) which separates Bactriana from Hindustan and China, and is bordered to the east and north by the desert of Cobi. It was long celebrated for its precious productions of gold and gems, and also became the scene of oriental fable, and the legendary abode of those traditionary monsters which, besides being celebrated by the Asiatic poets, have become familiar to the inhabitants of Europe.

That such was the case, we learn even from the fragments of Ctesias, in which are preserved the traditions current in Persia respecting India and the nations bordering upon it; which, though mixed up with much that was fabulous, must not be set down (as has often been done) as pure inventions of the author. The countries in question continued in his time to be the land of Persian romance; nor had any one better opportunities of collecting such legends than Ctesias, who resided so long at the court of Persia. Accordingly, he has given us a description of many of these monstrous figures almost limb for limb, and possibly

we might have found them all depicted in his writings, if these had come down to us entire. Nearly the same descriptions are repeated in the *History of Animals of Ælian*, and in his *Various History;* most of the particulars being taken from Ctesias. The elements of this mythological creation were all real animals;—the lion, the bull, the horse, the onager or wild ass, the rhinoceros, the ostrich, the eagle, and the scorpion, blended together in a variety of monstrous combinations, to which the fancy of the poet or the artist superadded a number of capricious ornaments. For this very reason it would be too much to expect that his description should tally limb for limb with the sculptures; it being sufficient if we can trace the essential characteristics of the same animal in both: the accordance in points of detail may be sometimes more and sometimes less exact, provided the figure, as a whole, belongs exclusively to the region of mythology.

The first pair of these monsters,[23] which guards the entrance at *c*, and are turned like it towards the west, have lost their heads; but as the same animal remains sculptured in various parts of the interior of the palace fighting with a lion,[24] there is no doubt that they were meant for unicorns. Ctesias has given us an account of the figure, as well as the *habitat* of this mythological animal.[25] He tells us, "That in the mountains of India the wild ass is found, which is as large and larger than a horse. His body is white, his head red, and on his forehead he has a horn an ell long, which towards the bottom is white, black in the middle, and red towards the tip. He is one of the strongest of all creatures, and so fleet that neither a horse nor any other animal is able to overtake him. When first pursued he runs leisurely, but by and by increases in speed.[26] He defends himself with his

[23] NIEBUHR, plate xx. A; LE BRUYN, table cxxii.; and PORTER, plate xxxi. The drawing given by Chardin is altogether incorrect. He has supplied the heads, which are wanting, according to his own fancy.

[24] NIEBUHR, plate xxiii.; PORTER, plate xxxv. Porter has expressly remarked (p. 598) that the drawing in plate xxxv. represents the same animal with that in plate xxxi. The only difference is in the attitude, and some of the ornaments.

[25] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 25.

[26] The accuracy of this description (with the exception of the fabulous horn) is attested by the statement and drawing of PORTER, (i. p. 459, plate ii.,) who killed one of these animals in hunting. The Persian name is Goor.

horn, with his teeth, and his hoofs, and often lays prostrate many men and horses." Ælian has also given us the Indian name of the animal,[27] Kartazonon, which Tychsen pronounces to mean, the swift animal, or the swift rhinoceros.[28] Ælian's description proves that various accounts were current of the figure of this fabulous animal. He tells us that the horn is not straight but tortuous;[29] and, accordingly, many of the sculptures in the interior of the palace present this variety. Other differences will also appear on comparison and examination. The body of the animal, however, is represented not only by Chardin and Niebuhr, but by Porter, as resembling the horse, or rather the wild ass, and I cannot comprehend how the last-named traveller should insist on maintaining that it is meant for that of a bull; to which his own drawings as well as those of his predecessors bear no sort of resemblance.[30] At all events, to whatever animal the body may belong, the figure is clearly meant for a unicorn, and belongs to that fabulous class of animals from which alone (as the next description will tend to show) the figures guarding the entrances were taken. It is to be observed, that we must not confound with the above another one-horned animal with wings, occurring in the interior of the palace, and which we shall by and by have occasion to describe.

It is remarkable that the ass, which is the most tardy and most patient of all tame animals, should in its wild state be the swiftest and the most untamable. Compare the description of the chase of these animals in MORIER, *Journey*, etc. ii. p. 201.

[27] ÆLIAN, *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 20.

[28] See Appendix to the following volume.

[29] Κέρας οὐ λεῖον ἀλλ' ἑλιγμοὺς ἔχον τινάς. See PORTER, plate xxxv.

[30] Compare the figure in plate xxxv. As Sir Robert Porter adds, (in opposition to my view of the matter,) that he could not avoid recognising in this animal the bull, (see vol. i. p. 587,) it may appear presumptuous to controvert the testimony of such an eyewitness. I go, however, by his own design, which any reader may compare. At the same time I have on my side two other eyewitnesses, NIEBUHR, ii. 126, and MORIER, i. 132; neither of whom took the animal in question for a bull. The first sets it down as the unicorn so often represented here; the last notices particularly its resemblance to a horse. Neither, as far as I am aware, was the single horn ever, in the Persian mythology, attributed to the bull, or even to the primal animal of that species of the Zendavesta. If, with Porter, we consider the body and its muscles are too powerful for those of the horse or the wild ass, I should be inclined to pronounce it to be the rhinoceros rather than the bull; since I am willing to admit that the former has contributed to furnish the elements of the fabulous unicorn. Compare the statements of Tychsen in the Appendix to the following volume.

The second pair of monsters, placed at the eastern portal, (*d*,) and turned towards the mountains in the same direction, are of equally colossal stature, but of a totally different form. They are winged, have the body of lions, the feet of horses, with human heads, crowned with the tiara, or diadem, and with long beards artfully curled. This monster also was borrowed from the same mountainous country, and we are indebted for a description of it to the same author, Ctesias. It appears to be the Martichoras, or Man-eater. "There is an animal," he says, "in India, of prodigious strength, surpassing in size the largest lion, of a colour red as vermilion, with a thick coat of hair like a dog. The Indians call it Martichoras, which signifies man-devourer. Its head is unlike that of any other quadruped, and resembles the human countenance. Its feet are like those of a lion, and its tail has a sting like a scorpion's."

This description also tallies (a few points excepted) with the figure of the animal delineated. The latter has not the scorpion's tail, but this, as we shall have occasion to see when treating of the griffin, was nevertheless a part of the mythology in question. Again, the figure has the feet not of a lion, but a horse; and has wings, of which Ctesias says nothing. The essential characteristic, however, of this monster, and that which at once stamps it as such, is its human countenance, which, according to the testimony of Porter, belongs to no other of the animals represented here.[31] This convinces me that the present figure was meant for the Martichoras of Ctesias, notwithstanding some differences in the other members; which are observable also in some smaller representations of the same animal, where also it appears with a human face.[32] The name itself indicates the symbolical meaning which the form of the animal appears intended to express. Merdenkhor, or man-eater, is the term now used by the Persians to denote a daring warrior.[33] The diadem denotes unquestionably the monarch, which is confirmed by the artfully curled beard. The whole therefore appears to betoken the courage and wisdom of the king; in like manner as the unicorn was, in the East, the

[31] PORTER, vol. i. p. 592.
[32] See, for instance, NIEBUHR, table xviii.
[33] See the Appendix for the opinion of Tychsen.

symbol of strength and speed: the most appropriate decorations for the portals of an imperial palace.

A modern author, to whose works I shall frequently have occasion to refer,[34] thinks that he discovers in these chimeras the heads of the clean animals, or of the creation of Ormuzd, as opposed to that of Ahriman; and rejects my interpretation, which refers it to the Martichoras; because, as he alleges, the latter being the head or chief of the unclean animal creation, or that of Ahriman, could have no place before the entrance of a palace. But it is not the unicorn, but the bull, or the primal bull, whence come the clean animals, which is mentioned in the Zendavesta as the head of the clean creation; and the bull never is to be confounded with the unicorn. Neither, as far as I am aware, is there any mention in the same authority of any chief or head of the opposite order of animals, far less that the Martichoras was such; which indeed is never mentioned in the Zendavesta. Without inquiring whether the figures of the heads of the creation of Ormuzd were stationed at the entrance of the palace, and supposing it to have been so, it remains to be proved that there were two heads of that creation, because two pair of animals occur in the present instance; and, as Rhode himself admits, the image of the unclean race was inadmissible here.

In the space between the two portals, at *e*, formerly stood four pillars, of which only two remain. They are fluted, with capitals of a very peculiar form.[35] Whether they had any further destination we must be content to be ignorant; but the first glance suffices to show that they are as little allied to the architecture of Egypt as to that of Greece.

The remaining space of the first terrace presents nothing more for our observation, than a square cistern at *f*, hewn out of the solid rock. Such a basin, often supplied with a fountain, is of frequent occurrence in the courts of oriental palaces at the present day. The more accurate researches of Porter have proved that this cistern derived its water from a spacious tank or pond to the east of the palace, of which vestiges still remain, by means of subterraneous channels, or ducts, extended in various directions: and this

[34] RHODE, *Heilige Sage der Perser*, p. 219, sqq. [35] PORTER, plate xlv. B.

fact destroys the hypotheses which had been raised respecting the destination of those ducts.[36]

From the terrace A we ascend by the magnificent stairs at *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, to the second terrace at B; but before examining this second platform, the steps which lead to it, and the sculptures with which the walls are decorated, demand our attention. The staircase is double, extending to the length of two hundred and twelve feet, each having a landing-place in the middle, where it turns. These stairs conduct from the court to the apartments above; and are no less worthy of admiration than the former for their grandeur and commodious construction, although towards the bottom they are encumbered with earth and rubbish. The sculptures, however, with which the sides are adorned, are their principal distinction.

On the wall which presents itself to the left of any one entering by the portico, (see *g* in the plan,) are discovered four rows of figures, one above the other, in a sort of natural disorder, and most of them, apparently, engaged in discourse. To any one acquainted with the habits of the ancient courts of the East, the situation where these figures are found, as well as their appearance, suggests at once their meaning. They are meant to represent the "Friends," or, in the language of the East, the "Kinsmen of the King," "Those who stood in the king's gates;" or, as we should express it, the courtiers and great officers of the king. According to the customs of the Persians, the majesty of the king required that a number of such courtiers should be at all times found before the gates, or in the courts and antechambers of the palace,[37] to be ready to attend the least signal of his pleasure. The artist, therefore, has only given a faithful representation of what really took place, when he has delineated them assembled in numbers and engaged in conversation; of which a nearer inspection of the individual figures will afford us still better proof.

These figures are characterized by their dress, their ornaments, and their insignia. Their dress (as the first inspection is sufficient to prove) is twofold; some being habited in a full and ample attire; others in a lighter and closer dress. The former I suppose to be such as had received from the king the distinction of the Median dress, (a distinction represented by that of the caftan or khilat of the modern Persians,) or possibly such as by their rank or office were entitled to wear it; the others I presume to be such as had not yet attained this honour, and are consequently represented in the old Persian dress.

[36] PORTER, vol. i. 594.

[37] A clear idea of these personages may be gathered from CYROP. viii. p. 202, and several other places. They were commonly called ἔντιμοι and ὁμότιμοι, or also συγγενεῖς, which latter term did not always imply a real consanguinity with the king, but only a certain dignity. Compare ESTHER, iii. 2, 3.

All that we know of the ancient Median dress tallies with that worn by the first class of figures. It was a long and loose attire, reaching to the feet, and so enveloping the figure, as to conceal its defects.[38] But it is an error to imagine that all the Persians indiscriminately adopted the garb of the vanquished. It continued, on the contrary, to be the court-dress, worn by the king, and those to whom he sent it as a mark of honour.[39] Even after the use of it became more general, it continued to be the customary mark of distinction, and in such cases was marked by its superior fineness and the beauty of its colours.

The other I consider to be the old Persian dress, which was of leather, and fitted close. "You are going to fight," says Sandanis to Crœsus,[40] "against a people that wear drawers, and all the rest of their dress of leather." The sculptor was, of course, unable to express the material of the dress; but the fashion of it coincides with the above account. The dagger also is worn, according to the Persian custom, on the right side.[41]

The head-dress differs as well as the garments. Those appareled in the Median attire wear the head-dress belonging to the same, which resembled that of the king, and, like the garments, was bestowed by him.[42] The form, it is true, does not answer to that of the Median tiara, which ended in a point. I do not pretend to solve this difficulty, but it may be observed that we have no reason for supposing the form of the Medo-Persic tiara to have continued invariable.[43]

[38] See the places collected by BRISSON, p. 544, etc.

[39] See XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 206, 213; and several other places.

[40] HEROD. i. 71. [41] Ibid. vii. 61. [42] ESTHER, vi. 8.

[43] Most of the places bearing on this point have been collected by BRISSON, p. 61, etc. If any one will compare these with one another, and not argue from single passages, he will probably come to the same conclusion with

The customs of the East, permanent in other respects, display considerable diversity in this. Even the Sassanian princes, who usually wore a particular head-dress, did not always retain the same, as may be seen by their coins; and it may be added, that we are acquainted with the tiara of the Medes only by description, and not from any other delineation. With respect to the ancient Persian head-dress, which is here represented as a cap, we have (as far as I am aware) no information whatever.

The ornaments worn by these figures denote their high rank, and answer exactly to those worn by Persians of distinction, consisting in necklaces, armlets, and earrings. They are observed on those in Median as well as in Persian attire; and in both cases were presents from the king, and could only be worn by his permission.[44]

As for the mode of wearing the hair, when we shall have occasion to treat of the dress of the king, we shall see that this was artificial, and, in fact, a sort of peruke, which was as completely the costume of the old Persian monarchy, as of the courts of Europe in the seventeenth century.

These figures are represented as supporting various implements; some a sort of vessel, others a short staff with a round head, others different things not easy to be distinguished. The vessel appears to be either a golden cup, and as such to denote a personage privileged to sit at the king's table (one of the highest distinctions among the Persians[45]); or it is a vase containing perfumes, such as myrrh or the like; and as perfumes, as also liquids, were employed in religious rites, it may denote the relation of the bearer to the Magi, and his admission into their order; which appears the more probable from the circumstance that the king himself in other relievos is represented bearing such a vessel.

I do not believe that these vessels denoted the office of cup-bearer; though that was of the highest dignity in the Medo-Persian court.[46] The others who bear short staves, I

myself, that the fashion of the most ancient kind of tiara was not invariable. Even the Persian kings are not always represented on their darics with the *tiara recta*. See TYCHSEN, *Commentatio* I., *de Nummis Veterum Persarum, in Comment. Reg. Soc. Gott.* vol. i.

[44] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 224. *Anab.* i. p. 257. A multitude of other places may be found collected by BRISSON, p. 204.

[45] EZRA, iii. 3. Compare XENOPH. *Anab.* i. *Op.* p. 269. HEROD. iii. 132.

[46] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 10.

conceive to be the Melophori, a chosen body of the handsomest and most distinguished of the king's body-guard, who were in immediate attendance on his person, and carried, instead of a lance, a stave with a golden head, shaped like an apple.[47]

The circumstance that most of these figures are armed, has given rise to the idea that they represent the body-guard, which is contradicted by the diversity of their dresses, and the natural irregularity of their attitudes. We shall also find that the body-guard were represented in another place. It was customary among the Persians to appear armed in the king's presence;[48] as in our courts it is necessary to wear a sword. Nor are these figures completely armed, their only weapons being a dagger, (which in the East is rarely laid aside, and being often studded with precious stones, forms a principal ornament,) or a bow, enveloped in a sheath, in the same manner that Europeans wear their swords in a scabbard. Niebuhr has already shown that this sheath must not be mistaken for a shield.[49] A Persian seldom quitted his bow, as may be gathered from several passages in history; particularly from the account of the assassination of Smerdis.[50]

A difference of rank is also indicated by the different carriage of these figures towards one another. Those without the caftan, when seen in conversation with others bearing that distinction, hold their hands before their mouths, that their breath may not reach the other. Others have their hands covered by the sleeves of their robes, which also was a sign of reverence among the Persians.[51]

The wall on the right hand of the stairs at *i*, presents a totally different scene. "Here may be distinguished a long procession of men variously attired, in several rows, one above another, who appear to be ascending towards the palace, and carry a variety of things in their hands." Five or six figures, clothed alike, form a division, which is parted from the succeeding one by a large leaf by way of separation.

[47] Μηλοφόρος *(apple-bearers)*. They were selected from the guard of ten thousand immortals, (as they were styled,) and appear to have resembled, in some degree, our chamberlains. See the places collected by BRISSON, p. 270.

[48] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 202.

[49] NIEBUHR, ii. p. 128.

[50] HEROD. iii. 78.

[51] XENOPH. *Op.* pp. 214, 215; et *Hist. Gr. Op.* p. 454.

The first of the party bears nothing, and is led by the hand by one of the officers of the court above mentioned.[52]

It is true that we possess only half of this series of figures, which unquestionably filled the upper portion of the wall also, consisting of a projecting parapet, which has now disappeared. What remains is, however, sufficient to give a clue to the meaning of the sculpture which represents the different nations of the empire, or their satraps, offering by their ambassadors their presents to the king.

According to the maxims of the East, the monarch is not only the ruler of the people, but the proprietor also of the land; and this title was anciently acknowledged, not only by the payment of certain arbitrarily imposed tributes, but by presents of the most valuable productions of each country.[53] These are made on certain solemn occasions, such as the king's birthday,[54] and, among the Persians, more especially at the beginning of their new year, which commences with the vernal equinox. The governors of the different provinces then transmit their offerings; without which an inferior cannot, in the East, present himself before a superior. The description which a modern traveller has given us of one of these feasts proves that the relievo in question has reference to some festivity like that of the new year, the origin of which is attributed by the Persians to the founder of their monarchy, Jemsheed:[55]—

"The first ceremony of the festival of Norooz," says Morier, "was the introduction of the presents from the different provinces. That from prince Hossein Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the conductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper the list of the articles. The present from prince Hossein Ali Mirza consisted of a very long train of large trays placed on men's heads, on which were shawls, stuffs of all sorts, pearls, etc.; then many trays filled with sugar, and sweetmeats; after that many mules laden with fruit, etc.

[52] CHARDIN (table lviii.) has given a full delineation: NIEBUHR (xxii. xxiii.) has only represented a part. See, however, PORTER, plates xxxvii.—xliii., for the best representation.

[53] CYROP. viii. *Op.* p. 230. [54] PLATO, *Op.* ii. p. 121, ed. STEPH.

[55] MORIER, i. p. 207. The Persian name of this feast is Norooz.

The next present was from Mahomed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan, the eldest born of the king's sons, but who had been deprived by his father of the succession, because the Georgian slave who bore him was of an extraction less noble than that of the mothers of the younger princes. His present accorded with the character which is assigned to him; it consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules. After this came the present from the prince of Yezd, another of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and the silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Mesched; and last of all, and the most valuable, was that from Hajee Mohammed Hossein Khan, Ameen-ood-Doulah. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine Cashmire shawl, and each carrying a load of one thousand *tomauns*."

In like manner, it is probable that, in the relievo we are considering, the persons offering the presents are not the different nations themselves, but their governors or satraps, who offer them in their name; which, as far as the representation is concerned, amounts to the same, as the deputies and their attendants are taken from the tribe or nation they represent; and it is clear that different nations, and not different corporations, or the like, are indicated by these groups of figures, because their dresses are distinct and peculiar. Any one possessed of an accurate acquaintance with the various garbs and head attires of the East, might be able, on comparing these with the descriptions of Herodotus in his catalogue of the army of Xerxes, to illustrate many particulars, which it is hardly possible to explain without a thorough acquaintance with both these sources of information. To avoid, therefore, running into mere conjecture, I shall content myself (abstaining from too great details) with some general observations, which may suffice to show the probability of the interpretation offered.

The diversity of their dresses proves these figures to belong to different nations, and those nations situated under very different climates—very hot and very cold. One individual is wrapped in a dress of furs,[56] while another is destitute of

[56] CHARDIN, table lviii. fig. I, H.

any clothing whatever, except a light apron about the lower parts of his body.[57] The greater number wear loose and flowing garments; some on the contrary have dresses which fit their persons closely. This is the case with their trowsers also; most of which are the long and loose ἀναξυρίδες, such as Herodotus describes as the customary dress of the Medes and other nations.[58] The greatest variety, however, prevails in the head-dresses, in which the Orientals have at all times principally delighted to show their taste of splendour; but our little acquaintance with the different modes which anciently prevailed in this particular, makes it impossible to define any thing with certainty; and even the accurate designs of Porter only tend to teach us caution, proving that the head attire of those in the highest row are no longer discernible: nor can we depend upon those given by Chardin of the other rows of figures. It is true that Herodotus, in his catalogue so often referred to, is very particular in his description of this part also of the dresses of the army, but we must remember that in time of war some sort of helmet was worn by almost every nation; a dress which is not be looked for on the present occasion.

The offerings presented by the different nations may be ranged under certain general classes, consisting either of vessels of various forms and kinds, such as are now commonly used in the East; and were probably carried full of spices and other precious commodities; or different articles of dress, such as shawls, robes, or furs; or ornaments, for instance, armlets (such I conceive to be the little snakes carried by some figures[59]) and necklaces, or various implements, with the exception of weapons. Others, again, carry

[57] CHARDIN, same plate, fig. F, S. It is worthy of remark, however, that the ambassador of this tribe is completely attired, though in other instances the deputy is habited like the people. It is probable that a sense of decorum made this necessary. We may presume the Indians to be represented by these figures; which appears to be confirmed by their presents, consisting of vessels, probably filled with gold, and carried in a pair of scales; of ornaments; and of a wild ass, (an animal much sought for the royal game-parks,) which is so faithfully delineated that Porter declares it to be impossible to mistake it.

[58] NIEBUHR (p. 133) asserts that the upper row of figures, nearly effaced, are habited in lions' hides. These could hardly be others than the Ethiopians situated above Egypt, or the wild inhabitants of Nubia, who are described as thus habited as late as the catalogue of Herodotus (vii. 69).

[59] See CHARDIN, M and N.

esteemed fruits of different kinds, especially in the shape of conserves; as appears to be indicated by the form of the vessels in which they are still commonly kept in the East; while others, again, are seen leading up different animals—horses, camels, bullocks, mules, sheep, and even wild asses, tamed, and led by a halter. All these animals are represented in their natural proportions, without any monstrous or fabulous addition. The horse is sometimes figured single, sometimes yoked with another to a car. In the second row, the Median charger may be easily recognised. Each animal is evidently meant to denote a number of the same kind. Niebuhr asserts[60] that the remains of the highest row of figures contain that of a lioness, which, as well as the rest, is perfectly consistent with the manners and usages of the Orientals, and especially of the Persians; among whom wild animals, no less than tame, were customary presents to their kings. The former were kept in their parks for the chase, or even as curiosities:[61] the latter were used to breed from, as well as for show. In some satrapies, for instance that of Cilicia, a certain number of horses made part of the yearly tribute;[62] and that the other articles described are still presented as offerings, is shown by the passage of Morier giving an account of the procession of the new year.

Again, that these presents were designed for the king, and not (as Chardin and others have supposed) as offerings to any deity, is apparent from the very order of the procession. The first person in each compartment, who is obviously the deputy, carries nothing, leaving the presents to be brought up by others of his nation, who support them, according to custom, with both hands. The custom continues to be the same at Constantinople, and in all the other courts of the East.[63] Every deputy, however, is led by the hand by a master of the ceremonies, who bears a staff. This again is in accordance to the ceremonial of the Persian court, by which no one could be admitted to the presence without be-

[60] NIEBUHR, loc. cit.

[61] CTESIAS, *ap.* ÆL. iv. 21; XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 14, etc. Compare the description of a presentation to the court of modern Persia, in KAEMPFER, *Amœnit. Exotic.* p. 216, etc.

[62] HEROD. iii. 90.

[63] For a drawing and description of this in the court of modern Persia, see CHARDIN, vol. iv. table xxxii.

ing introduced by one of these ushers, who were distinguished by the rods or staves they carried, and thence termed by the Greeks σκηπτοῦχοι, stave or sceptre bearers.[64] In other respects their dress resembles that of the other courtiers, except that they appear alternately in the Median and the Persian attire, their badge of office being the sceptre or rod.

The number of the groups is made by Porter to amount to twenty, if we include two not represented in the drawing. This appears strictly conformable to the twenty satrapies, into which Darius Hystaspis divided his empire; at the same time we cannot identify the satrapies represented, because we are not entitled to suppose them to stand in the same order in which they are described by Herodotus; but we at least learn that the sculpture must be assigned to the reign of that monarch. In this respect it is highly deserving of remark, that not only are the Median and Persian dresses worn by the courtiers indiscriminately, but the habits of the masters of the ceremonies, or ushers, regularly alternate from Median to Persian, and vice versâ. Does not this confirm the idea that the whole sculpture belongs to the age of the Medo-Persian dynasty?

I must close this account of the relievos, with the remark, that the place assigned to each appears to have been chosen designedly, so as to place the representation of the court on the left hand (that is, the side of honour[65]) of any one entering, and the images of those bearing presents on the right hand, or the less honourable place: an arrangement which can scarcely have been the effect of chance. And it may be asked, what more appropriate subjects could have been selected to decorate the walls of this palace? what could have been devised more simple, and at the same time more expressive?

Along the steps of each staircase is disposed a line of armed men; so that a man is assigned to each. Their position, as well as the circumstance of their being armed, proves them to be the king's body-guard; of whom those stationed on the right, at *k*, where the procession is repre-

[64] See the authorities cited by BRISSON, p. 309, sqq. Cyrus had three hundred of these court attendants. XENOPH. p. 215.

[65] Agreeably to the customs of the East, XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 220. The custom (as XENOPHON shows in the place quoted) arose from this, that the left is the unguarded side, and therefore that of confidence.

sented, are in full costume, as if to do honour to the solemnity. They wear the Median accoutrements and head-dress, but without necklaces or other ornaments borne by the courtiers, and support with both hands a long lance, grounded before them in the earth. Behind them are suspended their quivers, and their bows, without a sheath, are passed over at the left shoulder. The soldiers on the left hand, at *g h*, are more simply attired and armed, bearing only the lance, without any bow or quiver; and their heads merely bound about with a fillet. All this corresponds with the usages of the Persian court, where the king's body-guard formed a privileged and numerous class of soldiers, styled by the Greeks *doryphori*, or lance-men. Some authors have made them the same with the ten thousand immortals, but this needs confirmation. It was their office to guard all the approaches to the palace; and they probably received from Cyrus himself the right of wearing the Median attire, in which they are represented, as they ranked above all other classes of soldiers.

At the same time it is evident, from the descriptions of the Greeks, that there existed also other troops, the *aichmophori*, or pike-men, distinct from the former; but whether this distinction has been observed in the instance before us, and the soldiers on the right hand, armed only with the spear, be meant to represent this body of troops, is what I do not pretend to determine.[66]

In the upper portion of the wall we observe four times repeated the sculpture of a lion in the act of rending a unicorn. Are we to suppose this a mere capricious decoration, or as expressive of a symbolical meaning? I should lean to the former opinion, if it appeared that the combats of wild beasts were a favourite pastime among the Persians, as they were with the Romans; but, notwithstanding the devotion of their monarchs to the chase, we can discover no traces of this pastime in their annals. It is probable, therefore, that these figures had a deeper meaning. We have already had occasion to remark, that the unicorn seems to have been adopted by the Persians as the emblem of speed and strength. If, in like manner, we suppose the lion to

[66] See the places quoted by BRISSON, pp. 270, 280.

be the symbol of sovereignty, as it appears to have been both in the East and the West, with an especial reference to the Persian power, the whole device may be fairly interpreted to mean, that nothing, however strong, was capable of resisting the might of the Persian monarch and his empire. If the unicorn had been meant to denote some particular kingdom, (for instance, the Babylonian, as Porter supposes,) what reason could be alleged for a fourfold repetition of the same emblems, instead of the representation of other kingdoms also? Still less can I imagine these figures designed to typify the triumph of the good over the evil principle, because we have no reason to suppose the unicorn was ever assumed as the emblem of the latter.

The staircases referred to, lead to the second great terrace, (B,) which must once have presented a most magnificent spectacle, from the grandeur and splendour of the edifices it supported. "Nothing," says Porter, "can be more striking than the view of its ruins; so vast and magnificent, so fallen, mutilated, and silent: the court of Cyrus, and the scene of his bounties; the pavilion of Alexander's triumph, and, alas! the awful memorial of the wantonness of his power."[67] The first object which anciently presented itself to the observer was a columned hall of the largest size, surrounded on both sides and in front by others of smaller dimensions. Each of these subordinate apartments was supported by twelve columns, and the great central one by six and thirty. The columns of the inferior halls were sixty, those of the principal fifty-five feet in height. They are all fluted, and surmounted by capitals formed into the shape of the heads of horses, or, according to Porter, of bulls,[68] placed neck to neck, but so as to leave a space or hollow between them. The accurate researches of Porter have proved that these crevices were meant to support beams, and that the pillars upheld a roof, possibly of cedar, to serve as a protection against the heat of the sun. The same was

[67] According to Porter, this platform extends three hundred and fifty feet from north to south, and three hundred and eighty feet from east to west. PORTER, vol. i. p. 631.

[68] PORTER, i. plate xlv. A. I cannot conceive how Sir Ker Porter could discover in these heads also a resemblance to those of bulls. Not only have they no horns, but the head, shoulders, and hoof, are clearly those of a horse, and even the reins are marked.

probably effected on the sides by means of veils or hangings, as would appear from a passage in the book of Esther:[69] "Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble."

Of these beds, or rather seats, no remains exist, but we must not pass unobserved an interesting remark of Porter. He noticed that the pedestals of the twelve central columns of the great hall are higher by some feet than the rest, and appear to prove that a sort of *dais* anciently stood there, which was probably meant to support the throne of the king. Not only have we reason, from general custom, to conclude that the throne was thus elevated, but we shall be convinced that such was the case in the court of Persia in particular.

There can be no doubt as to the destination of this colonnade; which is clearly proved not only by its position and character, but by the very decorations of the staircases. It was the hall of audience, the scene of great national solemnities; where the king, seated on his throne, was accustomed to receive the offerings of his tributaries. The eyes of those who approached were prepared by the appropriate emblems on the walls for the scene which awaited them, and the majesty of these stately columns must have filled every one with awe, even before they were admitted to the presence of the monarch in all his magnificence.

In like manner, in the other buildings of this as well as of the third terrace, it is from the decorations on the walls that we must principally form our notions of their destination; and, following the simple line of interpretation which we have already found confirmed, namely, that the ornaments have a reference to the destination of the building, (which they appear, as it were, graphically to demonstrate,) we shall be able to form a probable conjecture.[70]

The most spacious and splendid of the buildings which remain to be described, is also situated on the second ter-

[69] i. 6. A delineation of such a colonnade in front of the palace of Ispahan, may be seen in CHARDIN, ii. table xxxix.

[70] The same custom still prevails in Persia, only that the art of painting has taken the place of sculpture. The paintings in the halls of the great palace at Ispahan represent sometimes the great festivals of the court (MORIER, i. 165); sometimes the likenesses of the king (PORTER, i. 304).

race, at *r*, between the colonnades and the mountain where the two tombs are found. It forms a square, two hundred and ten feet long and wide; having on each side two entrances, adorned with relievos. The northern entrances (M. M.) being wider than the rest, appear to have been the principal. Before each is placed, as a sentinel or guard, a colossal monster, such as we have described, but exceedingly mutilated. Both are turned towards the north. At the distance of two hundred and seventy feet from these, in the opposite direction, and only ten feet from each other, are two others, (at *u*,) forming the great portal by which access was gained into the court before the edifice. The relievos above the principal entrances are the same, and afford a clue to the destination of the edifice.[71] The king is here represented in grand costume, in the act of giving audience to an ambassador. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool of gold at his feet, which was always borne after him;[72] his golden sceptre in his right hand; and in his left the sacred vase or cup Havan,[73] used in sacrifices, and betokening a worshipper of Ormuzd. Close behind him stands a eunuch, (recognised as such by the feminine character of his dress and figure,) bearing a fan, and with his mouth covered; and behind the latter the king's armour-bearer, with his dagger and his bow in a sheath.[74] Both descriptions of body-guards are here represented in their different costumes, the Persian and Median, with their full accoutrements. They are disposed in five rows, one above the other, each row consisting of ten men, standing, it is probable, in the same order in which they were actually arranged.[75] Immediately before the king are placed two costly vessels, probably for the purpose of burning incense; and behind these the deputy or ambassador to whom au-

[71] See NIEBUHR, table xxix.; CHARDIN, table lxiii.

[72] Properly speaking this was not a throne, but a simple chair, or δίφρος, high enough to admit of the use of a footstool, ὑποπόδιον. It was of gold, and adorned with a costly carpet, and no one but the king might sit thereon on pain of death. See the authorities collected by BRISSON, p. 102, etc. It is often represented among these sculptures, and always such as we have described. See ESTHER, v. 1, 2.

[73] *Zendavesta*, iii. 204. Xerxes made libations from it to the sun, and cast it into the sea, as an expiatory offering. HEROD. vii. 54.

[74] That the weapons are the king's, is proved by the fact that the armour-bearer has also his own dagger.

[75] PORTER, i. plate xlix.; see also his description.

dience is given. He is represented in converse, but in the respectful attitude in which the monarch was always approached; his hand before his mouth, to prevent his breath offending the king's majesty. Behind him is another eunuch, holding a vase. Every thing bespeaks grandeur and magnificence. The mural decorations above the canopy contain the emblems of a lion and unicorn; the whole enclosed within a border of roses, admirably carved.

The observations already made sufficiently prove, that the seated figure can be no other than the king; but if this were doubtful, it would be proved by a remark which I am the more disposed to make, as it carries us back to the most remote period of Persian antiquities.

As often as the person of the king occurs in these sculptures, he is represented as of a stature considerably more elevated than his subjects. "As often as Cyrus appeared in public," says Xenophon,[76] "his chariot was driven by a charioteer of lofty stature, but who was still inferior to the king." To assist this national prejudice, the kings of Persia wore a peculiar sort of shoe, intended to give them additional height.[77] It may be added, that the monarch is here represented in full costume, his tiara and armlets even bearing traces of having been once overlaid with gold, and we may here particularly remark the artificial head of hair, and the fashion of the beard.[78] We have already observed that the hair appears to be a peruke, consisting of a multitude of curls: as for the beard, the excessive attention which the modern Persians pay to the growth of theirs, makes it doubtful whether we must consider this natural or artificial, but it is evident that the form, at least of those in the sculptures, has been modified by art. The representation of the king's household and his body-guard prove that all these particulars were prescribed by court etiquette.

The figures referred to are placed above the principal

[76] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii.; *Op.* p. 215. [77] Ibid. loc. cit. p. 206.

[78] The most accurate delineation on a large scale of this style of wearing the hair is to be found in MORIER, ii. plate i. The beard was sometimes even worn in a case, MORIER, ii. p. 32. The Persians still evince the same devotion to their beards, but perukes are utterly unknown. The circumstance of an Englishman taking off his, caused on one occasion considerable alarm, MORIER, i. p. 60. Artificial head-dresses, however, appear to have been at one time extensively used in Southern Asia. Niebuhr describes them as found in the sculptures of the cave of Elephanta.

entrance, by which the ambassador must have been introduced as he came from the colonnades. At the postern entrance, *n n*, is another relievo, which also is capable of being very readily explained.[79] We no longer discover the ambassador, but only the king, seated, as before, on his throne. This throne, however, appears to be supported by three rows of human figures, one above the other, with uplifted arms, in the attitude of caryatides. They all differ in attire and head-dress, and were evidently designed to represent so many distinct nations, and the whole to have been meant as emblematical of the grandeur of the empire and the majesty of the king. I do not attempt to identify the different nations, fourteen in number, which appear to be thus typified: their dresses, however, resemble those of the grand procession already described, and, possibly, if we possessed both series entire, might be found to be identical. Two remarks, however, I cannot forbear making. I. The figure which comes first is habited in the full Median dress; a proof that the Medes were accounted the principal nation, though, like all the rest, they were the servants of the king. II. Niebuhr assures us that in one of the figures of the lower row may be distinctly traced the peculiar profile and the woolly hair of a negro.[80] It would appear, as if for the purpose of placing before the spectator a sensible proof of the extent and magnitude of the monarch's power, the most distinguished and the most remote nations of this empire had been selected; and at the same time we have a proof that these sculptures could only have been designed after that dominion had been extended beyond Egypt.

What an idea does this give us of the degree of communication subsisting among the most ancient nations of the old world, when we thus find, among the earliest monuments of Eastern Asia, the representations of the tribes of Central Africa!

Over the figure of the king hovers another, nearly resembling him in its upper portions, but furnished with wings, and having its lower members concealed by a garment not unlike a farthingale. It is the feroer, or ferooher, the archetype or spirit either of the king himself or Zoroaster,

[79] NIEBUHR, table XXX.; CHARDIN, table lxiv.; PORTER, i. plate l.
[80] NIEBUHR, ii. 147. See PORTER, ii. 670.

respecting which we shall have occasion to speak at greater length when we come to the sepulchral remains. The circumstance of its accompanying the king during his lifetime proves that it does not denote a departed spirit; and its appearance on the dwellings of the living as well as on the abodes of the dead is important, as marking in both places the prevalence of the religion of Zoroaster.

In the interior of the edifice are certain large and highly finished niches; such as are seen at the present day, only of smaller dimensions, in the palaces of Persia; being designed to contain bouquets of different kinds of flowers, particularly roses, the favourite and as it were national flower of Persia.[81]

The four side entrances, *o o* and *p p*, are adorned with other sculptures, representing the king engaged in conflict with a wild animal. The human character of the figure proves that it is meant for the king, and not for a being of a higher order, an Amshaspand for example; because the Persian artists never represented superior beings without some external indication, such as wings. The wild animals are in the act of rearing themselves on their hind legs against the king, who in each instance seizes them by the horn with his left hand, while with his right he plunges a dagger into their breast. The first is a griffin;[82] the second and third resemble the first; the fourth appears to be a lion.

The fiction of the existence of griffins was not only common to all Asia, but even in ancient times extended to Europe also. Here, however, the monster is represented in his original form, and we are also enabled to trace his proper country, which, like the other chimeras we have had occasion to notice, was the Bactro-Indian mountains, and their adjacent desert, where gold was found. Fortunately we derive not only these particulars, but an exact description of the creature, such as it is portrayed in the relievo before us, from the remains of Ctesias. "The griffin," says Ælian,[83]

[81] PORTER, i. 671. He describes a rose bush covered with innumerable blossoms, and fourteen feet high, p. 337. Can we be surprised to find this flower introduced as an ornament in almost every relievo?
[82] PORTER, i. plates lii. liii. liv.
[83] ÆLIAN. *Hist. Anim.* iv. p. 26. CHARDIN gives a representation which NIEBUHR omits; but the more accurate one is that of PORTER, plate lii. For the name griffin see TYCHSEN, in the Appendix, who proves that the Greek γρὺψ was of Persian origin, which appears to be the case also with the German *greif*.

copying the author just mentioned, "is a quadruped of India, having the claws of a lion, and wings upon his back. His fore-parts are red, his wings white, his neck blue; his head and his beak resemble those of the eagle; he makes his nest among the mountains, and haunts the deserts, where he conceals his gold." The description is so exact that it is unnecessary to compare it in detail with the sculpture: it would almost appear as if he had seen the relievo, or as if the artist had copied his description. The only addition made by the latter is that of a horn, the symbol of strength.

The other animal[84] has not been described by any ancient author; it is, however, so closely allied to the foregoing, as to be evidently a creature of the same fiction. Its body and claws, like those of the former, resemble a lion's; like the former, it has wings; its head and tail alone being different. The head and mouth are those of a lion, and its tail that of a scorpion. It is evidently compounded of the other fabulous animals, without the addition of any new effort of the fancy. We have already shown that the scorpion tail formed a part of the attributes of the monstrous creation of the Bactro-Indian mythology, as we learn from Ctesias, who mentions it as belonging to the Martichoras, contrary to what we observe in the sculptures of that animal at Persepolis;[85] either because the artist followed his own fancy, or because the fables to which he adhered were different from those which have reached us. The third figure is a repetition of the same, but without wings; having, however, feathers, but wanting the scorpion tail.[86] The fourth, differing altogether from the preceding, has only been figured by Niebuhr,[87] (Porter not even mentioning it,) and appears to be a young lion, which the king rather presses to him than combats. I cannot (as Rhode[88] does) interpret it to be a hound or dog, which the king takes under his protection, as a sacred animal; but as the delineation is too imperfect to enable me to offer any thing certain, I shall confine my observations to the three preceding.

[84] A representation of this creature is to be found in NIEBUHR, loc. cit., as well as in LE BRUYN, KÄMPFER, and PORTER, vol. i. plate liii. CHARDIN has not given it.

[85] On this account, RHODE, p. 225, thinks he discovers in this animal the Martichoras. It wants, however, the essential characteristic, the human countenance.

[86] PORTER, plate liv.

[87] NIEBUHR, table XXV. D.

[88] RHODE, p. 226.

What, then, is the design of these figures? were they meant merely as ornaments, or do they contain a symbolical meaning? My first idea was that the artist meant only to represent the king as a bold and successful hunter; and certainly much might be said in favour of this interpretation. It is in perfect accordance with the habits of the East, where the chase and war are pursuits held in equal honour, and where the former is looked upon as an image of and preparation for the latter, and not unfrequently, with oriental princes, thought to demand no less preparations. This was especially the case with the Persians, who appear, when at the period of their highest civilization, never to have lost the recollections of their earlier habits, but at all times to have esteemed the chase one of their principal luxuries. For proof of this it is only necessary to refer to the descriptions of the Cyropædia, or even to the inscription on the tomb of Darius Hystaspis: "Among the hunters I bore the palm: what I would that I could."[89]

The simplicity of the delineation also favours this interpretation. No trace is to be seen of artificial or difficult positions: in every instance the animal rears himself on his hind legs against the king, who seizes it by the ear or by the horn, and drives a dagger into its chest. The dress too of the king differs from the state attire which we have been considering: he neither wears the tiara, nor the flowing upper garment of the Medes; nor, on the other hand, is he portrayed in armour, (as would surely have been the case had it been the object to represent him as victorious over an enemy,) but he appears in a tunic without sleeves, as would of course be the case in hunting.

In renouncing, however, this opinion, I am principally influenced by the circumstance, that the animals in question are not real but fabulous monsters, which appear always to have had an allegorical meaning. The sculpture also itself contradicts the above interpretation: for it is a combat, not a chase; and the animal is despatched with a dagger, not attacked with weapons appropriate to hunting.

[89] STRABO, p. 1062.

Supposing, however, an allegory to be designed, we are still left to inquire whether its meaning was historical or religious. Those who incline to the former opinion, conceive that the monsters in question denote conquered kingdoms, in the same manner that the beasts described by the prophet Daniel betokened the four monarchies. But we have no proof that the countries conquered by the Persians were ever typified by such symbols; and, besides, we recognise in these chimeras the essential characteristics of one and the same, the griffin, modified only in some of its inferior members; whereas if different kingdoms had been designed, they would surely have been expressed by different symbols.

We are compelled, therefore, to have recourse to a mixed interpretation, partly religious and partly political. The king, as a servant of Ormuzd, was in duty bound to wage war against the unclean creation of Ahriman.[90] Among these was numbered the griffin. These creatures were believed to infest the desert, to be the guardians of concealed gold, (as Herodotus informs us,) and were formidable to such as sought it. They were also the symbolical emblems of the deevs, or evil genii of the kingdom of Ahriman. The king, therefore, as a servant of Ormuzd, is represented as attacking in these creatures the powers of Ahriman, or of darkness. It must be remarked, that these conflicts of the king with the animals sacred to Ahriman, have nothing in common with the conflicts between the lion and unicorn, so often repeated on the stairs, and described above.

As the decorations on the walls prove that this great edifice was destined for the reception of deputies and ambassadors, so we cannot fail to observe how suitable it was in all its arrangements and decorations for such a purpose. Every thing was calculated to fill the mind with a feeling of awe, and a sense of grandeur. This was the impression excited by the colossal animals which guarded the entrance: while the interior of the edifice revealed the king as the master of many nations, who were represented supporting his throne; at the same time that he was portrayed as the servant of the deity whose commands he fulfilled. Thus even the subordinate decorations harmonized with the general scope and

[90] See in the following section the account of the tenets of Zoroaster.

design of the edifice, which was intended to express by sensible images the greatness and the piety of the monarch.

Next come the buildings which occupy the platform of the third terrace, C; one of which being situated on higher ground than the other, has led Porter to speak of a fourth and fifth terrace. Not only their position, but their internal character and decorations tend to show that these were, to take the word in its widest signification, the inhabited apartments of the palace. They were approached through the colonnades, and thus lay behind the piazzas, where the ministers and grandees of the court were stationed. They consist of four or five edifices, constructed without any uniform plan, and seemingly at different periods, as seems to be especially proved by the style of building observable in that at *t*, which appears considerably older than the rest.[91] As they are all more or less in ruins, it is impossible to give a detailed account of them, though many particulars may be asserted with confidence.

That this was the king's own residence, and not designed for the ministers of religion or the officers of the court, as some have imagined, is proved by the perpetual occurrence of the figure of the monarch in a variety of attitudes; to be recognised not only by his insignia, but by his superior size and stature. He is represented on many of the internal doorways, not in a sitting but a walking attitude: behind him are two attendants, both about a head shorter than himself, one bearing a fan or fly-chaser, the other an umbrella, signs, in Persia, of royal dignity.[92] The style of these figures is on the whole the same, the only difference being that which occasionally occurs in the implements borne by the king, which, however, is almost always the sacred vessel.[93] The form of this vessel continues always the same, whether in the hands of the king or of his courtiers, and so evidently resembles the lotus, a plant esteemed sacred throughout all the East, that we cannot but conclude

[91] For this remark we are indebted to NIEBUHR, p. 142; with whom PORTER coincides.

[92] See XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. p. 241, for a proof that these luxuries of a warm climate were in use among the Persians. PORTER, i. p. 657, shows that the umbrella continues to be a mark of royal dignity in Persia.

[93] Compare CHARDIN, table lxii., and NIEBUHR, table xxv. *c*, where, at *f g h*, the different implements are represented.

its form to have been borrowed from that of the flower. It is probably the sacred cup Havan, of which mention is so often made in the Zendavesta,[94] and which was necessary to the libations accompanying the daily prayers of the followers of Zoroaster.[95] When we reflect that the whole private life of the Persian monarchs was regulated by a system of the most rigid etiquette, we cannot perhaps form a nearer guess as to the design of these sculptures than by supposing them to contain a complete delineation of the same, agreeably to the precepts of the Magi, the monarch being represented as a servant of Ormuzd engaged in the various offices of his civil and religious station. We shall have occasion to see that each representation was in accordance with the design of the building where it is found. At the entrances are usually posted two of the body-guard, in Median attire; and combats of wild animals already described are not unfrequently found there.

But before we arrive at the rest of the edifices, the way lies over a space,[96] at present destitute of any building, (see Z in the plan,) but which is covered with heaps of what are apparently the remains of former structures. And here we must not omit to mention a very probable and ingenious conjecture of the most recent traveller in Persia, whom we so often have had occasion to cite. Porter surmises that "this was the site of the true palace of Persepolis destroyed by Alexander." By the term palace, must be understood the building destined, according to the customs of the Persians, for the entertainment of the grandees of the court, on occasions of solemn festivals.[97] That such was the custom of the court of Persia, there is no question: "In the third year of his reign the king Ahasuerus made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and the princes of the provinces, being before him: when he showed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, even a hundred and fourscore days."[98] It would be superfluous to cite other instances. Now, the existing remains prove that here once stood an edifice of great extent, and the situation of the surrounding ruins show that no place more proper could have been selected for the purpose we imagine. In front of it were the state apartments, and behind it, as we shall see, the private residence of the king; from which he could conveniently pass to the one or the other. What situation more appropriate could have been selected? Again, supposing that such was the destination of the building, what place more fitting for the celebration of the triumphal feast of Alexander? And this will explain the fact, that the edifice has ceased to exist; this being the portion of the palace which was consumed by the flames of that Bacchanal feast; and if the entablatures and roof, as Curtius assures us, were of cedar, the flames would find abundant materials[99] to feed on. The other edifices were left standing, and we have no reason to be surprised that they betray no marks of having been destroyed by fire.

[94] Zendavesta, i. 143, 221; ii. 231, etc.

[95] See above, p. 114.

[96] PORTER, i. p. 646, states its length to amount to three hundred and fifteen feet.

[97] "Banqueting-house," as Porter terms it.

[98] ESTHER, i. 3, 4.

It may be reasonably expected that future excavations will tend to confirm this hypothesis, and Porter complains, with reason, of the British residents at the court of Persia, who with ample opportunities have neglected to promote such researches. At present this "ruinous heap" is overspread with grass, which covers the scene of the magnificence and pride of the conquerors and lords of the world, whose name once filled all the regions of the East!

By this scene of desolation we arrive at the largest of all the buildings, that at Y, belonging to the third terrace. It once formed a square peristyle or court, every side of which was ninety feet in length; the roof being supported by thirty-six pillars in six rows, and the entrances being two antechambers to the east and west, surrounded by many other apartments. It can scarcely be doubted that this was the private residence of the king. His figure appears repeatedly on the walls, surrounded by his customary attendants; and the sculptures on the windows of two of the chambers appear to prove that they were banqueting apartments. The figures of three court attendants are often repeated, the foremost of whom carries a skin of wine; the next a vessel in which victuals are even now commonly

[99] CURTIUS, v. 7.

served up in the East; and the third another vessel, or cup, with a cover.[100] Art has done all it could to record, even on the ruins of these structures, their former destination.

It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to ascertain the design of all the other edifices, distinguished only by their ruins. That at S appears to resemble the others already described in magnitude and arrangement. Was this the harem, or, as it is called in the book of Esther,[1] the queen's house? This we must leave to conjecture. The smaller square structure, however, at W affords proof of having been designed for religious purposes. At all the four entrances the king is represented in a walking attitude, and as of superior stature to those around him, carrying in his left hand a staff with a golden head or knob, in his right the sacred cup. Behind him come his attendants with the umbrella and fan, or fly-chaser. These are the decorations of the entrances. In the interior, he is represented seated on his throne, attended only by the fan-bearer; the umbrella, as no longer necessary under a roof, having disappeared. At the entrance, however, as well as in the interior, the monarch is accompanied by the ferooher or spirit, which hovers above him and marks him as a servant of Ormuzd. No guards are to be seen, being inappropriate to a place of worship; but in the centre of the edifice are four detached columns, which can hardly have been meant for any other purpose than that of surrounding the altar of the sacred fire. The conjecture, therefore, of Porter,[2] that this was the sanctuary or place of worship, becomes highly probable, and we may conceive that the king here presented, according to the precepts of the Magi, his daily prayers and offerings; the position of the building, as well as its structure, appearing to indicate this; being only a few steps removed from the apartments of the monarch.

The inscriptions on these ruins, no less than the sculptures, have long attracted general attention. They are scattered in various directions; and, first of all, at the extremities of the staircase leading to the second terrace, near the figures of the monsters engaged in conflict. Secondly, on the walls and windows of the interior, generally accompanying the figure of the king;[3] and making it probable (in conformity with the general disposition of the edifice) that they relate to him. But the unknown languages in which these inscriptions are couched, and the mysterious character in which they are traced, have involved them in an obscurity, which long appeared impenetrable. Accordingly, when these essays first appeared nothing could be advanced respecting them with any show of certainty; but since that time the unwearied spirit of research, which characterizes the age, has so far pushed its inquiries, that we are enabled at least to conjecture the general scope and design of these records, though much uncertainty must still attach to them in detail. No commentator, for instance, doubts that they are composed in three distinct sets of characters, all comprehended under the general term of the arrow-headed or cuneiform characters; because all the letters have been carved of a wedge-shaped form.[4] The simplest and most ancient style evidently is an alphabetical mode of writing, and the second table of inscriptions of M. Grotefend (see the Appendix) prove that the same is true of the second, and even of the third; which had appeared the most doubtful. These three alphabets prove the inscriptions to have been originally composed in three different languages, which is rendered still more certain by the discovery that the middle one contains a verbal repetition of the first.

[100] PORTER, i. plate xlvii. [1] ESTHER, ii. 9, 14. [2] PORTER, i. p. 660.

[3] PORTER, i. p. 654.

[4] As it is to a German that we are indebted for an authentic copy of these inscriptions; a praise which belongs to Niebuhr, (though now to be shared with Porter,) notwithstanding all which has been done by Chardin, Le Bruyn, and Kaempfer; so it is to another German that we owe the best attempt at their interpretation. See GROTEFEND, in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, pp. 149—178; and 1803, pp. 60—117. I do not mean to express my preference for this interpretation merely because it is in accordance with my own opinions respecting these edifices, (my opinions resting on grounds independent of his researches,) but because, apart from all philological reasons, he appears best to have seized the true spirit of the East, and apprehended the real design of these structures. Niebuhr tells us that we must here only look for the titles and names of the kings; and are not these titles in perfect accordance with the manners and religion of the Persians? We find the same occurring at a later period, in the inscription (respecting which there is no question) of their successors and imitators, the Sassanian princes, and, in like manner, disposed above their images. I forbear to enlarge upon this subject at present; reserving it for the Appendix to the second volume. Nor is it necessary to refer to the *Tentamen Palæographiæ* of the late M. LICHTENSTEIN, who has been convicted of the radical fault of reading these inscriptions in the wrong direction.

As far as relates to the first,[5] all interpreters are agreed that it is composed in the old Median language, or the Zend, which continued to be at all times the sacred language of the Magi. Those of the second class appear to be composed in the Pehlvi dialect; and if the opinion be correct that those of the third are in the Assyrian or Babylonian speech, we shall have detected remains of the three principal languages of the Persian empire, which were also the prevailing dialects in the capitals, which at stated periods were the successive residences of the monarchs; the Median being spoken at Ecbatana; the Pehlvi at Susa; and the Assyrian (an Aramaic dialect) in Babylon. All the inscriptions which have been hitherto explained are found to relate to Darius and Xerxes: to the first those designated in Niebuhr by the letters B,[6] H,[7] and I; to the latter those marked A[8] and G.[9]

So far we have endeavoured to become acquainted with the palace of the Persian rulers; but close beside the abodes of the living are the receptacles of the dead. The examination of the latter is rendered still more important by the fact, that they may tend to fix the era to which the former monuments belong, if it should be proved that they relate to the period of the ancient Persians, and contain the remains of the successors of Cyrus. Fortunately we possess in the fragments of Ctesias sufficient evidence to make such a conclusion extremely probable.

It is proved by the concurrent testimony of ancient au-

[5] See NIEBUHR, table xxiv. A, B, G; table xxxi. H, I; for the second, see D, F, K: for the third, C, E, L. See the Appendix for the remarks of M. Grotefend.

[6] Table xxiv. According to Grotefend they signify: "Darius the valiant king, the king of kings, the son of Hystaspis, the successor of the ruler of the world, in the constellation of Moro." See GROTEFEND, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, p. 149.

[7] Table xxxi. According to Grotefend: "Darius the monarch, the valiant king, the king of kings, the king of all the zealous, (or believers,) the successor of the ruler of the world, Jemsheed." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1803, p. 117. The interpretation of I has not yet been given.

[8] Table xxiv. According to Grotefend: "Xerxes the monarch, the valiant king, the king of kings, the king of all pure nations, the king of the pure and of the pious, the most potent assembly, the son of Darius the king, the descendant of the lord of the universe, Jemsheed." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1803, p. 117.

[9] According to Grotefend: "Xerxes the valiant king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the successor of the ruler of the world." *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1802, p. 149.

thors that the remains of the old monarchs of Persia were interred, not burnt,[10] which would have been contrary to the laws of Zoroaster, as tending to desecrate the sacred element of fire; nor yet were they previously exposed to ravenous animals, as was prescribed by the precepts of the Magi.[11] The place, however, where the bodies of the deceased monarchs were deposited was by no means a matter of indifference, but, wherever they might chance to die, it was esteemed a religious duty to remove their remains for interment to their native country, or Persis properly so called. This is expressly recorded of most of the kings of Persia, and must be concluded to have been the case with the rest. The body of Cyrus was conveyed by the eunuch Bagapates, according to the command of Cambyses, into Persia, not however to Persepolis, but to Pasargada; where Alexander saw his tomb still remaining.[12] His successors, however, were interred at Persepolis and the neighbouring Neksh-i-Roostem. The body of Cambyses was transported thither by Ixetas.[13] Darius Hystaspis caused his own monument to be erected there in his lifetime:[14] respecting Xerxes nothing is recorded, but the remains of his son Artaxerxes were conveyed thither with those of his queen;[15] and the body of his son, Xerxes II., who was slain after five and forty days' reign, overtook them while yet upon the road.[16] Concerning Artaxerxes III., history tells us that his body failed of being deposited here only in consequence of a change.[17] The custom continued to the end of the Persian dynasty, as the same honour was paid, by the command of Alexander, to the remains of the last Darius.[18] It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the kings of Persia were buried in Persis properly so called, and Diodorus points out to us the very situation of their tombs. He tells us, (after an admirable account of the palace of Persepolis,[19]) "That eastward of the city, at the distance of four hundred feet, is a mountain called the king's mountain, in which the graves of the kings are situated. The rock there

[10] See the places collected by BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 320, etc.

[11] HEROD. i. 140; iii. 16. See also KLEUKER's *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, B. ii. Th. iii. s. 21.

[12] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 9. [13] Ibid. 13. [14] Ibid. 15.
[15] Ibid. 44. [16] Ibid. 45. [17] ÆLIAN. *Var. Hist.* vi. 8.
[18] ARRIAN. iii. 22. JUSTIN. xi. 15. [19] DIODORUS, ii. 215.

is hewn into a multitude of chambers, which are not to be approached by any entrances made by art, but the coffins are wound up and introduced into the receptacles by means of machines."

The description, both as regards the situation and the character of these monuments, tallies so exactly with the tombs of the kings situated near Chehl-Menâr, that no doubt can exist respecting their identity. The distance from the ruins of the palace is precisely the same, and the remarks already made prove that the character of the structure corresponds with the account given by the historian.

To this account of Diodorus must be added the testimony of a contemporary author, which throws so much light on the monuments of Persepolis, that I cannot forbear giving it entire. Ctesias[20] tells us, that "Darius, the son of Hystaspis, commanded a tomb to be prepared for himself during his lifetime, in the double mountain,[21] which was accordingly undertaken; but when he desired to see it himself, he was prevented by the Chaldæans and by his parents. His parents, however, having desired to ascend to see it, the priests who drew them up were seized with alarm, and let go the ropes, and his parents fell down and were killed. Darius was greatly afflicted at this, and cut off the heads of those who had wound them up, being in number forty persons."[22]

The expression, "in the double mountain," is obscure: can it be meant to express the crescent-like shape of the hill, branching out into two arms, from between which project the ruins of Chehl-Menâr? Or did Ctesias write, the *inaccessible* mountain?[23] Whatever may be the case, the mountain is clearly that called by Diodorus the king's mountain, as is shown by his description which follows, and which clearly refers to a monument of the same description with the tombs of Chehl-Menâr.

In this mountain are discovered two spacious façades of sepulchral monuments, (D and E,) of which Chardin has

[20] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 15. [21] ἐν τῷ διττῷ ὄρει.

[22] Sir R. KER PORTER also found it impossible to get at the opening made in the face of the rock, at Neksh-i-Roostem, sixty feet above the surface of the plain, in any other manner; and was wound up to that height at some danger to himself, vol. i. p. 520.

[23] That is, ἀδύτῳ, instead of διττῷ.

given a drawing.[24] With the exception of some minor points of detail, they are exactly alike, and as their plan and construction, no less than their position, closely tallies with the account of the historian, we may be satisfied that we behold in one of these the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, erected by his own command during his lifetime, and in which, after death, his body was deposited. Which of the two was the sepulchre of this king, must indeed remain uncertain; but this is of the less consequence, as they so closely resemble one another. Tradition ascribes the second (according to Chardin) to Darab or Dardus; but this tradition is the less to be regarded, as when the Orientals speak of Darab, they usually mean the last Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander, with whom we have nothing whatever to do on the present occasion. If, however, any one be inclined to rest satisfied with this authority, he has, at all events, some slight grounds for deciding in favour of one of these tombs.[25]

Whatever may be the fate of this question, it is clear that we have at least made a very considerable step towards a more complete knowledge of the ruins of Persepolis, by ascertaining that in one or other of these tombs we have before us a genuine monument of the ancient Persians, belonging to the age of the greatest of the kings of that country. I reserve for the sequel the general observations deducible from this fact, and would first direct the attention of my reader to the figures with which the façades of these tombs are decorated. They so nearly resemble, in all their essentials, those at Neksh-i-Roostem, that I shall make the latter the subjects of my observations, because Chardin has given the figures of the latter with the greatest accuracy, even when compared with the designs of Porter.

The whole façade is that of a building of two stories; the lower of which only presents the false entrance, marked by two pilasters, which have the appearance of supporting the upper story. The latter contains a stage, or scaffold, decorated with various ornaments, the following being the prin-

[24] CHARDIN, table lxvii. lxviii. They are not represented in Niebuhr or in Porter; except only that at Neksh-i-Roostem.

[25] PORTER conceives that the tomb examined by himself at Neksh-i-Roostem was that of Darius, for which I can see no probable reason. The tomb at Chehl-Menâr is equally inaccessible as the other.

cipal subject. An elderly man, with a strong bow in his hand, stands before an altar, on which a fire is burning. Above the altar is suspended a globe, and above the human figure another resembling it, except that, instead of a bow, he holds a ring, and that the upper parts alone of his person are visible, the lower being covered by a spreading garment.

The design (as might be expected in a sepulchral monument) is obviously of a religious character, and consequently must be explained by a reference to the religion of the Persian court and state, that of Zoroaster. A statement of the tenets of this religion must be reserved for the sequel; all that I shall advance in the present place may be understood apart from the detail into which I shall then enter.

The whole is meant as a representation of the king in the character of a disciple of Zoroaster, and a worshipper of Ormuzd, as will be still more apparent on an examination of the figures considered separately.

The figure standing before the fire is the image of the king, not (as Porter supposes) that of a priest. He may be recognised by the bow in his hand, with which the Persian monarchs generally chose to be represented, as the symbol of courage and dexterity in the chase and war. The inscription which Strabo assures us was engraved upon the tomb, and of which he has fortunately preserved a translation, proves this: "I was a friend to my friends, the first of horsemen and of bowmen; among hunters I bore the palm: what I would that I could.[26] Nor is the circumstance that the bow is represented as exceedingly powerful to be passed over as immaterial, for to bend such a bow was a proof of strength and manhood. When Darius advanced against the Scythian king Scytharces, the two monarchs sent their bows to one another by way of challenge; and when that of the Scythian proved the stronger, Darius withdrew.[27]

The accompanying figures also prove the principal one to be that of the king. On one side of the stage stand three of the body-guard, in Median attire: on the other side, three courtiers, in a mourning attitude,[28] being intended to represent, as we shall see hereafter, those who

[26] STRABO, p. 1062. [27] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 17.
[28] See PORTER, plate xvii.

were appointed to attend the dead monarch, and to continue near his tomb. The circumstance of the king being represented without the tiara, is very readily accounted for by his having ceased to reign: his right hand is elevated in an attitude of supplication. On the altar is represented blazing the sacred fire, the principal object of worship among the ancient Persians, the symbol of the primal fire or creative energy of the godhead, from which emanated Ormuzd himself, the author of all good.[29] This symbol, however, had a still more especial value as relating to the king. The king, as the living image of Ormuzd, was also the first of the worshippers of the sacred fire, which, therefore, inseparably accompanied his person. It was carried before him whenever he appeared in public; it was daily the object of his adoration, and was extinguished when he expired.[30] We behold, therefore, the monarch in the attitude in which he was every day seen by the Magi, and in which they must have had peculiar pleasure in beholding him, as a member of their religion.

The ball which is seen hovering over the flame is meant to represent the sun, the second great national deity of the Persians, whose whole mythology might be said to turn upon the ideas of light and the sun, their established symbols of wisdom, goodness, and excellence. The sun they always worshipped with a countenance directed towards that luminary, especially at his rising; and in such an attitude the king is here represented; the sun also appearing in the sculpture to the east of him.

Here then we see delineated both the principal divinities of the Persians; the same to whom the kings of Persia, on their arrival at Pasargada, (as we shall have occasion to see,) were bound by the precepts of the Magi to offer sacrifice on the neighbouring mountains.

The winged half-length figure, which hovers over the king, and looks like a repetition of his, appears the most difficult to explain, for we must not suppose it represents a departed spirit, as we have already seen that the same figure accompanied the king in his lifetime. The image is, however, by so much the more valuable, as affording a distinct

[29] *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, vol. i. p. 50, sqq.
[30] See the proofs alleged by BRISSON, loc. cit. p. 351.

indication of the religion of Zoroaster; being, in the language of the Zendavesta, the ferooher, either of the king himself, or of Ormuzd.

According to the tenets of Zoroaster, not only all men, but all other animals, have their archetype, the purest efflux of the creative thought of Ormuzd, by which he called into existence the various orders of created beings. The name of these ideal essences was Ferooher.[31] They were conceived to resemble the beings made after their model, only purer, more glorious and immortal. As created beings differ in their degrees of perfection, so also do their archetypes. The feroohers of Zoroaster, Bahman, and others, were esteemed the most excellent of all, and with them ranked those of the kings. Collectively, these composed the pure creation of Ormuzd, and the constant attendance of the images of the ferooher on that of the king, denotes that the monarch was a worshipper and favourite of Ormuzd, or, in other words, a good king.

The idea that this is the ferooher of the king is confirmed, at the first glance, by the resemblance between the two figures; but on the other hand, it appears to be designated as the spirit of Ormuzd, by those insignia, the tiara and ring, which, as they were no longer appropriate to the dead monarch, could not belong to his spirit. The latter of these insignia is the symbol, not, as has been improperly imagined, of eternity, but of dominion: the circular girdle being the costi or cincture of the priests. That Ormuzd himself had his spirit, or ferooher,[32] is apparent from the Zendavesta, where Zoroaster is exhorted by Ormuzd to adore it.[33]

The principal design having been explained, the accessories cannot occasion much difficulty.

On both sides of the stage or scaffold are seen the foreparts of the fabulous animal, the unicorn, so often introduced by way of ornament. The stage itself on which the

[31] For this fiction see the *Zendavesta*, vol. i. p. 14, sqq. Ferooher and *soul*, or *spirit*, may be considered as nearly equivalent terms.

[32] This last idea, that the ferooher is that of Ormuzd, has been proposed by GROTEFEND, *Amalthea*, ii. 78, where sufficient proofs are given of the true meaning of the symbolical ring, as denoting universal dominion. Whichever interpretation may be adopted, the general conclusion remains the same, that the king is represented as a worshipper of Ormuzd.

[33] VENDIDAT, *Quest.* xix.; *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, ii. p. 377.

king and the altar are placed, is supported by two rows of human figures, one above the other, in the manner of caryatides. These do not appear to me introduced merely by way of ornament, but rather, as I have had occasion to remark in other instances, as a sign of the majesty and power of the principal personage. Beneath these are carved on the entablature, which appears to support the second story, a row of dogs, in which also we have an evidence of the religion of Zoroaster, as the Magians accounted the dog to be a sacred animal, the maintenance of which was strictly enjoined in the Zend books.[34]

The lower story, which appears meant to represent the entrance, is only remarkable in an architectural point of view. The columns on both sides terminate in capitals, shaped like unicorns' heads, back to back; and on both sides, as on the upper story, are seen men armed with spears, apparently belonging to the body-guard, and disposed in pairs. In the vacant space between the necks of the unicorns, the blocks of stone which support the entablature above are mortised; a certain proof that in other cases also, where the same capitals occur, they were meant, in like manner, to support an architrave or roof.[35]

The explanation of one of these sepulchres becomes a key to the rest, the designs of those at Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem being all essentially the same. The same four figures occur in all, except that at Neksh-i-Roostem, as far as we can judge from the very imperfect delineations of Chardin, there appears less of ornament; which, however, is by no means the case with the one examined and copied by Porter. On the other hand, one of them bears a copious inscription in the arrow-headed character, which, when copied and explained, may probably throw great light on the destination of the monument.

To this question is immediately attached another, by the satisfying of which alone the former can be fully answered. What was the destination of these costly sepulchres? Why

[34] The dog is the animal of Ormuzd; the wolf (his natural enemy) of Ahriman, the evil principle. The former is, therefore, an appropriate emblem of vigilance, and enmity to Ahriman. *Zendavesta*, *Ann.* ii. iii. p. 34.

[35] See above, p. 95, 96.

were they constructed on this peculiar plan? and what relation had they to the neighbouring palace?

The treatment of the dead is usually regulated by the opinions each nation entertains of the state after death. According to the religion of Zoroaster, there remained a future resurrection of the departed, which would be accompanied by a universal restoration of all things, the universal triumph of the kingdom of Ormuzd, or of light, and the destruction of that of Ahriman, or the evil principle.[36] It was a natural consequence of this belief, that the bodies of the dead should be carefully preserved, as being destined to rise from their graves in renewed glory.[37] The intermediate state of the soul was looked upon as a prolongation of the present life, and the grave of the monarch came to be considered a sort of residence, which it was the duty of the living to provide with all things which had been deemed necessary or suitable to its occupant while alive. This idea very naturally led to the practice of making the decorations of their sepulchres correspond in magnificence with the progress of luxury in the world without. The dead king was allowed to retain not only his robes and personal possessions, but even his treasure. Each monarch, as it would appear, having a sepulchral treasury of his own.[38] In this manner Persepolis became the depôt of immense treasures, which were protected by numerous bodies of guards and sentinels, posted not only about the palace itself, but over the neighbouring hills.[39] It became also the office of the most illustrious courtiers to follow the body of the monarch, and abide near his tomb; and Bagoraxus, who had been appointed to this by Secundianus, fell into disgrace because he deserted the sepulchre of Artaxerxes.[40] Bagapates, the

[36] See the *Zendavesta*, i. p. 27, sq.

[37] See the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, vol. i. p. 140.

[38] Frequent mention is made of the treasure preserved near the tomb of Cyrus. See ARRIAN. loc. cit. The historians Alexander, Diodorus, Arrian, and Curtius, allude to the treasures of the other kings stored up at Persepolis.

[39] DIODORUS, loc. cit. Remains of ancient forts of this kind are to be found on several of the adjoining heights. CHARDIN, ii. p. 141. The most remarkable of these, the ruins of which Porter visited, stood immediately at the entrance of the plain of Merdasht, which it overlooked. That traveller found clear traces of a palace and a temple having anciently existed there.

[40] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 46.

governor of the harem of Darius Hystaspis, accompanied his master to the place of his interment, and continued to reside near it for seven years, when he died;[41] and we are warranted to presume, from this circumstance, that the harem also of the deceased king must have been removed to Persepolis, which appears to explain the circumstance, that the soldiers of Alexander found there so many women of rank, and costly articles of female apparel, when they sacked the palace of the kings of Persia.[42]

That such rock tombs were completely Persian in their character and design is proved also by those found in the mountain close by Telmissus in Lycia. Choiseul Gouffier recognised in the latter imitations of those of Chehl-Menâr,[43] and his remarks are confirmed by those of a more recent traveller.[44] They prove that not only the monarchs, but the grandees of Persia, caused sepulchral chambers to be hewn out for themselves in such rocky situations, hoping (in vain!) to secure their remains from disturbance or spoliation.

From what has been stated it is clear that such monumental edifices not only form a considerable part of the remains of Persepolis, but are intimately connected with the rest, and we may hence conclude how it came to pass that the place was looked upon as the metropolis, as Diodorus terms it, and the true capital of all the empire; being regarded as the home of the Persian monarchs, not only during their lifetime, but after their death.

Before I quit the subject of Persepolis I must say a word

[41] CTESIAS, *Pers.* xiv. 19.

[42] DIODORUS, ii. p. 214.

[43] CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, *Voyage Pittoresque*, i. p. 118. "Quelle analogie frapporte entre les tombeaux de Persepolis et ceux de Telmissa!" See the drawing given by him, plate lxvii.

[44] VON HAMMER, *Topographische ansichten in der Levante*, 1811, pp. 109, 110. "The mountain of Telmissus, where the tombs are situated, lies five hundred paces from the walls of the ancient city, and may be called a double mountain, if the hill on which the castle stands and the hill of tombs be considered as one. The graves had originally no entrance, and must have been wrought in the rock by the aid of scaffolding: the entrance which was left to receive the corpse was closed by means of a table of stone fitting in with the pannels of the tomb. After the stone had been cemented in its place and the scaffolding removed, all entrance or ascent became nearly impossible. The whole appears to prove that Telmissus, having been built by the Greeks and conquered by the Persians, became the residence of the satraps of the latter, who imitating as nearly as possible the manners of the court, not only during their lifetime, but with reference to their interment, copied in their own province the monuments of Persepolis, and sought like their princes to repose in lofty sepulchral palaces hewn out of the rock."

or two about the name. How comes it that the place was thus designated by a Grecian appellation, signifying the "city of the Persians?" According to the general opinion, the Persian appellation for the ancient capital of the empire, situated in the neighbourhood of Chehl-Menâr and Neksh-i-Roostem, was Istakhar, or Estakhar. But, in the first place, it is by no means clear that this is an ancient Persian name, as recent oriental historians assert;[45] the Jewish authors who make mention of Susa and Ecbatana never once naming it; and even admitting it to be so, this will not account for the Grecian appellation of Persepolis. The Greeks were by no means in the habit of thus giving names entirely new to foreign cities, and it is difficult to suppose that Persepolis was the only example of such a practice.

I consider Persepolis to be a translation of Pasargada, which, according to Grecian authorities, signifies "the encampment of the Persians."[46] Supposing this to be its meaning, we must read Parsagada instead of Pasargada;[47] and this, which is probably the more correct form, has been uniformly preserved by Q. Curtius.[48] The Greek translation of the original name would thus be fully accounted for; but as Persepolis and Pasargada are represented by the authors of that nation as distinct places, it is necessary to inquire further into the matter.

The followers of Alexander, the first Grecian authors who make mention of Persepolis, when they express themselves with precision, speak of the "royal palace of the Persians," without naming the city; and the description they have given leaves no room for doubt that they were speaking of the edifice at Chehl-Menâr.[49] When, however, they express themselves with less accuracy, they use indifferently the terms palace and city, and in this manner the term Persepolis has come to be applied to both.[50] On

[45] See HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. *Isthakar.*

[46] STEPH. s. v. Πασσαργαδαι,—from an ancient author.

[47] The Greeks have given the name with many variations. They write it Pasagardæ, Passagarda, etc. For its etymology consult the explanation given by Prof. Tychsen in the Appendix. OUSELEY also, ii. 317, considers Persepolis to be a translation of Pasargada.

[48] CURTIUS, v. 6.

[49] See ARRIAN, iii. 18, vi. 30. For proof of the latter assertion, see the admirable description of the palace of Persepolis in DIOD. ii. p. 215.

[50] See ARRIAN, vii. 1, and others.

the other hand, Pasargada is mentioned by them as the place where the tomb of Cyrus was situated, and where, according to other authorities, there also existed a royal palace.[51] The latter is never confounded with the former, and it is so far clear that the ancient palace of Chehl-Menâr and the buildings at Pasargada were two distinct structures. Might not, however, the term Persepolis, taken in a wider signification, be understood to comprehend not only the palace at Chehl-Menâr, but also the city, or rather district, in which this multitude of ancient Persian monuments is found, and so be extended to the tomb of Cyrus itself? According to Chardin, whose account is borne out by that of more recent travellers, the ruins extend as far as ten leagues round.[52] Why might not such a circuit as this embrace all the places referred to? Pasargada might, in that case, be said with truth to lie at a considerable distance from the modern Chehl-Menâr, and yet be comprehended within these limits. The fertile and well-watered plains of Merdasht and Mourghaub were anciently the favourite stations of the Persians, who encamped there at a period anterior to their conquests. The whole district came in this manner to assume the name of Pasargada, or the encampment of the Persians, which it continued to retain even after the increased power of the nation had caused cities and palaces to spring up in these the former sites of their temporary encampments. The Greeks, however, were in the habit of applying the term only to the spot where the remains of Cyrus were deposited.

The situation of Pasargada, in this restricted sense of the term, is so clearly marked as scarcely to admit a question, and we are indebted for accurate information on this head to the researches of Morier, and after him of Porter. Both these travellers agree that Pasargada stood in the plain of Mourghaub; so called from a village it contains, near which are some highly interesting remains of Persian architecture. We have already remarked that this plain is connected with that of Merdasht, where the ruins of Chehl-Menâr are

[51] ARRIAN, vi. 29. STEPH. loc. cit.

[52] OUSELEY, ii. p. 421. The road from Chehl-Menâr to Pasargada passes through Sirvued, a village at the distance of five hours' ride. On every side are to be seen the remains of buildings, columns, portals, etc. constructed in the same style with those at Chehl-Menâr.

situated ;[53] and accurate measurements have proved that the distance from Chehl-Menâr amounts to nine and forty English, or nearly eleven geographical German miles.[54] It is to be regretted that no ancient author has given us the exact distance from Persepolis to Pasargada, but that it cannot have been very considerable is clear from the narrative furnished by the followers of Alexander, upon whose account Arrian founded his history. Alexander marched from the one to the other, and the capture of Pasargada followed immediately upon that of Persepolis. A distance, however, of about fifty miles does not appear so great, as to contradict the solution offered ; especially when we reflect that the whole road appears to have been covered with ancient edifices, and that the name of Pasargada may be very well understood to have comprehended the greater part of the intervening space.[55] Although Morier has given the earliest account of Mourghaub and its antiquities, it is to Porter that we are indebted for more accurate information respecting them. The plain of Mourghaub is watered by the Khur-Aub, the Cyrus of the ancients, which soon empties itself into the Bend-emir, or Araxes, and has consequently been often confounded with it. The plain is extremely fertile, and, when Porter saw it, was highly cultivated. The ruins scattered over this district, by their character and the form of their arrow-headed inscriptions, leave no doubt that they belong to the period of the ancient Persians. Porter also discovered here a platform, consisting of hewn blocks of marble, skilfully joined together and

[53] See above, p. 92.

[54] Ouseley, ii. 421 ; Porter, i. 503 (on an accurate measurement).

[55] The arguments against the identity of Mourghaub and Pasargada have been best detailed by Hoeck, *Veteris Persiæ et Mediæ Monumenta*, p. 58, etc. They do not, however, appear satisfactory, since the publication of the more accurate descriptions of Porter. In the first place, the distance of about forty-five miles between the two places does not seem great enough to occasion any difficulty. Secondly, It is not certain that Pasargada lay due east from Persepolis, (instead of north-east, as is the fact,) for the passage in Pliny (vi. 29) does not prove it. Thirdly, The line of Alexander's march, on his return from India, does not contradict the assertion of my text, for it is to be observed that he did proceed with his army to Pasargada, but left his troops to pursue their march along the direct road, under the command of Hephæstion, (Arrian, vii. 29,) while he himself proceeded thither escorted by a light detachment, (Arrian, ibid.,) in order to regulate the affairs of the empire he had conquered, which could not have been suitably effected amid the ashes of the palace of Persepolis. This march, which must have been northward, rather favours than contradicts the supposition I have advanced.

projecting from the side of the rock. Its size, three hundred feet in length by two hundred and ninety-eight in breadth, makes it probable that this was the side of some considerable edifice,[56] and the place is at present called Takhti-Suleiman, or Solomon's Throne.

On the plain itself are discovered various detached pillars bearing an inscription in arrow-headed characters, and in one place four such columns, forming a square ; and the researches of Porter have proved that the inscription is the same in each instance.[57] Upon one of these solitary pillars, however, near the side of an edifice, of which the only remains are the pedestals of two rows of columns, is discovered at the foot of the inscription a remarkable figure in relievo, having the human shape and colossal proportions, twelve feet in height, and habited in a long robe with a peculiar head-dress ; in addition to which it has four wings.[58] This figure occurs no where else that I am aware of among the Persian remains, though one resembling it may be traced (wanting only the head-dress) on the cylindrical fragments of the ruins of Babylon. It is certainly not the king, being without the insignia by which he is distinguished, particularly the artificial head of hair and beard ; and evidently is meant to represent one of a superior order of beings, as is shown by the addition of wings, which the artists of Persia, like those of other nations, were in the habit of attributing exclusively to superior natures. The wings are remarkable not only for their size but their number, being four ; and in that respect recalling to our recollection those of the Cherubim, as Porter has already remarked.[59] The head-dress, however, is still more remarkable. Between two horizontal rams' horns are disposed three vessel-like figures, on each of which is placed a white ball. Porter observed exactly the same head-gear on the head of a female figure among the ruins of Thebes in Upper Egypt, and the com-

[56] Porter, i. 484.

[57] Porter, i. 489, where the inscription is copied with diplomatical accuracy. The words, with the exception of the names and titles of the king, are the same as at Chehl-Menâr. According to Grotefend they are to be rendered, " Cyrus, the lord, the king, the ruler of the world." In the name of the monarch, however, the third letter is dubious. See the observations on Pasargada, in the Appendix.

[58] Porter, i. plate xiii.

[59] Porter, i. 495.

position is too intricate for the resemblance to be thought accidental. The rams' horns were the invariable symbol among the Egyptians of the worship of Ammon; while a bright ball was no less the established symbol among the Persians of light, the sacred element of Ormuzd. We cannot therefore fail to remark in the present instance a blending of the Egyptian and Persian superstitions, which is not to be discovered on any other of the Persian architectural remains. We miss, however, in the Persian example, the four keys, as they are called, which in the Egyptian are suspended from the horns of Ammon, and denote inauguration into the priesthood. A similar figure, without the headdress, but with four wings, and each hand employed in throttling an ostrich, may be seen on the cylindrical fragment from Babylon, described by M. von Dorow, denoting, according to Grotefend, Serosh, one of the Izeds, the superior genii, or most exalted servants of Ormuzd.[60] Whether it be meant to represent this divine personage, or Ormuzd himself, it is evidently one of the superior essences of the empire of Ormuzd.

According to Strabo, Pasargada was founded by Cyrus, and Morier[61] has informed us that the plain of Mourghaub contains so great a multitude of architectural remains that we cannot doubt it was once the site of a mighty city; and the character of these ruins sufficiently proves them to be coeval with the old Persian dynasty.

The most remarkable, however, of them all, is the structure which is supposed to have been the tomb of the founder of the Persian monarchy, Cyrus.[62] That the tomb of Cyrus was at Pasargada is proved by the concurrent testimony of antiquity, and Arrian has given an accurate description of it, taken from the account of an eye-witness, Aristobulus.[63] "At Pasargada, in the royal park," he tells us, "was the tomb of Cyrus, having about it a grove of all sorts of trees, with abundance of water, and rich grass in the meadow. The tomb itself had a foundation of square stones in a quadrangular form. On this was raised a stone edifice, with a roof, and a door-way so narrow that even a man of moderate height could with difficulty get in. Within was a golden sarcophagus, in which the body of Cyrus was deposited; and near it a couch, the feet of which were covered with wrought gold, and upon it were laid Babylonian carpets, and on these again costly garments of Median and Babylonian manufacture, of various colours; with chains, cimeters, and earrings of gold, and precious stones. Close by was a small dwelling built for the residence of the Magi, to whom, since the time of Cambyses, the care of the monument has been committed, descending from father to son. The king allowed them every day a sheep, and a measure of corn and of wine, and every month a horse, to be sacrificed to Cyrus. On the tomb was engraved in Persian an inscription to this effect: 'O man! I am Cyrus who gave the empire to the Persians, and was lord of all Asia: therefore grudge me not my sepulchre!'" Are then the remains, which at present subsist, the tomb of this great king? a question indifferent to none possessing any taste for antiquity, and which can only be answered by a comparison of facts.

If it should appear from what has been already advanced that Pasargada was situated in the plain of Mourghaub, we may expect with certainty to find there the tomb of Cyrus. Arrian informs us that it was situated in the royal park, in a well-watered and grassy meadow, and such is the case with the remains in question, the groves of trees alone having disappeared.[64] The basement consisted of quadrangular stones forming a square. The foundation of the present edifice is an oblong, composed of blocks of white marble of prodigious size, placed one above another, so as to form seven steps or degrees, or (counting those of the sacellum itself) ten.[65] The exterior of the edifice tallies exactly with the description of Arrian, the whole compass of it, the narrow entrance and the stone roof, corresponding precisely with his account: we can even trace on the floor (consisting of two huge squares of marble) the holes in which the

[60] *Amalthea*, ii. p. 87. Above all DOROW, *Morgenländische Altherthümer*, p. i.

[61] MORIER, i. p. 146; STRABO, p. 1061, 1062.

[62] See PORTER'S *Drawing*, i. plate xiv.; and his detached description, p. 498, etc. It is now commonly called the *grave* of the *mother* of *Solomon*.

[63] ARRIAN, vi. 29.

[64] PORTER, i. 503.

[65] See the plate in PORTER, loc. cit. This agrees with the description of another eyewitness, one Sicritus in STRABO, p. 1062; who calls it δεκάστενος, and adds that the body reposed in the topmost story.

irons were probably fastened which served to secure the supports of the sarcophagus.[66] Internally the chamber is only ten feet in length, seven in breadth, and eight in height, and can scarcely have been intended for any other purpose than as a place of interment. The shape of the structure, as has been observed, is an oblong; but as the longer sides are forty-four feet in length and the shorter forty, the disproportion is not obvious to the eye. Formerly the whole was surrounded by a square colonnade of twenty-four pillars, of which seventeen remain standing, six in each row: this is undoubtedly the enclosure (*περίβολος*) to which Arrian alludes. So far there is all the agreement which could have been expected when the author has omitted to give an accurate measurement of the building in question: one objection, however, remains to be noticed—the absence of any inscription.[67] It is to be observed, however, that a recent inscription in Arabic may be traced on the interior of the edifice, which may possibly have occupied the place of the ancient one; or we may be allowed to suppose that the latter was cut upon a marble tablet now lost, but anciently affixed to some part of the building, or perhaps upon one of the columns of the *περίβολος*.[68] It is also objected that the edifice is not in the style of the architectural remains of ancient Persia; but the account of Arrian proves that the tomb of Cyrus was in this style, and consequently that it was a style known to the old Persians. Besides, there are in reality the remains of a similar building at Neksh-i-Roostem, over against the hills where the tombs of the kings are situated.[69] When the sepulchre of Cyrus was built, the architecture of Persia had not yet acquired that peculiar character by which it was afterwards distinguished; or rather, it was not at that time the established practice to inter in excavations formed out of the solid rock, as was the case in later reigns. Extreme simplicity, combined with durability calculated to last for ages, are pre-

[66] PORTER, i. p. 500, from whom also what follows has been taken.

[67] The arguments against the supposition advanced above, are best stated by HOECK, *Veteris Persiæ Monumenta*, p. 59; but if we admit the identity of Pasargada and Mourghaub, these objections can be allowed little weight.

[68] PORTER, loc. cit.

[69] This is the building described by NIEBUHR, ii. 159: this traveller never visited Mourghaub.

cisely the properties which we should expect to characterize the sepulchre of this ancient monarch, and which in fact distinguish the edifice in question. The balance of probabilities appears therefore to incline to the opinion advanced above; and to require certainty in questions like the present, is to demand what the nature of the subject does not admit of.

At all events, it is certain that Pasargada was one of the earliest residences of the Persian monarchs, and the frequent abode of Cyrus; and the circumstance to which this is attributable is well known. It was at Pasargada that he gained his decisive victory over the Medes, and founded the empire of the Persians; the best authorities assuring us that in this spot Astyages was overthrown, and the fate of Asia decided.[70] It is therefore not surprising that the conqueror should have selected this as his favourite seat, and the destined place of his interment.

Even in after times, Pasargada was regarded by the Persians with a sort of reverence, and associated with many of their religious observances and institutions. It was here that their kings were consecrated by the Magi upon ascending the throne. Here they were invested with the robes of Cyrus, and partook of a consecrated banquet, with many other mysterious ceremonies necessary to their inauguration in the kingly office.[71] To this sacred spot also, from time to time, they conveyed their offerings. We read of Cyrus that he performed this sort of holy pilgrimage seven times,[72] and the same is related of Darius Hystaspis;[73] and Porter even attempts, with some plausibility, to point out the spots in the plain of Mourghaub devoted to these religious rites. The platform, for instance, which we have already described, would appear to have been an appropriate place for the public investiture of the monarch in the robes of his great predecessor. The building surrounded by pillars bearing the image of Ormuzd, may possibly have been the sanctuary where they were inaugurated by the Magi, as it undoubted-

[70] STRABO, loc. cit. STEPHANUS, sub. v. *Πασσαργαδαι*.

[71] We are indebted for these particulars to PLUTARCH, in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, *Op.* i. p. 1012.

[72] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 228, 233. Xenophon expressly states that this practice continued in his own time.

[73] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 19.

ly was designed for religious purposes of some kind or other. The imagination delights to picture to itself the particulars of those ceremonies of venerable antiquity, and in the present case, this is justified by the fact that we have ascertained the very scene of their celebration.

It is not the object of the present work to present a detailed account of the various remains of ancient Persia, a task which has also been performed by others.[74] They extend from the Persian Gulf as far as the confines of Media:[75] it may be remarked, however, as Niebuhr has already done, that many of the fragments of Chehl-Menâr, such as pillars, etc., have been carried from their original situation and employed in the construction of more recent edifices.[76] I cannot, however, avoid adding a few words respecting the rock monuments of Bistoon, of which Porter has been the first to afford us an accurate description and delineation.[77] They are only a few hours' journey distant from Kerman-Shah, so celebrated for its remains of the age of the Sassanian princes.[78] The rocky mountain of Bistoon rises to the height of one thousand five hundred perpendicular feet, and has at its feet a platform hewn out of the cliff, resembling that of Chehl-Menâr, on which a building anciently stood, or was destined to stand. A gigantic figure is carved in relievo on the wall of the rock, the character of which, as well as the form of the letters composing the inscription by which it is accompanied, prove it to belong to the times of the ancient Persians. Porter assures us that it would take two months to copy these figures and inscriptions, supposing that any one were willing to expose himself to the danger of being wound up to the necessary height. He has only copied a series of twelve figures, which, however, are sufficient to give an idea of the design of the sculpture. The principal one is that of the king, who is represented armed,

[74] See especially the treatise of HOECK, *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*, *Goett.* 1818.

[75] I consider the ruins mentioned by MORIER, vol. i. p. 51, near the port of Congun, on the Persian Gulf, as the farthest to the south (lat. 27° 12″ N.) He informs us that he observed in that neighbourhood extensive ruins, and sculptures in the Persepolitan style.

[76] NIEBUHR, xi. 166.

[77] PORTER, ii. p. 154, plate lx. The former delineations are altogether incorrect.

[78] On the confines of Media, lat. 34° 20″.

and in the quiet attitude of a triumphant conqueror: before him are a row of captives, while his foot is placed on a prostrate enemy: the monarch bears a bow in his hand, and is distinguished by his superior stature; his ferooher being also seen to hover over him. His dress and hair are arranged in the Median fashion, as is the case also with two of his body-guard, who are placed behind him, the one armed with a bow, the other with a lance. The row of captives before him are characterized not only by their dejected countenances, but by the manner in which their hands are fastened behind their backs, and by the cords attached to their necks. Their dresses vary, some being longer than others; but none wear any head-dress, except the last, and his consists of a sugar-loaf-shaped cap. The robes of the third in the line bear an inscription in the arrow-headed character; and Porter assures us that there is also an inscription carved over the head of every individual. The king is standing with his right hand elevated, in an attitude rather of exhortation than of menace; as if he were according pardon; and is obviously represented speaking. He does not wear the tiara: his hair is curled, and his beard enveloped in a bag or case. The whole character of his dress bespeaks rather the camp than the court. It is also to be remarked that the line of captives is represented continually increasing in height, and consequently the last, with the conical cap, overtops them all. The prostrate figure on which the king stands, and which is at present scarcely discernible, extends his arms upwards in the attitude of a suppliant, but it is evident that the king is not addressing him, but the string of captives.

The explanation of a sculpture, as yet so imperfectly known, must necessarily be imperfect, and all that can be certainly pronounced respecting it is, that it undoubtedly belongs to the period of the ancient Persian empire, and that it represents a monarch of that dynasty in the attitude of a conqueror, who appears to be granting pardon to a long line of prisoners. We may also venture to assert, that these figures refer to some particular transaction, and were not merely intended to express generally the majesty and power of the Persian empire, for the prisoners appear to belong, not to a variety of nations, but to the same; or, at

the most, to two; if the somewhat different length of their dresses be understood to denote them. Who, then, is the monarch thus delineated, and who are the prisoners? We have nothing but probabilities to suggest in answer to these questions, but these would lead us to conclude that the relievo has reference to the earliest period of the Persian empire, and the reign of Cyrus. Persian sculpture betrays here all its original simplicity, without the finish and compass which is displayed on the walls of Persepolis. Here are no fanciful nor allegorical monsters: the facts themselves are historically detailed. The very place would lead us to the same conclusion. Under the reigns of the successors of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes, Persian sculpture was in a manner concentrated in Persepolis and the adjacent district; which consequently became the classic ground of Persian art. The mountain of Bistoon lies, however, without this district, on the borders of Media. Now if the Persian government had desired to commemorate any victory obtained at a more recent period, it is probable that they would have preferred for this purpose the rocks of the plain of Merdasht. Even the circumstance of an inscription occurring on the dress of one of the figures, (of which no example is to be found elsewhere,) appears to argue a remote era in the history of the art; and supposing this to be the case, what monarch can be so properly supposed to be meant as Cyrus himself? It cannot be Cambyses; for the scene of his achievements was a different country, Egypt. On the contrary, all the circumstances are perfectly correspondent with the history of Cyrus; and as he overthrew the Lydian and Phrygian kingdoms, may we not suppose that the captive figures designate those nations? and may not the conical head-dress be meant to denote the Phrygian cap, such as we see it on the busts of Paris and Atys?[79] Again, may not this have been the habitual residence of Cyrus, before the foundation of Persepolis, whence he resorted to the sacrifices and solemnities at Pasargada? All this, it is true, is conjecture, and advanced as such; but it is a conjecture which wears the appearance of considerable probability, and if our representations of these sculptures

[79] See the Essay of GROTEFEND, *Amalthea*, ii. 98, sqq.

were more complete, we might possibly be able to trace in them all the history of that memorable man, whose exploits are no less celebrated in the Holy Scriptures than in the annals of the Greeks.

To the above remarks respecting particular monuments of ancient Persia I may, with some confidence, subjoin others relating to the general character of such remains in that country.

I. The remains of Persepolis clearly belong to the most ancient period of Persian history. This is apparent from a multitude of concurring proofs. In the first place, it is as certain as any matter of such high antiquity can be made by historical evidence, that the ancient sepulchres we have been considering are those of old Persian monarchs; and this being admitted, we are compelled to refer the ruins of Chehl-Menâr to the same period. Not only is there a close analogy between the styles of architecture and the religious or mythological decorations in both, but the sepulchres may in some sense be said to belong to the edifices, with which their very situation causes them in a manner to combine and form a whole. In the next place, we discover nothing in these remains which offends against what we know of Persian usages or costume; but, on the contrary, an appearance of perfect conformity with them. The dress, as we might expect, is Medo-Persian; the religion implied, that of Zoroaster; which is not only proved by the adoration of fire represented there, but by the undeniable evidence of the attendant spirits, or feroohers. The arrangement of the court also is exactly what, from the records we possess, we have reason to believe obtained in that of Persia; and if any doubt could still remain, it would be removed by the occurrence of the very names of the old Persian monarchs in the inscriptions.

II. Though it appears certain that these structures were raised in the time of the ancient Persians, it is very possible that they may have employed people of another nation in their erection: a fact in perfect accordance with the usages of the East. Rude nations which suddenly pass to the condition of conquerors from that of wandering shepherds and herdsmen, are not capable of erecting for themselves cities and palaces. For this purpose they are obliged to enlist

the services of the conquered, among whom the arts of architecture and sculpture may have already attained some degree of perfection. This was the case with the Mongol tribes in China, the Chaldæans in Babylon, as well as other nations; and it is expressly related of Cambyses, that he transported from Egypt a large number of builders to erect his palaces at Susa and Persepolis.[80] It is certain, however, that we discover at the latter place no traces of Egyptian art, either as regards the general character of the ruins, or their details; nor can we reasonably suppose an Egyptian architect to have conceived the plan of structures so completely different from any to be found in his native country, any more than we can suppose that masons accustomed to what we call the Gothic style, if transported into another country, would at once be able to construct buildings in the Grecian taste. The prevailing character of Persian architecture, a fondness for terrace works, a style totally unknown to the ancient Egyptians, was considerably more ancient than the reign of Cambyses, and altogether of Asiatic origin, as is proved by the hanging gardens of Babylon, constructed by Semiramis. Allowing the utmost that in fairness we can to the account of the Egyptian workmen imported by Cambyses, we cannot suppose them to have achieved more than the mechanical parts of the structures erected. The architectural remains of Egypt prove that the Egyptians were very capable of elevating and working large masses of stone, and possibly also of carving relievos after a given design or copy. The question, therefore, may be considered as still unanswered: What was the original country whence this style of architecture was derived? Who were the masters of the Persians in this art, and whence did they borrow their models?

The simple answer is undoubtedly this: From the same quarter that they derived the other rudiments of their civilization, in short, from Media.

From all that we know of the Medes, and the splendour of the Median court and their principal city Ecbatana, (a city which appears originally to have been constructed on terraces elevated successively one above the other,[81]) we

[80] Diodorus, i. p. 55.

[81] See the description in Herod. i. 98.

may conclude that the science of architecture had attained among them a certain degree of perfection: a conjecture which appears carried to certainty by the accounts of recent travellers. The traces of the ancient royal seat Ecbatana, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, presented, according to Morier and Porter, the same characteristic style of architecture with which those travellers had become familiar at Chehl-Menâr; the fashion of the columns and even the characters of the inscriptions being the same. We cannot avoid inferring that it was from the Medes that the Persians derived, with the rest of their civilization, the art of architecture also. It must be added, that the sculptures in these ruins are so obviously derived from the Magian religion, which prevailed among the Medes, that we can hardly doubt that the buildings in question were erected under the influence and according to the ideas of that caste; since the figures in question must not be mistaken for mere idle decorations, but had an intimate relation to the purposes for which the buildings themselves were severally designed. But the Magian religion and the Magian priesthood were not confined to Media, but extended over the countries to the East, especially those upon the Oxus, as far as the mountains bordering on India, the parent country of those fabulous monsters, of which, as we have observed, traces are to be seen. Here lay Bactriana, at all times one of the richest countries of the world, in consequence of its position between the Indus and Oxus, and its connexion with India, as well as the fertility of its soil; forming an important part of the empire of the Medes, whose monarchs appear to have resided at Bactra long before they occupied Ecbatana.[82] This also was the country where the religion of Zoroaster first took root and flourished,[83] and thus it became the parent land of the civil institutions of the Medes. When, therefore, the Persians are said to have derived their architecture originally from thence, it must be understood that they did so as the disciples of the Medes.

It is true that the ancients ascribe in part the erection of

[82] I gather this from the Zendavesta, in which the residence of the king is placed there. See below.

[83] Not, however, as is generally supposed, under the reign of Darius Hystaspis, but long before the very commencement of the Persian dynasty; as I shall show in the sequel.

Pasargada and Persepolis to the two earliest monarchs of the old Persian race—Cyrus and Cambyses;[84] but this is easily reconcilable with the supposition that Darius and Xerxes were their principal founders. Niebuhr has already remarked, that the buildings of Persepolis do not appear all to belong to the same period, nor to have been constructed on one uniform plan, and this is especially true of those situated on the third terrace. It is certain that most of the considerable remains of remote antiquity (as was particularly the case with Egyptian edifices) were much more slowly erected than we might be inclined to suppose; and it is extremely probable that successive kings of Persia may have taken part in the erection of Persepolis, especially as the undertaking assumed the character of a religious duty; not to mention that contiunal additions must, from time to time, have been found necessary.

III. The destination of the buildings at Persepolis can no longer be obscure or enigmatical. It was neither a temple, (in fact, the Persians never possessed any thing of the kind,) nor, in the proper sense of the word, a palace, at least during the flourishing period of the Persian monarchy. Like many other capitals of Asia, it owed its aggrandizement to the residence of the first Persian conquerors, who made this their earliest place of abode. Subsequently this ceased to be the case, but the ideas of the Father-land of sovereignty, and of national worship, with which it continued to be associated, caused it to be considered at all times the home and the appropriate burial-place of their monarchs, till it became not indeed the temple but the sanctuary of the nation, built upon the native soil of the whole race, and the favourite seat of their tutelary deities. Nay, in consequence of its arrangement and decorations, it was a kind of image or panorama of the empire at large, and presented a lively picture of the tranquillity it enjoyed under a mild despotism, agreeably to the conceptions of the East, displaying the duties as well as the privileges of all classes of the state, from the king to the meanest of his subjects, graphically delineated. The whole place, accordingly, became (what the records of antiquity assure us it

[84] Diodorus, ii. p. 215, ed. Steph. v. Πασσαργαδαι. Æl. *Hist. Anim.* i. 59.

was) the head or capitol of the whole Persian empire, *caput regni, metropolis Persarum;* and we can be at no loss to perceive how "Macedonia's Madman" sought to glut his vengeance by destroying these structures. The overthrow of Persepolis was calculated to be a visible token to the whole of Asia that the power of Persia was no more, and that the star of a new dynasty had risen on the nations of the East.

I may be allowed to sum up these observations on Persepolis, by a few remarks on the state of the fine arts in the East in ancient, times, as evidenced by these remains. On this account, also, these ruins are highly interesting, transporting us, as they do, into an entirely new region, and introducing us to a completely new set of ideas; and we are the better enabled to appreciate them, since such an artist and connoisseur as Porter has delineated them with exactness, and described them with spirit. We may now pronounce with certainty (what before must have been mere conjecture) that the arts of architecture and sculpture must, long before the dynasty of the Persians, have attained a much higher degree of perfection than men have been generally disposed to admit. If this be doubted, we must be prepared to show that such efforts of art as the edifices of Chehl-Menâr could have started at once into existence, as if by enchantment. In these structures we see proofs that architecture must have attained, when they were erected, a wonderful degree of excellence in its mechanical department. No spot on the globe (Egypt perhaps excepted) displays such masonry as the walls of Persepolis. It was unquestionably a prodigious advantage to the architect that the neighbouring mountains afforded him materials on the very spot; but no other nation has left examples of an equally skilful combination of such enormous blocks of marble. The character and style of the building is, however, perhaps still more remarkable, being directly opposed to that of the Egyptians, with which it has been injudiciously compared; and, if I am not mistaken, the original modes of life of the two races may be traced even in the several styles of their architecture. The observer of Egyptian antiquities can hardly fail to remark the grotto-style of building there prevalent, bespeaking a nation long accustomed to a sort of

Troglodyte life, in caverns and hollows of the rock. The gigantic temples of Thebes and Philæ are obviously imitations of excavated rocks; the short and massive pillars representing the props, left to uphold the roof of such excavations, and the whole structure conveying the impression of enormous incumbent weight, and proportionate resistance: on the other hand, the remains of Persepolis indicate a nation not in the habit of occupying the bosoms of their hills, but accustomed to wander free and unconstrained over their heights and among their forests, and who, when they forsook this nomad life, sought to retain in their new habitations as much as possible of their original liberty. Those terrace-foundations, which appear like a continuation of the mountain, those groves of columns, those basins, once, no doubt, sparkling with refreshing fountains, those flights of steps, which the loaded camel of the Arab ascends with the same ease as his conductor, forming a sort of highway for the nations whose images are sculptured there: all these particulars are as much in unison with the character of that joyous land which the industry of the Persians converted into an earthly paradise, as the gigantic temples of Egypt are appropriate memorials of their old grottos in the rocks. The columns of Persepolis shoot upwards with a slender yet firm elevation, conveying a fit image of the stems of the lotus and palm, from which they were probably copied. As in Egypt every thing is closely covered, and, as it were, oppressed by a roof, so here is every thing free and unconfined, in admirable harmony with the religion of the nation, whose sole objects of worship were the sun, the elements, and the open vault of heaven.

The art of design also preserves in the ruins of Persepolis a character peculiar to itself, a character of sobriety and dignity. Sculpture here appears formed on the habits of a court, and of an oriental court. No female or naked figure is to be traced; the seclusion of the harem being religiously respected. Of the male figures, none are portrayed in any violent or constrained attitude, not even when the monarch is represented destroying a monster; and it is only in the conflicts of animals with one another that the artist has displayed his power of expressing strong excitement. Where every thing had reference to a court, no attitude was admissible which was not sanctioned by court etiquette. At the same time, this air of composure and dignity does not degenerate into stiffness: the design of the artist appears to have been, not to excite an impression of the beautiful, but a feeling of veneration; an end which has been fully attained. It is to be observed that no statue, nor any vestige of one, appears to have been discovered, and Persian sculpture seems to have been confined to the carving of reliefs, more or less prominent; and in the case of the monstrous figures which guard the entrance, amounting to half-relievos. How different are these historical relievos of Persia from those of the Egyptians, the favourite themes of which are battles and triumphal processions! There the object of the artist has been to exhibit the characters of action and energy: here, those of repose. In its subjects, also, the Persian sculpture is distinguished from that of the Egyptians, as well as that of the Indians. While it occasionally delineated superhuman beings, such as feroohers and izeds, it abstained from the deities themselves. On the other hand, it is in close and perfect harmony with the architecture it accompanies. As the latter was lofty and grand, but not colossal, so was the former, and both characterized by a high degree of simplicity. It was the most obvious and natural idea with which the ancient artist could set about his work, to make the one the handmaid of the other, and the sculptor may be said to have given animation to the labours of the architect, by representing under emblematical figures the design of his works. Accordingly, as the different parts of the edifice combined to form a whole, so the various groups of sculpture composed one general design, and all, down to the most minute decorations, were in strict unison with one leading idea, associated with the religious opinions of the nation. With the exception of the fabulous animals, every thing was copied from nature; and from the parts of these monsters were borrowed nearly all the ornaments, consisting for the most part of the heads of unicorns and claws of griffins; and chimerical as these fabulous creations may at first sight appear, they are all capable of being reduced to four or five elementary forms of real animals, the horse, the lion, the onager or wild ass, the eagle, and the scorpion; to which we may perhaps add the rhinoceros.

In proportion, however, as the mythology at the command of the sculptor were limited, so his circle of observation, as applied to real nature, was extensive. He appears to have been familiar with the nations of more than one quarter of the globe, and to have distinguished with exactness their features and profiles; the thick lips and woolly hair of the negro being no less accurately marked than the limbs of the half-naked Indian. The same mechanical accuracy also and perfect finish, which distinguishes the architectural details, is observable in the labours of the sculptor. We may still count the nails in the wheels of the chariot in the great relievo; and the hair of the negro is so carefully wrought, that it is impossible to confound it with that of the Asiatics.[85] This sort of scrupulous care, which marks also the inscriptions, most of which also occur twice, appears in all countries to have distinguished the infancy of the art. It could hardly fail to appear in works pretending to nothing more than a faithful imitation of nature, and would of course disappear as soon as the artist caught a glimpse of ideal beauty. The manual skill, however, which it has called forth, is not the less remarkable.

We must now take our leave of the ruins of Persepolis. When an author is compelled to illustrate the scanty remains of ancient cities by means of the still more imperfect fragments of writers well nigh lost, he may not unfairly presume on the favourable allowance of his reader: in such a case the most certain sign of having erred, would be to attempt to explain every thing.

The province of Susiana adjoined that of Persis (Fars) to the west, and separated it from Babylonia. Though frequently treated as a part of Persis, it was made distinct from it in the arrangement of the satrapies, and formed a government by itself, nearly half as large as the chief district of that of Persia.[86] The way from the one to the other ran over a range of lofty and steep mountains, inhabited by rude and warlike tribes, of which the most celebrated were the Uxii. Such of this race as dwelt in the plain were subject to the satraps of Persia; but the mountaineers, a lawless race, were so far from yielding any such submission, that

[85] NIEBUHR, ii. p. 130, 147.

[86] It is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, iii. 17, and elsewhere.

they even extorted a tribute from the great king himself, as the price of his free passage across their heights from Susa to Persepolis.[87] They were supported by their flocks, which were so numerous, that Alexander the Great imposed upon them, as an act of grace, a yearly tribute of thirty thousand sheep, besides a large amount of cattle and horses.[88]

Susiana was inhabited by the Cissii, a race not properly Persian, but allied to the Persians, whom they resembled in manners and dress.[89] They enjoyed nearly the same climate, but the multitude of streams by which their territory was watered, (of which the most distinguished were the Eulæus, or Ulai of the Chaldæans, and the Choaspes,) conferred upon it a greater and more general fertility.[90] The country forms a perfect level of the richest soil, which formerly produced in abundance cotton, rice, sugar, and wheat. At present, a few spots excepted, a perfect wilderness, rarely visited even by travellers. Kinneir and his companion, Teignmouth, have been the first to afford us any information respecting it;[91] Porter himself not having visited it, but taking his information from the above travellers.[92] We cannot, therefore, be surprised that considerable obscurity continues to involve this region. Nevertheless it was one of the principal provinces of the Persian empire, and renowned for its fertility, as well as for its still more characteristic distinction, as the winter residence of the monarch. In its centre was situated Susa; a name no less familiar to the Greeks than to the Orientals; being celebrated by both as the usual residence of the Persian kings, selected by them, as it would seem, on account of its vi-

[87] ARRIAN, iii. 17; STRABO, p. 728.

[88] Ibid. loc. cit.

[89] HEROD. v. 49; vii. 62.

[90] Great confusion prevails among the ancient geographers with respect to the rivers of Susiana, (see STRABO, p. 1060,) which it is impossible to remove. Besides the Eulæus and Choaspes, ARRIAN (iii. 17) mentions also the Pasitigris, which must not, however, be confounded with the more recent Pasitigris, formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. KINNIER'S map represents the Eulæus as the Karroon, into which the Abzal empties itself; the Choaspes as the Kerah, and the Pasitigris as the Moras. The Karoon and Kerah unite, and are both connected by canals with the Shat-ul-Arab, their embouchures, however, being distinct. At the same time it is uncertain whether the Choaspes and Eulæus were the same river or not; and it is equally doubtful which of them is the Karoon or Kerah.

[91] KINNEIR, *Memoir of the Persian Empire*, etc.

[92] PORTER, vol. ii. p. 411, etc.

cinity to the gigantic Babylon.[93] Here were to be found all the structures essential to the luxury of a Persian royal residence, palaces, courts, and parks of prodigious extent;[94] every trace of which appears to have been destroyed by time. Wonderful as this may appear, after a survey of the ruins of Persepolis, historians have assigned a cause which appears an adequate one. The buildings of Susa were not, like those of Persepolis, constructed of marble, but more resembled those of Babylon, being built of bricks, hardened in the sun, and consequently exposed to the same destructive accidents which have annihilated the latter.[95] Even the site of Susa is now a matter of dispute. It has been generally sought in the modern Shuster, a considerable city on the Karoon; but more recent observations render it probable that the ancient Susa was situated forty-five miles to the west, at Sus on the Kerah.[96] At Shuster no remains occur indicating a high degree of antiquity, while those of Sus unquestionably belong to the Persico-Babylonian period. Hillocks of bricks are discovered, which correspond, according to the account of Strabo, with those of Babylon; the largest of these heaps having a circumference of two, the other of one mile, making together an extent of ten or twelve miles.[97] There can be no doubt, therefore, that this was the site of some great city. Teignmouth also observed here several sculptured blocks of marble, one, a drawing of which he has given, bearing on one side the figures of animals, and on the other an inscription in the

[93] HEROD, v. 49, and still more, STRABO, p. 1058. Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, and the author of the book of Esther, all mention Susa as a royal residence.

[94] ESTHER i. 2, etc. STEPH. v. Σοῦσα. [95] STRABO, p. 1059.

[96] KINNEIR, *Memoir*, p. 101, etc., has detailed the arguments adduced by Rennel in favour of Sus, and by Vincent in favour of Shuster. Both these authors are disposed to make the position of the ancient Susa depend on the courses of the rivers of Susiana, which, according to the testimony of Kinneir, it is impossible to reconcile with the accounts of the ancients. (See p. 104.) The most decisive argument in favour of Sus, appears to me to be the correspondence between the remains observable there, and the account given by Strabo. Add to this its geographical position. STRABO, p. 1058, puts the distance from Persepolis to Susa at four thousand two hundred stadia, or four hundred and twenty geographical miles. The distance from Shuster, however, only amounts to seventy miles; that from Sus to eighty, in a direct line. According to CURTIUS, vol. iii., Alexander marched from Susa to the Pasitigris in four days. The latter river would thus appear to be the Karoon, which agrees with the hypothesis in favour of Sus.

[97] KINNEIR, p. 101.

arrow-headed character, resembling those which occur at Babylon.[98] The adjacent district is now a mere waste, echoing only to the roar of the lion or the yell of the hyæna, but celebrated for a sanctuary, reported to be the tomb of Daniel; which, if it prove nothing more, is sufficient evidence that the traditions of the East pointed to this spot as the ancient Susa. The foundation of Susa has been differently ascribed to Cyrus and to Darius Hystaspis;[99] but it is from the period of the accession of the last-named king that it appears to have become the usual residence of the Persian monarchs. This city also owed its gradual aggrandizement to the residence of the court; but the poetic traditions of the Greeks ascribed to it a more remote and even heroic origin, attributing its foundation to Memnon, one of the demi-gods of the East, in consequence of which it was called Memnonium.[100] The period, however, of its prosperity, or rather of its historical renown, commenced with the dynasty of the Persians, and all that we know of its architecture, resembling that of Babylon, tends to prove that the Persians employed, in the erection of their buildings here, the natives of that conquered city, and borrowed from them their architecture.

The country to the north of Persia, as far as the confines of Media, was wild, and in part altogether deserted, filled up in a great measure by mountains bordering on the Great Salt Desert, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. This mountainous tract was occupied by tribes of robbers, among whom the most considerable were the Parætaceni, a Median race,[1] and next to these the Cossæi, who possessed the mountains bordering on Media. These tribes continued to preserve their independence, notwithstanding their vicinity to the capital, and the insecurity they occasioned to travellers; compelling the king of Persia himself to purchase by a present the liberty of crossing their mountains, when he removed with his court in the spring

[98] See the drawing of PORTER, ii. 415.

[99] STRABO, p. 1059. PLINY, vi. 27.

[100] HEROD. v. 53, 54. STRABO, loc. cit. JACOBS *ueber die Gräber des Memnon*, has shown that Memnon was a fabulous hero, not an historical personage. The places in ancient authors, relative to Susa, have been collected by BRISSON, p. 88, etc.

[1] HEROD. i. 101.

of the year to Ecbatana.[2] Even Alexander, who overcame them in battle, and reduced their country to a satrapy, experienced the difficulty with which they were kept under the yoke.[3] His successors were unable to change the habits of these lawless tribes, yet it was principally under them that the Parætaceni became somewhat civilized, and applied themselves in a great degree to the cultivation of their territory.[4]

The road through the district of the Parætaceni led to another of the grand divisions of the empire, Media, one of the most extensive as well as most fertile regions of Asia. In extent it resembles Spain, lying also under pretty nearly the same degrees of latitude. In the time of the Persians it was not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but one of the most highly cultivated; its inhabitants had long held the rank of a paramount nation.

A country so extensive, however, necessarily presented many varieties of soil and situation; and accordingly the northern or mountainous part,[5] subsequently called Media Minor or Atropatene,[6] was much more wild and less fertile than the southern, (Media Major or Irak-Ajami,) which spreads into spacious plains, diversified by gentle eminences. In this part, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the city of Nysa, were wide tracts of pasture abounding in the *herba medica* of the ancients, probably the same with our *clover*. Here also was found the finest race of horses then known in Asia, called, from the name of the city, the Nisæan, and distinguished no less for the beauty of their coats, which were of a pure white, than for their remarkable size, speed, and sureness of foot.[7] They were consequently in great request among the grandees of Persia, and became one of the principal objects of their lavish expense. The stock appears to be not even yet extinct, and Porter de-

[2] See STRABO, p. 796, from Nearchus.
[3] ARRIAN, iii. 19. [4] PLINY, vi. 26; MANNERT, v. 501.
[5] HEROD. i. 110; STRABO, p. 796; from whom the following particulars are taken.
[6] Called by the moderns Azerbijan. The name appears to have a reference to the religion of Zoroaster, the worship of fire; and has been explained by Anquetil from the Zend or ancient language of the country. *Zendavesta*, ii. p. 49.
[7] Compare HEROD. vii. 40; and a multitude of other places collected by BRISSON, p. 175 and 667.

scribes the shah as mounted, on grand occasions, on a horse whose natural colour was white.[8] As it was the custom of the Persian monarchs to exact from every province, under the form of tribute, its most valuable productions; so in this country they kept up a most numerous stud of these valuable animals, and reserved for them spacious pastures, from which a certain number were annually drafted for the king's use. In this manner Media contributed, in addition to her yearly tax in money, not less than three thousand horses, four thousand mules, and nearly one hundred thousand sheep.[9] Besides this astonishing supply of cattle, this country abounded also in some of the most valued fruits, not only grapes, but every variety of the orange or citron being natives of its soil.[10] The silphium also was found here, a vegetable anciently so highly prized that it was sold for its weight in gold; though at the same time that of Africa was thought much superior, and large plantations of it were formed in the interior of the district of Cyrene, on the borders of the Great Desert.[11]

When we recollect that the dress of the Medes became by the prevalence of fashion the habit of all the grandees of the Persian empire, and was recommended also by the fineness of the material and the brilliancy of the colours, we shall readily perceive that the natural advantages of this fine country were equalled by its manufactures.[12] Again, if the

[8] PORTER, i. p. 333. It appears to be the same race which we possess, by importation, in Germany. The plains where these celebrated pastures were situated appear to have lain between Casvin and Teheran (near the ancient Ragæ): MANNERT, v. p. 170. Even Porter, though possessed with the groundless notion that the Nisæan plains lay near Kermanshah, (i. 206,) was struck with the beauty and fleetness of the horses of the plains of Casvin, when he rode across them in the suite of the crown prince, Abbas Mirza: i. 299, 300.
[9] STRABO, p. 797.
[10] See the learned dissertation of BECKMANN, *Anleitung zur Waarenkunde*, i. p. 527, sqq.
[11] The silphium of the ancients is generally considered the same with *assafœtida*. Without entering into the question, which has been ably treated by BUDÆUS *ad Theoph.* vi. 3; I would simply remark, that the followers of Alexander found silphium in abundance on the lofty and cold mountains of Kandahar, ARRIAN, iii. 28. The most recent travellers have furnished us with the best information respecting it, and prove that assafœtida grows in Media, as well as in Kerman and Cabul; and still forms a considerable article of the commerce with India, where it is esteemed an article of luxury. KINNEIR'S *Geography*, p. 225; POTTINGER, *Travels*, i. p. 226.
[12] See above, p. 103.

conjecture I have hazarded possess any weight, and these dresses were either wholly or in part of silk, we obtain a glimpse of a commerce carried on with the countries on the further side of the desert, the illustration of which does not belong to the present place. Whatever may be the fate of this question, it is certain, from modern authorities, that the arts of weaving and dying were in a manner indigenous in these countries, and the Persian colours in particular have been always celebrated by contemporary writers, and only surpassed, in public estimation, by those of India.[13]

The capital of this important province was Ecbatana, the foundation of which, and its most ancient form, have been described by Herodotus.[14] Originally it was rather a fortress than a city, but subsequently it became not only the residence of the Median kings, but one of the places where the sovereigns of Persia were in the habit, at fixed periods, of taking up their abode. Thus it ranked among the first cities of Asia, and its palace was scarcely inferior in wealth and splendour to those of Susa and Babylon. We are enabled to affirm this with the greater certainty because an accurate description of it is contained in the writings of Polybius; an author who has never been accused of exaggeration; and whom, on this occasion, we have a double reason for citing, as his words establish beyond dispute the fact of the great abundance of the precious metals in Asia, even before the Persian period.[15]

He tells us that the royal palace was situated below the citadel, having a circumference of seven stades, and in all its parts displaying a magnificence which attested the wealth of its founders. Although all the wood-work was of cedar or cypress, no part of it was suffered to remain uncovered; the rafters, roofs, and columns of the halls and courts being overlaid with plates of gold and silver, and all the tiles being of silver. These plates were taken off by Alexander, Antiochus, and Seleucus Nicanor; nevertheless Antiochus the Great found there so much silver, that he was able to coin therefrom nearly four thousand talents.

If after two successive spoliations so much still remained, what riches must at one time have been accumulated here!

[13] Ctesias, *Indic.* 21.
[14] Herod. i. 98.
[15] Polyb. x. 27; Mannert, v. p. 160.

and what an idea must we not form of the splendour and magnificence of the ancient monarchs of Media! Ecbatana was situated either on the very site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of the modern Hamadan, near Mount Orontes, now called Elwund.[16] But though its situation was never doubtful, the merit of having visited and investigated its precise position was reserved for Morier, and still more for Porter. The ancient city was built on a steep eminence, from which it descended on all sides to a fruitful plain, abundantly watered by streams which poured down from the lofty Orontes. Of the splendid palace of the Median and Persian kings nothing now remains, but the travellers above mentioned recognised without difficulty the terraces on which it had been constructed, and Porter even detected the holes in the rock, meant to receive the hinges of the great gates which closed the entrance.[17] Though no other vestige remained, an important relic was discovered by the same traveller in the base and shaft of a pillar, bearing evidently the Persepolitan character. The shaft was fluted, and about four inches less in diameter than the great pillars at Chehl-Menâr, and the ornaments of the capital clearly showed the form of the lotus leaf.[18] Morier also discovered, on a rock of the Orontes, two tablets or plane surfaces, with inscriptions in the arrow-headed character; each tablet being divided into three areæ, and thus evidently resembling those of Persepolis in the threefold repetition of the same inscription. The high rank which Ecbatana held among the cities of Asia was promoted by a concurrence of almost every possible advantage: a fruitful soil, a mild climate, the residence of a splendid court, and the vicinity of the great commercial high-road which traversed Asia from east to west, all combining to invest it with a degree of splendour, of which scarcely any vestiges remain in the modern Hamadan.

Media formed, under the Persians, a separate satrapy, but its limits are very difficult to be traced, as it was far from being the case that all the parts of that great country were given to the same government. Besides the Parætaceni mentioned above, (who, however, were Medes by de-

[16] Porter, ii. p. 103, etc.; Morier, ii. p. 267.
[17] Porter, ii. p. 103, etc.; Morier, ii. p. 267.
[18] Porter, ii. 115; see the drawing in Morier, ii. 269.

scent,) the inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the south of the Caspian were not included in this satrapy. Among these were the Tapyri and Mardi, whose names are in part preserved in those of Taberistan and Mazanderan, to which must probably be added the fertile region of Ghilan. The Tapyri were subject to the Persians, and formed a separate satrapy. On the other hand, the Mardi, a Persian race, inhabiting a district almost inaccessible in consequence of its mountains, and as poor as they were warlike, had found for a long time no conqueror bold enough to assail them, till they were subdued by Alexander, who joined their country to the satrapy of Taberistan.[19] They do not appear to have joined in the armament of Xerxes; at least they are not enumerated among the nations which composed it; both tribes, however, are mentioned as having fought on the side of Darius at Arbela, the Mardi as bowmen;[20] though it is very probable that they served for pay, or with the hope of plunder.

Aria, also, lying to the east of Media, properly belonged to that country, though distinguished from it in the catalogue of Persian satrapies. It derived its name from the river Arius, the modern Heri, and the Arians and Medes were originally the same race, the Medes, according to Herodotus, having anciently borne the name of Arians.[21] Either the dynasty of the Medes had already dissolved this union, or the Persians judged it expedient to weaken a race once so powerful by subdividing it, and thus Aria came to be formed into a distinct satrapy,[22] and the Arians to rank as a separate race.[23] The passage from Media into this territory was through the Caspian gates, (Caspiæ Pylæ,) consisting in a strong and narrow strait lying between the two countries; a day's journey from the modern Rey or Rages, near Teheran.[24] We learn from several instances that the

[19] ARRIAN, iii. 23, 24.

[20] Ibid. iii. 11.

[21] HEROD. vii. 62. It is apparent from the same place, that what were called the Median habits were not confined to Media Proper, but extended to the countries lying eastward; and as these touched on Bactra, we cannot be surprised at the conformity which prevailed.

[22] Aria is mentioned as a separate satrapy by ARRIAN, iii. 25, and elsewhere. He does not apply the term in the restricted sense in which it is used by Strabo, but uses it to comprehend part of Media, as far as Arachotus.

[23] HEROD. vii. 66.

[24] In the mountainous regions surrounding the Caspian were a multitude

Persians were accustomed to fortify such positions with walls and iron gates, to repress the incursions of predatory tribes; a precaution especially necessary in the present instance.

Aria differed essentially from Media, as it consisted of an extensive steppe, partially marked by more fertile and better cultivated districts. It is the more important to form a correct idea of the characteristics of this great country, (embracing the southern part of Khorassan, the northern part of Kerman, and Sehestan towards the east,) because it helps to determine the course of the great commercial highway from Eastern to Western Asia. The interior of the steppe alluded to forms a desert connected with those of Kerman or Carmania, in which it may be said to merge. Its western extremity is so impregnated with salt, that the earth appears to be covered with it, and the name of the Salt Desert has been in consequence bestowed upon it.

It begins on the further side of the chain of mountains formerly inhabited by the predatory tribes already mentioned, and presents nearly the appearance of a tract covered with snow. The desert extends, however, beyond the portion thus covered with salt, stretching (with partial interruptions) about three hundred and twenty geographical miles from east to west, and for the most part nearly as far from north to south. To the north it is bounded by the chain of Taurus,[25] at the foot of which, between the latitudes of thirty-five and thirty-six degrees, run the great commercial highways; the desert itself being scarcely passable even in the winter months, and entirely so during those of summer. To the south, the waste is bounded by the mountains of Kerman and Beloochistan, about the thirtieth degree of latitude. We have recently obtained more accurate information respecting these districts, since two English offi-

of such narrow straits, which received the general appellation of Caspiæ Pylæ, inasmuch as they led to that sea. The pass, however, between Aria and Media was pre-eminently so named. STRABO, p. 796. Authors are perfectly agreed with respect to its position.

[25] The large map of Kinneir, which I use, gives the best delineation of the course of this chain of mountains, which stretches, with some moderate deviations from the direct line, as far as the neighbourhood of Cabul, from the Caspiæ Pylæ; from the fifty-first to the sixty-eighth degree of longitude. At the latter point it first diverges into minor branches extending north and south, and filling up the boundaries of Hindustan.

cers, named Pottinger and Christie, have had the hardihood to traverse them under the characters of horse-dealers and pilgrims. In their interior is situated a considerable lake, called the lake of Zurra; unquestionably the *Aria palus* of antiquity. A large river, anciently bearing the same name, at present called the Ilmend, empties itself into this inland sea, from the deserts to the south-east; and Christie fell in with another stream, further to the north, called the Herat, near a town of the same name. The banks of this stream are distinguished by a high degree of fertility, and verify all that Strabo has recorded of Aria: but it must be observed that this fertility is confined to the neighbourhood of the river. The banks of the Ilmend, says Christie, are well cultivated and fertile; the soil being of a dark colour and well watered. The greatest breadth, however, of this fruitful district is not above two miles, when the desert with high cliffs again appears, and continues without water or vegetation to the great trading highway from Herat to Candahar. The valley also in which Herat is situated, even now a city of nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants, is exceedingly fertile. Maize, roggen, and fruit, are produced in abundance. Numerous villages are scattered round the city, which is one of the first trading places of Asia, and celebrated for breeding horses and camels.

I consider (with Kinneir) the city of Herat to be the same with the ancient Aria, or, as it was also called, Artacoana;[26] a city at all times of importance, as lying on the great commercial highway leading to Candahar, Cabul, and the whole of northern India. By following this tract it was possible to avoid the mountains of Hyrcania, at the foot of which the roads in question ran, and consequently to avoid the lawless tribes which occupied those heights.

[26] MANNERT, v. p. 98, has already shown that Aria and Artacoana are the same. I am inclined to think that it was also the same with the more recent Alexandria Ariana. Arrian does not inform us of the foundation by Alexander of any new city in this country; nor does his rapid passage through it countenance such a supposition. Several ancient cities received new names from their Macedonian conquerors. We are told that Alexander, on his march to Bactriana, inclined to the south to visit Aria. This corresponds with the site of Herat, which, according to Kinneir's map, lies in lat. $34\frac{1}{2}°$, to the south, not, as Mannert asserts, to the north, of the great mountain chain. Compare by all means, KINNEIR, *Geograph.* 181, 182, for an account of the commercial importance of Herat.

The mountainous districts just mentioned, Parthia and Hyrcania, (the modern Corcan,) formed under the Persians a single satrapy, which they also continued to do under Alexander.[27] Parthia, a rude and confined district, was one of the poorest provinces of all the empire. The Persian monarchs, with their countless suite, were in the habit of traversing it with all possible speed, it being too poor to subsist their followers if they made any halt, little suspecting that this rude race of horsemen would eventually descend from their mountains to seize (as their own forefathers had done) the empire of all Asia.

The more fertile Hyrcania (the valleys of which were distinguished by luxuriant vegetation) does not appear to have been much better cultivated. The sides of the hills were clothed with impenetrable forests, seemingly intended by Providence to supply wood for the navigation of the Caspian, though the inhabitants of the country appear never to have converted them to such a purpose. The capital of the country was called Zadracarta, which also was once a royal residence;[28] and according to Arrian's account must have been situated on the great highway at the foot of the mountains.

To the north of these districts, in the sandy wastes of Khievan, to the east of the Caspian, wandered a mixed multitude of nomad tribes, many of which are often mentioned as forming part of the Persian armies, but who still retained their character of independent nations, only paying a tribute when compelled by circumstances. Of the number of these were the Dahæ, (whose appellation survives in the modern Dahestan,) the Paricanii, and others whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this work.

Adjacent to Aria was Bactriana,[29] one of the richest and

[27] STRABO, 782. Compare ARRIAN, iii. 22.

[28] Βασιλεία. ARRIAN, loc. cit. I consider Zadracarta to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Naisabour.

[29] Between Aria and Bactriana the more recent Greek geographers place the province of Margiana, deriving its name from the desert-stream of the Margus (Morg). Under the Persians, however, Margiana did not form a distinct satrapy, but belonged partly to Aria, and partly to Bactriana. It first acquired the name of Margiana when Antiochus Soter founded here a city, which he called after himself, when he surrounded with a wall (fifteen hundred stades in circuit) the fertile district by which it was environed, where the vines are said to have attained a thickness in the stem equal to that of ordinary trees. STRABO, p. 785.

most considerable satrapies of the empire,[30] at present known under the name of Balkh. Bactriana was situated to the north of India, along the course of the Oxus or Gihoon, one of the principal rivers of Asia, which bounded it to the north; dividing it from Sogdiana. This advantageous position soon caused it to become one of the best cultivated parts of all the continent, and its capital was, according to the traditions of the East, the seat of powerful and independent princes long before the dynasty of the Persians; and the satraps by whom it was governed under the latter frequently sought occasions of attempting to make themselves independent.[31] Nay, even after the overthrow of that empire, Bessus assumed there the title of monarch of all Asia.[32] The principal city, of the same name with the territory, was situated on a little river which empties itself into the Oxus. It has been often identified with Zariaspa, but the followers of Alexander speak of Bactra and Zariaspa as two distinct cities.[33] In consequence of the fertility of its soil and its fortunate position, Bactriana was at all times one of the most wealthy regions of Asia. It was destined by nature herself to be the first place of exchange for the productions of India, which it purchased with those of its own climate. The great highways of communication from east to west ran, as we shall have occasion to show, at the foot of the surrounding mountains, and were directed towards its capital. The vicinity of the gold districts of India rendered it, at the same period, the centre of the commerce of the continent, and as early as the remotest period of history it was illumined by a degree of mild civilization, of which the last reflection may be traced amid the ruins of Persepolis. It is greatly to be regretted that these general facts are all which we can affirm with certainty respecting the earlier history of Bactra. Even the followers of Alexander have scarcely preserved for us any other information than that the conqueror visited this country, and left a considerable detachment of his army, (fourteen thousand men,)

[30] Bactriana is frequently mentioned as a distinct satrapy. See ARRIAN, iii. 21, and elsewhere.

[31] CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 8, etc. Ctesias always speaks of Bactriana as a principal province of the Persian empire; concerning which the remarks already made on the ruins of Persepolis afford some light.

[32] ARRIAN, iii. 25. [33] See the places in CELLARIUS, ii. p. 711.

to keep possession of it:[34] a sufficient proof of the importance he attached to its conquest.

No modern traveller has penetrated as far as Balkh, and we are indebted to Mr. Elphinstone for a few particulars respecting it, collected in Cabul.[35]

Balkh, at present subject to the Usbeck Tartars, is situated to the north of the Hindoo-koh, which sinks with a rapid declivity towards the Oxus, thus rendering the climate more temperate. The city of Balkh enjoys among the Asiatics the reputation of being the most ancient in the world, and the cradle of their kings; for which reason it is styled the mother of cities. At the present day it is of inconsiderable extent;[36] a part only being inhabited, while its ruins extend in every direction, and attest the ancient grandeur of the place. The country about it is fertile, being watered by eighteen canals, which derive their water from a great reservoir among the mountains.

On the further side of the Oxus lay the northernmost of all the provinces of Persia, Sogdiana.[37] It was bounded to the south by the river just mentioned, and to the north by another, flowing in a parallel direction into the Caspian Sea, at present called the Sirr-Daria, anciently the Jaxartes. Of the latter river, we know that its principal branch formerly was the now nearly dry channel of the Jan-Daria, towards the south, whereas at present it is the northernmost of the two branches, which, though eight hundred feet wide, steals slowly along through forests of reeds.[38] Neither of these rivers at present flow into the Caspian, but lose themselves in the sea of Aral, a lake not named by the ancients. The sandy desert, however, between the Aral and the Caspian, still shows traces of their ancient course, though their arms are at present choked with mud. The northern portion of Great Bucharia now represents the ancient Sogdiana, but the old appellation is still preserved in that of the territory adjacent to the capital, Samarcand, or Maracanda, which is called Al-Sogd.

This district is one of high importance in history, not

[34] ARRIAN, iv. 22. [35] ELPHINSTONE, *Account of Cabul*, p. 462, etc.

[36] KINNEIR, in his Geography, speaks of it as containing at present from six to seven thousand inhabitants.

[37] Sogdiana is mentioned as a distinct satrapy by ARRIAN, iv. 15, etc.

[38] According to the accounts of Russian travellers referred to below.

only on account of its natural productions, but also for its commerce. It formed, as it were, by its very position, the line of demarcation between the agricultural and pastoral regions, and consequently has at all times been inhabited by tribes belonging to both classes: by the wandering hordes which have probably broken in from the north of Asia, and have often made themselves absolute masters of the country; and by those who may be more properly termed its inhabitants, occupying established seats, and devoting themselves to agriculture and commerce. In the same manner as the Bucharians are now distinguished in their character and habits from the Usbeck Tartars,[39] so in the days of Alexander the Sogdiani were distinct from the wandering hordes of Scythians, whose immense bands of horsemen traversed the country with their herds and tents, eager to avail themselves of every occasion for surprising a booty, and prepared, on the approach of superior forces, to fly back to their steppes and deserts, where no one could follow them.[40]

It is only within the last few years that the commercial enterprises of the Russians have supplied us with some more accurate data respecting the present condition of this country.[41] The caravans of that nation travel from Orenburg to Khieva and Bokhara, and have contributed to throw light on the steppes of Central Asia, as well as of Bucharia, at least towards the west. It has, in this manner, become evident that the face of this country has in part undergone important changes; and the fact of the perpetual recession[42] of the sea of Aral, with the circumstance of a level bed of sand lying between it and the Caspian, containing smaller

[39] MÜLLER'S *Sammlung Russ. Geschichten*, vol. iv. p. 205. The Usbeck Tartars, and their khans, are the lords of the country, and form, as it were, the *noblesse;* while the great mass of the population (perhaps three-fourths) consist of the Taidshees, or old stationary inhabitants, who having no share in the government, devote themselves to commerce and agriculture.

[40] The best account of Sogdiana is to be found in ARRIAN, vol. iv. p. 2, etc. He makes a broad distinction between the Sogdiani, living in cities, and the nomad Scythians, of whom a host, to the number of thirty thousand men, were then scattered over the country.

[41] Particularly on occasion of the great caravan to Bokhara of the year 1820, which Dr. Eversmann accompanied as physician, and my respected friend the Col. Baron von Meyendorf, as one of the escort. The former has published his *Journey from Orenburg to Bokhara*, Berlin, 1823, Lichtenstein. To the latter I am indebted for many MS. notes; to which I shall also have occasion to refer when I come to speak of the Scythian tribes.

[42] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, p. 65.

salt lakes, leave no reasonable ground for doubting that anciently the sea of Aral was united with the Caspian; a sufficient reason why the former should not have been mentioned by ancient geographers.[43] The former channel of the Oxus also may still be traced to the Caspian,[44] and the tradition of the inhabitants of the adjacent plains is, that it was first deserted in the sixteenth century, in consequence of an earthquake; and it is even thought not impossible to restore the river to its ancient course. The country has also suffered the greatest changes from the perpetual encroachment of sand from the north and west, which no art or power of man has proved able to restrain, and which has converted into deserts what were once fertile districts. In consequence of the thinness of the soil, it is dependent for its fertility on artificial irrigation, effected by means of innumerable watercourses of various sizes; owing to which not only the country round Bokhara, but the whole territory as far as Samarcand, has been brought into a state of cultivation resembling that of a garden.[45] The same is the case with the territory of Khieva on the Oxus.[46] On the other hand, the northern part of this country, as far as the neighbourhood of Bokhara, is a waste, and in many places a complete desert of sand, extending, under the appellation of the Red Desert, to the distance of five days' journey.[47]

Samarcand, the birth-place in after times of the renowned Timour, was in the time of the Persians a flourishing city. Anciently it was called Maracanda, and ranked as the royal city of the Sogdiani, having at one time, though afterwards reduced to the government of a Persian satrap, been ruled, (it is probable,) like many other Asiatic nations, by monarchs of its own. The surrounding district was so celebrated throughout the East for its fertility, that it ranked among the paradises of Asia, and the commerce of barter

[43] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, pp. 81, 86.

[44] This is also affirmed by the testimony of another eyewitness, MURAVIEF, (*Voyage en Turcomanie et à Chiwa*, 1819, 1820. Paris, 1823,) who travelled from Bacou across the Caspian Sea to Khieva.

[45] EVERSMANN, p. 86.

[46] See MURAVIEF, loc. cit. I can scarcely doubt that the district about Khieva is the same with that which HERODOTUS (iii. 117) describes as artificially irrigated by watercourses from the Aces (Oxus); and which paid an annual tribute to the king of Persia.

[47] EVERSMANN, p. 52.

between the productions of India and those of this country formed at all times one of the most considerable branches of trade.[48] Maracanda was in fact what Bokhara now is, one of the chief marts for the commerce of all the continent.[49] It is a pity that the route of the Russian caravans did not pass through this city; at the same time it appears, from information collected at Bokhara, that Samarcand still possesses a population of about fifty thousand inhabitants, but without retaining its ancient importance as a commercial city, which must be ascribed in part to the residence of the khan at Balkh, and partly to the more difficult nature of its communication with that city, lying as it does across a mountainous country; while the road from the latter place to Bokhara runs along a plain. On the other hand, in proportion as the traveller proceeds from Bokhara to the sea of Aral and the Caspian, he discovers a country more and more desolate, the haunt of wandering tribes of the Turcoman race. In the days of the Persians these were much more formidable than at present, both for strength and numbers; a fact which we can affirm with certainty on the authority of our faithful guide Herodotus, who is no where more copious in information than here. He appears, as it were, to be peculiarly at home in describing and distinguishing the different races of these remote nomad nations, to the admiration of all succeeding historians. I shall, however, defer for a later portion of my undertaking an examination of the evidence he has thus afforded us respecting the tribes of Central Asia, when I shall have occasion to revert to these regions.

To protect themselves against the incursions of these nations, and to fence, as it were, the boundaries of their empire, the Persians adopted the plan of forming a line of cities in the neighbourhood, or along the very banks, of the Jaxartes. Seven fortified places of this description were erected,[50] the strongest of which appears to have been founded by Cyrus himself, whose name it bore.[51] This was protected

[48] *Hist. General. des Tart.* p. 278; cf. STRABO, p. 785.

[49] EVERSMANN, p. 76, etc. The caravans from Cabul, Cashmir, Cashgar, Urgentz, and Orenburg all meet at Bokhara; which is also the principal mart for precious stones and indigo.

[50] ARRIAN, iv. 2.

[51] It was called by the Greeks Cyreschata, or the most remote city of Cyrus. Other writers, however, have already shown that this was probably a corruption for Corascarta or Corescarta, (the city of Cyrus,) like Tigranocerta, etc. Cf. STEPH. *de Urb.* s. v. κύρου πόλις et ibi not.

by a citadel, and contained a garrison of eighteen thousand men; but the rest appear to have been places of no great consequence, and calculated, (it is probable,) only to withstand the loose assaults of predatory hordes, as appears from the fact that Alexander took them all in the course of a few days, and founded here a new city called after his own name. The place was designed partly to answer the same purposes with the preceding, partly as a point of peaceful intercourse with the nations of Central Asia.[52] Even at the present day may be discovered on the banks of the Jan-Daria,[53] once the principal stream of the Jaxartes, hillocks of ruins, the age of which I cannot venture to determine with certainty.

We have now reached the limits of the Persian empire, before crossing which and taking a glimpse of the adjacent districts of India, we must revert to its southern provinces, extending from Persia Proper along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. In proportion as the present state of these countries is involved in obscurity, we must be surprised to find that they were anciently illumined by a degree of light and certainty which does not attach to many other regions less remote in their situation and more distinguished in their history. For this we are indebted to the companions of Alexander and to the historian Arrian, who has preserved the information they afforded. Neither the difficulties nor the dangers with which such a route is beset could deter the Macedonian conqueror from marching across these dreary provinces in his return from India, though he knew that he was risking the fruits of all his victories by exposing his army to the most formidable of all adversaries, famine and thirst. If, however, there be any point in the history of Alexander which more than another proves his inflexible adherence to a resolution once adopted, as well as the discipline of his army, which was proof against the extremities of want, and circumstances little short of desperate, it is this celebrated retreat; concerning which his more recent historians have indulged in the most childish exaggerations.[54]

[52] ARRIAN, iv. 3. [53] EVERSMANN'S *Reise*, pp. 49, 50. [54] ARRIAN, vi. 28.

Next to Persis came the province of Carmania (the modern Kerman[55]); divided from the former by a river which empties itself into the sea, opposite to the island of Catæa or Kais,[56] and extending not only along the shores of the Persian Gulf, but, beyond these, as far as Gedrosia or Makran.

Under the Persians, Carmania formed a satrapy by itself, the inhabitants of which in speech, manners, and arms resembled the Persians.[57] The flat shore of the Persian Gulf was only in parts sandy, and sprinkled with the huts of a race of fishermen, while in other parts fruitful fields extended to the very margin of the sea, among which the beautiful plain of Ormus, over against an island of the same name, deserves to be specified.[58] At a certain distance from the sea, the country swelled into eminences, and abounded in a variety of natural productions. Fruits of every kind, particularly olives and grapes, were found there in the greatest perfection. The beds of the rivers also, which are numerous, are said to have afforded traces of the more precious metals, and the followers of Alexander have made mention of two mountains, one of which produced arsenic, and the other salt.[59] Further to the north, the country became less productive, and ended in a spacious salt desert, extending as far as Parætacene,[60] with which the travels and researches of Pottinger have made us better acquainted. It takes in by far the greater part of Carmania,[61] stretching from the 30° to the 34° of N. lat., and from the 52° to the 56° of long.; and according to the limits laid down by Strabo, loses itself in the steppes of Ariana. In consequence, however, of the saline quality of the soil, it is peculiarly well adapted for the feeding of sheep, and it is well known that the modern Kerman produces the finest wool, which was anciently supposed to be obtained, not by the process of shearing, but by that of combing, and by gathering what

[55] We must be careful not to confound this with the present Caramania, the southern part of Asia Minor.
[56] ARRIAN, *Indica Op.* p. 194, ed. STEPH.
[57] ARRIAN, loc. cit.; and in his *Exped. Alex.* vi. 27.
[58] NEARCHUS in ARRIAN, *Ind.* p. 191. *Harmozia.* For a more complete account see the chapter on the trade of the Babylonians, containing a description of the Persian Gulf, vol. ii. p. 220, sq.
[59] STRABO, p. 1057. [60] Ibid. loc. cit. [61] POTTINGER'S *Travels*, p. 229.

fell off of itself;[62] an error which the latest travellers have corrected.[63] Kerman, the metropolis, anciently Carmania, is celebrated throughout all Asia for its manufacture of shawls, which are as fine, but not as soft, as those of Cashmir.[64] In the time of the Persians Carmania was far better cultivated than at present, and it is therefore to be supposed, that its ancient inhabitants improved the facilities for disposing of their wool, afforded them by the manufactures of Persia and Babylonia.

The coast from Kerman to the confines of India, at the present day rarely visited and little known, was anciently comprehended under the name of Gedrosia, which is no longer to be traced in the modern appellation of Makran. This was the most desolate and sterile of all the countries subject to Persia. The coast of the Indian Ocean, and great part of the interior, forms a sandy desert, traversed indeed by many watercourses, in their general state without water, but after rain has fallen on the mountains to the north, swelling into floods, which overspread the whole surrounding district, and carry away every thing within their reach.[65] The districts bordering on India were, in the time of Alexander, fruitful in aromatic trees and shrubs, particularly the myrrh and nardus, which here flourished in great abundance and perfection; and the Phœnicians who accompanied the army of that conqueror, being well acquainted with the value of these commodities, loaded their beasts of burden with what they collected.[66] These signs of vegetation, however, quickly disappeared, and as the country stretched further and further to the west, it was found to increase in sterility, till it ended in an utter desert. The traces of a road were often effaced by the sand drifted by the wind, and even the guides were compelled to trace their course by the stars.

The interior of the country contains, however, a capital named Puhra, which Alexander reached after many difficulties and dangers, by a march of sixty days, from the

[62] TAVERNIER, i. p. 87. BECKMANN'S *Waarenkunde*, i. p. 476.
[63] POTTINGER, p. 225, has given us some accurate information respecting the race of sheep found there, which immediately degenerates in other countries.
[64] POTTINGER, p. 226. [65] ARRIAN, vi. 25.
[66] ARRIAN, vi. 22, from whom also the following particulars are taken.

borders of the Oritæ.[67] He was, however, compelled once more to commit himself and his army to the desert, which terminated only on the confines of Carmania. While the king was traversing the interior, his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, followed the sea-coast to the Persian Gulf; and that officer has bequeathed us a description of those shores, so accurate, that a mariner might, even in the present day, safely steer by it.[68] The inhabitants of this sea-coast were savages, living almost entirely on fish, and consequently distinguished by the general appellation of Ichthyophagi. "Few of these people," says Nearchus,[69] "obtain the fish by fishing, for few of them possess the proper boats, or understand the art: most of the fish being caught on the retreat of the tide. Some, however, have nets fit for this purpose, frequently two stades in length. These nets are woven out of the bark of the date tree, which is twisted after the manner of flax. When the sea has retreated, and the land appears, the dry parts of the shore are of course destitute of fish, but wherever the tide remains in hollows of the beach, they are found in great numbers, some small, others large, which are taken with nets. Of these, the more tender kinds they devour raw, as they take them out of the water; the larger and tougher they bake in the sun, and when dry, grind into a sort of meal, of which they form loaves, while others convert the same into a sort of pudding. Even their cattle feed in like manner on dried fish, for their country is destitute of meadows and bare of grass. They also take, in many places, crabs, oysters, and shellfish; and salt is naturally formed in their country, from

[67] I can scarcely doubt but this is the modern Puhra, which Pottinger describes as a very small but well-built city of four hundred houses, in the midst of a wood of date trees, which afford its inhabitants a considerable revenue. Pottinger visited the spot, and has laid it down in his map at 28° of lat., and 60° 15′ long. It is clear from the account of ARRIAN, that Alexander penetrated far into the country, for the purpose of procuring supplies of corn and dates, which were not to be obtained in the desert.

[68] Since the appearance of the first edition of the present work, great light has been thrown on the sea-coasts of Gedrosia and Carmania, by the *Periplus* of NEARCHUS, by DR. VINCENT, London, 1798. The learned author has availed himself of the charts and plans of two officers of the East India Company, appointed to survey these shores. This comparison of the accounts of the British captains with those of Alexander's admiral, has proved highly to the advantage of the reputation of the latter. We are enabled, in fact, to verify almost all his statements.

[69] ARRIAN, *Indic.* xxix.

which they concoct a sort of oil (?). Some of these people inhabit desolate situations, destitute of wood, and producing no cultivated crops, and these depend entirely on fish for their subsistence. A few, however, cultivate some small portion of land, and make the bread they obtain a sort of side-dish; fish being their main support. The better sort among them construct houses by collecting the bones of cetaceous fishes cast on shore by the ocean, which serve for the frame-work of their habitations; the broadest bones being converted into doors, while the poorer construct their huts of the bones of the fish they catch."

The habits of this miserable race continue to be the same as they were two thousand years ago, the fodder of their cattle not excepted.[70] They turned their fish to every possible account, and the rich and poor were distinguished, as we have seen, by the size of the bones they collected from this grand source of their subsistence. The people at large are those now denominated Ballooches, and have been rescued from obscurity principally by the observations of Pottinger and Christie. They extend far into the interior, and the description of them, which the followers of Alexander have handed down to us, in consequence of their march through their territory, is far from attractive. The prisoners, we are told, had hairy bodies, and nails resembling the talons of wild beasts, and were habited in the hides of animals taken in the chase, and the skins of fish. The Ballooches continue to be a race of banditti, practising systematic robbery. They are distinguished into two races, differing in speech, origin, and figure; the Ballooches, properly so called, and the Brahoos; which, nevertheless, in consequence of long-continued intercourse, have come to regard themselves as one nation. Neither race possesses any history, but in point of language, as well as figure, the Ballooches appear to belong to the Persian, and the Brahoos to the Indian stock. Their pastoral lives preclude them from occupying fixed abodes; and they are subdivided into a multitude of

[70] See NIEBUHR'S *Account of Arabia*, p. 310; and compare MARCO POLO, in *Ramusio*, ii. p. 60; who gives the same account of this race. The most recent information we possess, afforded by MORIER, vol. i. p. 50, who visited this coast, confirms this statement.

clans, subject to chieftains, who pay little regard to the authority of the monarchs of eastern or western Persia.[71]

The desolation which marked the coast ceased to prevail in the interior, and a more fertile district commenced with the range of mountains, where the province of Arachosia (or Arokhage) bordered on Gedrosia, and was marked by superior cultivation and a numerous population.[72] The latter province was united in the same satrapy with Gedrosia, and continued to be so under Alexander,[73] though the Persians appear to have given themselves little concern about that desolate coast and its savage inhabitants; at all events the Gedrosians are not enumerated either among the nations of which their armies were composed, or among those which paid them tribute. They were protected by their poverty, the only effectual protection against the ambition of their conquerors.

The territory of the Zarangæi was, however, distinct from this satrapy, and formed a part of the modern Sehestan; the ancient appellation being still partly preserved in the name of the capital, Zarang.[74] It is an extensive district, for the most part level; bounded to the south by Gedrosia, to the north by Bactriana, to the east by Arachosia, and to the west by Aria. From the latter region it is separated by the mighty lake of the desert, the sea of Arius or Zurra, the receptacle of all the inferior streams which water this and the neighbouring countries. It formed under the Persians a distinct satrapy,[75] and its inhabitants are enumerated not

[71] POTTINGER, p. 53, etc.; p. 270, etc.

[72] Rennell has inserted in his map the name of Arokhage, which is not given in those of Kinneir and Pottinger. I consider it to be the Saravan of Pottinger; a province of the modern Balloochistan, the capital being Kelat; for an account of which we are indebted to POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 264. It continues to be the principal province of Balloochistan. When Pottinger attempts to prove that Arachosia lay further to the north, in Kandahar, he is undoubtedly in an error. The march of Craterus, to which he refers, cannot have extended so far northward. Arachosia must necessarily have bordered upon Gedrosia (Makran) to the south, being united with it in the same satrapy.

[73] ARRIAN, vi. 27.

[74] In Kinneir's map it is set down as Dooshak or Zullaba, with the addition, however, of the name of Zaranga. It was situated thirty-six miles from Herat, on the Il-mend, in 32° N. lat. which agrees with what might be expected to be its position. MANNERT, v. p. 71. We can scarcely err, therefore, in supposing this to be the city in question.

[75] ARRIAN, iii. 25.

only in the catalogue of the tributaries of Darius, but in that of the army of Xerxes. They appear to have been one of the more civilized nations, and were distinguished in the army of Xerxes by the beauty of their coloured vestments,[76] either having manufactures of their own, or obtaining them by the course of commerce from India and Persia. At the present day also the great caravan road from Ispahan to Kandahar passes by their capital.[77]

The country of the Zarangæi was bordered to the east by the mountains of Kandahar, which, under the name of Hindu-koh represent the Indian Caucasus of the Greeks; surrounded by several inferior tribes, such as the Drangæ and Dragogi, through whose territory it was necessary to pass on the way to Arachotus. It is the more necessary to specify these nations, because they have been frequently confounded with the Zarangæi, from whom, nevertheless, they were perfectly distinct.[78] It is not certain whether they were subject to the Persian dominion, or lived as a free race of mountaineers; their poverty, and the inclemency of their native country, in which Alexander suffered no less from cold and snow than from hunger, appear to have been their protection.[79] Their name has so completely perished, that, even with the assistance of the best modern maps, it would be a hopeless task to attempt to identify in detail their places of abode. We must not, however, omit to notice another inconsiderable tribe in their vicinity, styled by the Greeks Evergetæ, or Benefactors, but anciently called Agriaspæ. These enjoyed the privilege of paying no tribute, but on the contrary were permitted in a manner to retain their own free constitution.[80] It is said that this immunity was granted in recompence for a service performed to the army of Cyrus, when that conqueror, during an expedition against the nomads, fell into great straits for want of provisions, and this people voluntarily contributed thirty thousand waggon-loads of corn; for which they were honoured by the appellation of the king's benefactors. Strange as this story may

[76] HEROD. vii. 67.

[77] TAVERNIER, i. p. 626. In KINNEIR's map it inclines somewhat more to the north.

[78] ARRIAN, iii. 28. Even the maps of Danville are not exempt from this error.

[79] ARRIAN, loc. cit.

[80] Ibid. iii. p. 27; cf. DIODORUS, ii. 222.

appear, it is perfectly in unison with Persian manners, among whom whosoever had the good fortune to perform a personal service to the monarch obtained the title of the king's benefactor. His name was immediately enrolled by the court secretaries in the list of those thus distinguished, together with the service which he had rendered. As such he possessed the highest claim to the monarch's gratitude, whose honour demanded that he should requite the benefit received by some distinguished favour.[81] Accordingly, it was consistent with the dignity and honour of Cyrus that he should accord to the entire nation the appellation of his benefactors; and the reward which accompanied this distinction was, in the opinion of the Persians, a necessary consequence of such a title.

III. PERSIAN INDIA.

I HAVE now conducted my reader as far as the most eastern provinces of the Persian empire, and the confines of India; of which country also a portion was subject to the great king, and composed a separate satrapy. The limits, however, of this satrapy are lost in uncertainty, and it is impossible to throw any light on the subject without extending the present researches to the whole of Hindustan then known, or which, at the fall of the Persian empire, emerged from obscurity. By Persian India, therefore, we must be understood to mean, not only the portion which was subject to Persia, but all with which the Persians were acquainted; standing as it did in a certain relation to that empire, and being naturally connected with its geographical and statistical survey. We shall reserve for a separate portion of this work our general observations on ancient India.

Two observations must, however, be premised, without which the following remarks cannot be properly understood.

When we speak of ancient India we must not be understood to mean the whole of Hindustan, but chiefly the northern parts of it, or the countries between the Indus and Ganges; though we are far from asserting that the rest of

[81] BRISSON, p. 194. The custom is not even yet extinct, and he who brings good tidings to the king is entitled to a reward. MORIER, ii. 103.

that peninsula, particularly its western coast, was then utterly unknown. It was from this quarter that the Persians and the Greeks (to whom we are indebted for the earliest accounts of India) invaded the country; and this was consequently the region which must first have become generally known. The countries bordering on the Ganges continued to be involved in obscurity; the great kingdom of the Prasians excepted, which, situated nearly above the modern Bengal, was dimly discernible. The nearer we approach the Indus, the more clear becomes our knowledge of the ancient geography of the country; and it follows, that the districts of which, at the present day, we know the least, were anciently best known.

2ndly. The western and northern boundaries of India were not then the same as at present. To the west, it was not then bounded by the river Indus, but by a chain of mountains which, under the name of Koh, (whence the Grecian appellation of the Indian Caucasus,) extended from Bactriana to Makran, or Gedrosia, enclosing the kingdoms of Kandahar and Cabul, the modern kingdom of Eastern Persia, or Afghanistan. These districts anciently formed a part of India, as well as (further to the south) the less perfectly known country of the Arabi and Haurs, bordering on Gedrosia, and which bore of old the same appellations.[1] Concerning the latter districts we have recently obtained more accurate information from the narrative of Pottinger; as the work of Elphinstone has made us better acquainted with the former. This western boundary continued at all times the same, and was removed to the Indus only in consequence of the conquests of Nadir-Shah.[2] Nor was ancient India less widely extended towards the north. The whole of the mountainous region above Cashmir, Badakshan, Beloor-Land, the western boundary mountains of Little Bucharia, or Little Thibet, and even the desert of Cobi, so far as it was then known, were all considered to belong to India. With the latter countries our present inquiries must commence, but it is greatly to be regretted that the subject continues to be involved in an obscurity, which the labours of modern geographers and travellers have not been able to

[1] The *Arabitæ* and *Oritæ* of ARRIAN, vi. 21, etc.
[2] RENNELL'S *Memoir*, etc., p. 19.

disperse. The discovery of a passage by sea to the coasts of India has contributed to withdraw from the above regions the regard of Europeans, and left them in undisturbed obscurity. Even Alexander did not visit them; his road from Bactra to Taxila, or Attock, carrying him further to the south, and it is in vain therefore to look to his historians for information respecting these countries. Two only of the most ancient writers of antiquity were more accurately acquainted with them, Herodotus and Ctesias; of whose guidance we shall avail ourselves.

The former, after having given us some information respecting the Indians south of the Indus, as far as Guzerat, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, adds as follows:[3] "There are other Indians living near the city Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, (the city and territory of Cabul,) situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nation, and resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold. For in the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen at the residence of the king of Persia, having been brought from that country. These creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold-dust. To procure this the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels, a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to choose one which has recently foaled. When, in this manner, they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants pursuing them, as the Persians say, by the scent; the female camel, eager to rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found, though in less quantities, in mines."

[3] HEROD. iii. 102, 106.

Herodotus has so accurately marked the situation of these auriferous deserts, that it is impossible to be mistaken. The nation in whose neighbourhood they are situated "live near to Bactra and Pactyica, to the north of the other Indians," and consequently among the mountains of Little Thibet, or Little Bucharia; and the desert in their vicinity can be no other than that of Cobi, which is bounded by the mountains of the above countries.

There is no doubt that the account of the historian is applicable to this region. We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limit the desert is rich in veins of gold;[4] and not only the rivers which flow from it westward, through Great Bucharia, but the desert-streams which run to the east and lose themselves in the sand, or in inland seas, all carry down a quantity of gold-sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country of Thibet abounds in gold? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the case when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century, gold-sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia; and under Peter the Great this gave occasion to abortive attempts to discover those supposed El Dorados, which were not without some beneficial results for the science of geography, though utterly unprofitable for the purposes of finance.[5]

Even the story of Herodotus about the ants, will not appear out of character to any one well acquainted with the East. Possibly there may have been some historical foundation for this fable, which may have taken its rise in the existence of some species of animal, which, like the Hamster-rat, burrows in the earth:[6] possibly the whole may be

[4] See above, pp. 27—35.

[5] See an excellent and learned statement of these attempts in MÜLLER'S *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. p. 183, etc.; and compare BRUCE, *Memoir*, etc. p. 176, etc.

[6] That these were not ants, but a larger species of animal, having a skin, is apparent not only from the account of Herodotus, but from that of Megasthenes in ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 179, who saw their skins, which he describes as being larger than those of foxes. The COUNT VON VELTHEIM, in his *Sammlung einiger Aufsätze*, vol. ii. p. 268, etc., has started the ingenious idea that the skins of the foxes, (*Canis Corsak*, Linn.,) found in great abundance

pure fiction. Considering our limited acquaintance with the natural history of this region, who shall be hardy enough to decide between the above suppositions? It may be added that Herodotus does not conceal his authorities, but repeatedly says that he had his information from "the Persians;" and by asserting that the animal in question was to be seen at the residence of the Persian monarch, he affords an additional reason for adopting the former hypothesis.

Supposing, however, that this was not the case, it must be remembered that we are now come to the fable-land of the East; the country of all the fabulous animals which we have had occasion to consider. A caravan legend, such as are told of almost every desert, and have in much more recent times been recorded of the very desert in question,[7] cannot (in the regions we are contemplating) be regarded as extraordinary.

The accounts of India preserved by Ctesias, refer in like manner principally to this mountainous region towards the north, as far as Thibet, or in other words, to the land of Indian fable, comprehending the above. This is the point of view in which we ought to regard his relations, if we would appreciate them truly. Thus considered, they contain data of importance to the naturalist and historian, particularly the historian of ancient commerce; and it cannot be doubted that much of what now appears full of obscurity and exaggeration, will eventually be cleared up when a Humboldt or a Pallas shall have visited these regions.[8] I

in this country, were employed in the washing of gold, and which, as they burrow in the earth, may have given rise to the fable. Bold as this conjecture may appear, it deserves to be remarked, as it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the natural history of the country. The actual observation of fresh travellers can alone afford us a complete solution.

[7] See the accounts of MARCO POLO, who travelled over it, preserved by Ramusio, ii. 12.

[8] It is a delicate task to strip off the mask of exaggeration, and arrive at the truth below; but sometimes the latter is sufficiently discernible. An instance of this may be found in Wilford's remarks, *Asiatic Res.* ix. 65, sqq., respecting some of (apparently) the most silly stories of the East. One example may suffice: who can fail to recognise in the account of CTESIAS in ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 41, respecting the artificial means of procuring sleep, presented to the Persian king from India, the earliest notice of the qualities of opium? Several traditions of this kind have been preserved, according to WILFORD, in the Puranas, and consequently must be ascribed to an Indian source. For the Indo-Persic names recorded by CTESIAS, consult the *Remarks* of TYCHSEN, Appendix to vol. ii.

shall find another opportunity for recurring to the notices Ctesias has given us of the productions of this country, and shall at present confine myself to some remarks on its geography and the way of life of its inhabitants.

That Ctesias is speaking of the countries in question is apparent from the geographical notices which he has added. The Indians he refers to are neighbours of the Bactrians;[9] they all are inhabitants of elevated mountainous tracts;[10] either in the immediate neighbourhood of the sources of the Indus,[11] or above them.[12] There can, therefore, be no question that he refers to Great and Little Thibet, and the region of Himmalaya. I would not, however, by any means be understood to affirm that he refers exclusively to them, or that all his expressions point to the inhabitants of these countries alone; we merely possess some scanty fragments of his Indian history, compiled by the patriarch Photius, without method or arrangement. It is possible, therefore, that some of these ill-assorted remnants may relate to southern Hindustan, at the same time that the generality refer to the countries above indicated.

These were inhabited by various nations, differing in aspect and speech; some of them whites, or nearly approaching the colour of whites, of whom Ctesias himself saw some at the Persian court, five men and two females;[13] others again are of a more dusky complexion, according to the account of a modern traveller.[14]

With respect to the figure, also, of these Indians, we find in Ctesias a multitude of marvellous stories, as, for instance, respecting pigmies with dogs' heads, tails, etc.; no doubt these are mere legends, but it is to be remarked that they are genuine Indian legends, and recur two thousand years after, in the narrative of Marco Polo, who visited these countries.[15]

[9] CTESIAS, in ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 27.

[10] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 12, 20.

[11] Ibid. cap. 21.

[12] Ibid. cap. 24.

[13] Ibid. cap. 9.

[14] FORSTER, *Travels*, etc. p. 227.

[15] Compare CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11, 22, etc., and MARCO POLO in Ramus. vol. ii. p. 52, 53. Marco Polo tells us that the Indians send monsters of the kind referred to, stuffed, into foreign countries, to give countenance to the stories respecting them. Supposing that this fraud was practised at a more ancient period, the monstrous figures which the Greek authors assert they beheld in the collection of the Persian kings, are readily accounted for. Respecting the dogs' heads, see WILFORD, loc. cit.

The Indians of Ctesias were occupied exclusively with the feeding of cattle, particularly of sheep; their sheep and goats being larger than those of Europe: of the former a species exists among them with large tails, common to all the East.[16] With these countless flocks of sheep the whole western side of Paropamisus, over which Alexander marched, was covered; and in this neighbourhood was found the silphium, so often mentioned in the writings of the ancients, and which caused the sheep that fed on it to attain such an extraordinary growth.[17] Respecting this plant we are indebted to recent travellers for much information.[18] When we reflect that the finest wool comes, in the present day, from Thibet and the mountains bordering on Cashmir, we perceive that these accounts possess a twofold degree of interest and importance.

The value of this wool was enhanced by the colours with which it was dyed. Several natural dyes, particularly the cochineal, were indigenous in the country; and robes of such extreme beauty and splendour were exported from it, that they were worn by the kings of Persia themselves.[19]

In these countries are some considerable lakes, on the surface of one of which floats a species of oil, which being skimmed off is used with victuals.[20]

Next to the feeding of sheep, these nations were dependent on hunting for their subsistence, in which they employed not dogs, but falcons, vultures, and eagles; a custom which has since extended over a great part of Asia.[21]

Notwithstanding the marvellous and monstrous account which Ctesias has given us of the figures of these Indians, it is to be observed that they are not described as savages, but as the most upright, that is, the most civilized, of mankind.[22] They pursued commerce, partly for the purpose of disposing of their robes and the produce of their flocks; partly to exchange their amber for bread, meal, and garments made from the rind of trees. The amber is described as a resinous subtance, which they collected from the trees on which the insect from which cochineal is prepared is found.[23]. They also obtained by exchange the swords they used in the chase, as well as bows and arrows. They were admirably skilled in the use of the bow, and their lofty and inaccessible mountains secured them from the attempts of any conqueror.[24]

[16] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 13, 22, 24.
[17] ARRIAN, iii. 28. See above, p. 159.
[18] Besides the notices respecting the assafœtida, contained in POTTINGER, (see above, p. 159,) compare by all means those of ELPHINSTONE, (*Account of Cabul*, p. 302,) where is found an accurate description of the plant, and a statement of its importance as an article of Indian commerce.
[19] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 21; cf. ÆL. *Hist. Anim.* iv. 46.
[20] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11.
[21] Ibid. cap. 22; cf. ÆL. loc. cit. iv. 26.
[22] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 8.

Interesting and instructive as these early records are, it must still be a matter of surprise that, notwithstanding the accurate information the ancients appear to have possessed respecting this part of India, we do not meet with any distinct mention of the vale of Cashmir, so celebrated throughout all the East. All that we can do is to detect some doubtful notices of it in the remains of Ctesias, for neither Alexander nor any of his followers visited this spot, and Herodotus appears not to have even heard of it. It is possible that what Ctesias relates of Indians of a complexion nearly white, may apply to the inhabitants of the vale of Cashmir, as well as the fabulous account of horses of the size of sheep:[25] these animals being used in that country, as well as goats, for the purpose of bearing burdens; and the same may be the case with regard to the lake in which oil is found to float, the only lakes which occur in these parts lying within that valley. But what is still more in point, is the circumstance of the beautiful robes imported from these parts, of such splendid colours and brilliancy that they were worn even by the kings of Persia. To what can this account be so aptly referred as those precious shawls of Cashmir, the most highly prized decoration not only of the ladies of the West, but much more so of the other sex in the East? The remote antiquity, also, claimed for their race by the people of Cashmir, appears to be confirmed by this account.[26]

[23] I am not sure that it is the same with the cochineal of the West Indies; cf. WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* loc. cit.
[24] CTESIAS, loc. cit. 22. For the cochineal and the other articles of trade alluded to, see the chapter on the Commerce of the Babylonians.
[25] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 11. For the fair complexion of the people of Cashmir, see TIEFENTHALER, i. p. 28; and BERNIER, ii. p. 282.
[26] According to the *Ayin Acbari*, they trace their line of kings for a period of four thousand years.

The Persian dominion, however, did not extend so far, and the position of the Happy Valley, as this fairy land is denominated throughout the East, sheltered, for centuries, its peaceful inhabitants from the revolutions which devastated the rest of Asia.[27] It is environed on all sides by a chain of inaccessible mountains, covered with perpetual snow; and can be approached only by two defiles on the banks of the Behud, which flows through it. The soil of the valley appears to have been deposited by this stream, which at some distant period was arrested here, and converted the whole valley into a lake, till it found at last an exit towards the south, in which direction its waters descend to join those of the Indus. The mud thus deposited, like that of the Nile, has become a soil which abundantly recompenses the labours of the husbandman. The height of the surrounding mountains defends the vale of Cashmir from the periodical rains which deluge the rest of India; and their lofty peaks are only surmounted by the lighter and more feathery clouds, which float in the upper regions of the atmosphere, and when thus arrested, descend in gentle showers, forming innumerable cascades, which precipitate themselves on all sides from the lofty and romantic walls of rock which encompass the valley, and contribute to swell the stream by which it is divided. Protected by its peculiar position, this fortunate valley neither suffers from the heat which prevails in the flats of Hindustan, nor feels the cold of the surrounding mountains. Its fertile soil produces all the fruits known in temperate climes, and enjoys a perpetual spring, of which the nations of the north know nothing, except in the dreams of poets.

Although not unknown to the Persians, Cashmir was not subject to their dominion; but it lay at no great distance from the limits of the latter. It is certain that the Indians, who paid their tribute of gold-dust, were near neighbours of Cashmir, and the greatness of this tribute (three hundred and sixty talents) enables us to comprehend what is told us by Herodotus and Ctesias, of the numerous caravans of Indians who penetrated with their camels into the desert,[28] at that time probably more abundant in gold-sand than at present. What we have already advanced, together with what we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, may suffice to prove that these regions are no less interesting to the historian of commerce than to the philosophical observer of the progress of civilization.

[27] For the following account we are indebted to BERNIER, vol. ii. p. 292, (the first author who gave an accurate description of this valley,) and to FORSTER, *Travels*, p. 225, etc., as well as RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc., p. 142, third edit.

A considerable portion of these northern regions of India were unquestionably subject to the dominion of Persia, and as early as the time of Herodotus, we find the north of India described as a separate satrapy;[29] though in after times this province was more usually denominated from the range of Paropamisus, the boundary mountains of India, which continued to be distinguished by the same name in the days of Alexander.[30] We must not, however, expect an accurate line of demarcation, as the authority of the Persian king, indifferently respected in all the mountainous parts of his nominal empire, could not have possessed much weight in this remote corner of it.

The countries to the west of the Indus also, and stretching downwards from the modern territories of Cabul and Kandahar, as far as the mouth of that river, and formerly thought to belong to India, are no less deserving our attention. They became first known in the time of Darius Hystaspis, who, meditating an expedition against these parts, first caused them to be explored by a Grecian named Scylax, who was instructed to descend the stream of the Indus.[31] They were afterwards subjected by the enterprise of Darius, and either formed into a separate satrapy, or attached to that of Northern India or Paropamisus.[32] The want of historical records leaves the further relations of Persia with these regions in obscurity; we must observe, however, that it is inherent in the nature of extensive empires, that their

[28] CTESIAS, in ÆLIAN, *Hist. Anim.* iv. 26, speaks of them as consisting of several thousands. For a further investigation of the extension of this commerce, as far as the casternmost parts of Asia, see the chapter on the trade of the Babylonians.

[29] HEROD. iii. 94. [30] ARRIAN, vi. 15, and elsewhere. [31] HEROD. iv. 44.

[32] HEROD. ii. cc. Alexander laid down as the southern limits of the satrapy of Paropamisus, the river Cophenes, which empties itself into the Indus, below Attock. ARRIAN, iv. 22. These may probably have been the boundaries under the Persians; though this is a point which cannot be asserted with confidence.

extreme provinces should become more or less independent, and the constant direction of the arms of Persia to the west, in consequence of continual wars with the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Scythians, can scarcely fail to have withdrawn the attention of that power from its eastern boundaries.

A light begins to dawn on the subject only at the downfal of the empire, when Alexander pushed his victories in this direction.[33] The northern half, as far as the Guræus,

[33] Notwithstanding the assistance which may be derived from the important work and excellent maps of ELPHINSTONE, several difficulties remain when we come to compare the geography of these countries in detail with the account of Arrian, whose notices of the positions of ancient cities are not sufficiently precise and definite. The keys of the whole geographical system of these parts are the rivers, which flowing from the west, empty themselves into the Indus. Of these the principal is the Cabul, which (as laid down in Elphinstone's map) flows from west to east, and falls into the Indus in lat. 34° 10′. It receives in its way the Punsheer, the Togow, and the still more considerable Kameh. The streams which flow into the Indus, south of the Cabul, are of no importance. On comparing the account of ARRIAN, book iv., with the map of Elphinstone, the following conclusions appear to me to be established. In ten days' march, Alexander advanced from Bactra to Alexandria, under Paropamisus, across the Indian Caucasus (Koh). MANNERT, vol. v. p. 23, has already shown that Alexandria cannot be the modern Kandahar, which is at about double the distance. It is certain, however, that the Alexandria in question lay on the southern side of the mountain range; and, according to DIODORUS, lib. xvii., on the great commercial highway from Media; consequently I should expect to find it in the modern Cabul or its vicinity, situated at a distance of about two hundred miles from Bactra, and therefore consider it to be the Caspatyrus of Herodotus, Alexandria being obviously only a more recent appellation, by no means necessarily betokening a city of recent erection. Alexander next marched as far as, but not across, the Cophenes, and there summoned the princes whose dominions lay south of this river, and among them Taxilas. The Cophenes I consider to be the Cabul. A part of his army he despatched under Hephæstion, across this stream, through the territory of Taxilas, with directions to march to the Indus, and prepare a passage at Taxila (Attock). At the same time he appointed a satrap of Alexandria, and annexed to his government all the country from Paropamisus to the Cophenes, while he pursued his own march eastward to the mountains, for the purpose of subduing the tribes and cities there. In this march he first fell in with the river Choes, which appears to be the Punsheer of Elphinstone, passing through a wild country; and having crossed this river, reached the Euaspla, (Togow,) and then advanced to the great river Guræus, which was not passed without difficulty, and which appears to be the modern Kameh. Passing this and the Cabul at their point of confluence, he reached the principal city, Massaga, in the territory of the modern Paishawur, (where Elphinstone found the court,) and thence marched by Peucela, (Pakholy,) to the Indus; on arriving at which, he found that the necessary preparations for passing the river had been made by Hephæstion at Taxila. When the materials are so scanty, it must necessarily be the case that opinions should differ; I have merely stated what appears to me the most probable conclusion, after comparing the narrative of the historian with the charts of Elphinstone, which are the best we possess.

(Kameh,) and from the latter stream to the Cophenes, (Cabul,) was at that time very populous, inhabited by various Indian tribes, which lived under the sway of their native rajahs, either altogether independent of the Persians, or allied to them only for purposes of natural defence and protection. Herodotus himself mentions the province of Pactyica, and the city of Caspatyrus,[34] where Scylax commenced his navigation of the Indus,[35] and which I consider to be the same with Cabul. Of these tribes the Astaceni and the Assaceni were the most powerful.[36] "They were not, however, as tall in their persons, nor as courageous in their disposition, nor as dark-complexioned, as those on the further side of the Indus. Anciently they were subject to the Assyrians, (Medes?) but when the Medes became subject to the Persians, they also paid tribute to Cyrus."[37] These nations possessed several strong cities, for instance, the capital of the Assaceni, Massaca, a very populous place; and another great city, near the Indus, named Peucela (Pakholy). In the territory of the other nation lay Bazira (Bijore); Arigæus (Irjab); and the fortified rock of Aornus. In this same region dwelt also another tribe of a different race, the

The course of the rivers of this country is not exactly the same in RENNELL, (see *Memoir to a Map of Hindustan*, etc. p. 65, sqq.,) who makes the Guræus fall at once into the Indus at Attock. This necessarily occasions certain minor discrepancies, which, however, are of no consequence, except as relates to the details of Alexander's progress. Rennell also places Alexandria under Paropamisus in the district of Cabul; Morier alone removes it further to the west, near Bamian.

[34] HEROD. iv. 44.

[35] It is indeed said that Caspatyrus lay on the Indus, but the streams which empty themselves into the Indus on the north, and, in fact, compose that river, may easily have been confounded with it. The opinion of Herodotus also, (founded on the accounts of Scylax,) that the Indus flowed from east to west, (HEROD. iv. 44,) may be thought to confirm this interpretation, which supposes that Herodotus took the Guræus for the Indus, and that Caspatyrus was situated on the former river. Even the name of Pactyica, in which territory the city of Caspatyrus lay, appears to be preserved in that of Pokua, near Cabul; consequently I am not disposed (with Rennell) to find Pactyica in Pakholy (the Peuceliotis of the Greeks); nor, as Gatterer does, in Badakshan; though I would not deny that the limits of the ancient Pactyica, like those of the modern Cabul, may very well have extended northwards as far as Badakshan, and southwards as far as Pakholy. We have not the means of determining these questions with perfect accuracy; but it is sufficient that we have obtained information which may secure us from any considerable error.

[36] ARRIAN, iv. 25, etc., from whom the following facts are taken. Cf. RENNELL, *Memoir to a Map of Hindustan*, p. 171, etc., and the map to p. 201.

[37] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 169.

Nisæi, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter: these were not subject to a rajah, but lived under a free government. It is to be remarked, that all these nations, besides tilling their land, occupied themselves with the feeding of cattle, of which Alexander carried away two hundred thousand head of oxen, of so excellent a breed, that he caused a number of them to be sent into Macedonia to improve the cattle of that country.[38]

I abstain from burdening the memory of my reader with the names of several smaller tribes of Indians, the Aspians, Thuræans, Guræans, and others in these parts. They appear all to have possessed the same character, and to have marked the approach to India; their manners and customs, no less than the difference of their complexion, distinguishing them from the natives of Western Asia. Their armies are composed principally of infantry; differing in this respect from the armed hordes of the nomad tribes; and we even discover among them the use of elephants for purposes of state and war, though in less numbers than in Southern India;[39] the rajahs of this region being little distinguished for power or opulence compared with their mightier brethren of the interior.

The districts in question form at the present day the chief part of the territory of the Afghans, or Eastern Persia, called also the kingdom of Cabul, from the name of the principal city, and which the mission of Elphinstone has rescued from obscurity. A comparison of his account with that of Arrian, proves the accuracy of the latter; some particulars excepted, which may be considered undetermined; and the nation at large (making allowances for the influence of Mohammedanism) appears to be in pretty nearly the same stage of civilization as at the time of Alexander's conquest. Some of them occupy fixed abodes in cities and villages, others lead a pastoral life under the shade of tents; but even in the case of the former their wealth principally consists in their cattle: their constitution nearly resembling that of the clans of Scotland. The whole race is divided into different

[38] ARRIAN, iv. 25.

[39] ARRIAN tells us, (iv. 30,) that Alexander himself caused elephants to be taken by men that used to hunt them, and to be tamed for military service: a practice which was continued afterwards.

clans or tribes, and though professing a general allegiance to a common prince, they pay a much more implicit obedience to their several chieftains, though the influence of the latter is always greater or less in proportion to the weight of their personal character. The British traveller found them a people of simple manners, whose pastoral habits presented a pleasing picture; while at the same time they were courageous and independent: such also they were found to be by Alexander; and we cannot peruse without indignation the recital of their severe treatment at his hands, for having attempted to defend their cities and possessions.[40]

The cultivation and the dense population which mark the northern side of the Cophenes disappeared on its southern bank. Towards the mouths of the Indus the land degenerated to a sandy desert, inhabited by the Arabitæ, who are expressly declared to be an Indian race.[41] To the west of these were the Oritæ, descended from the Gedrosians, or wild Ballooches or Balloges. The names of both nations have been preserved in their modern appellations. The Arabitæ were so called from the river Arabius, or Al-Mend, at the mouth of which is still found a city named Araba, near Dioul, close to Porto dos Ilheos,[42] the same river dividing them from the Oritæ, whose name is still preserved in the city of Haur, on the western side of the Mend. They were an independent race, who preserved their freedom by sacrificing, at the approach of Alexander's army, all their possessions, and retiring into the desert, where the Macedonian victor could not follow them.[43]

Let me be permitted now to carry my reader from these boundary nations across the river, which gives name to the country, into the interior, and to speculate on its condition during the existence of the Persian monarchy, and at its downfal, when Alexander, by his Indian expedition, opened for Europeans the road to the extreme East.

[40] TYCHSEN, *Comment. Soc. Gött.* vol. xxi., has disproved the absurd hypothesis which would trace the descent of the Afghans from the Armenians or from the Jews. They are unquestionably an original stock.

[41] ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 184.

[42] BARROS, *Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv. p. 290. The maps of Pottinger and Kinneir confirm this.

[43] ARRIAN, vi. 21.

Previously to this event, however, Herodotus had described a part of Hindustan, properly so called, and his account (imperfect as it is) demands our regard.

He tells us[44] that, "The Indians are the most easterly of all the nations of Asia of which we have any certain knowledge: the country to the east of these being a sandy desert. There are, however, various nations of Indians, speaking different languages. Some of them lead a nomad life; others not. Others, again, live amid the marshes of the river, (the Indus,) and live on fish, which they eat raw, and take by means of canoes made of canes: a single joint of the cane in question being sufficient to form a canoe.[45] These Indians wear dresses made of river plants, which they cut and beat, and having woven matwise, put on like a corslet."

The remark that the Indians consist of a variety of different tribes must at once prepossess us in favour of his account, when we reflect on the multitude of errors which have resulted from a contrary opinion. In the next place, he draws a distinction between the nomad Indians and those who occupy fixed abodes; and adds to these a third class, who subsisted by fishing, and whose situation he points out; telling us that they inhabited the marshes of the Indus. We must suppose them, therefore, to have been placed near the mouths of that river, and near to the Arabitæ, with whom they are perhaps to be identified. The soil in these parts is altogether alluvial, and consequently must at a former period have been a marsh. At present, the insupportable heat and continual drought which prevail there render this district so unhealthy that Europeans abstain from visiting it at all, or continue there only for the shortest possible time; which accounts for the little knowledge we possess respecting it.[46] The investigations, however, of some recent English travellers have tended to disperse the obscurity which hung over it, and the statements of Pottinger, who accompanied Ellis in his mission to the Ilmeers, the modern masters of Sinde, confirms the accuracy of Arrian's account. Under the name of Sinde is comprehended not only the Delta of the Indus, but all the country above, as far as the influx of the Acesines or Chunaub; a territory which may be compared with the valley of the Nile: the climate, the character of the soil, the inundations of the Indus, and the irrigation of the soil, justifying the comparison. The mouths of the river at all events appear to have been subject to as many changes as those of the Nile, and consequently we must not expect to find every spot tally exactly with the descriptions of ancient writers. If, however, we suppose with Pottinger, that the territory of Musicanus, with whom Alexander waged war, was Chanduki above the Delta, and that Kurachi, the principal harbour near the mouth of the Indus, is the Crocala of Arrian, we shall look for the ancient capital of Pattala, not in the site of the modern Tatta, but at the very commencement or apex of the Delta, in the territory of the modern Hydrabad.[47]

Herodotus[48] continues to tell us, that "other Indians, situated to the east of the former, are nomad tribes, living on raw flesh, and called Padæans. They are said to observe the following customs. When any is sick among them, whether man or woman, if a man, the men who are his principal associates put him to death, alleging that by allowing him to linger on his flesh would be spoiled. He denies with all his might that he is sick, but the others, not listening to him, kill him, and make a feast of him. In like manner, if a woman be sick, the women that are her principal associates do the like by her. Those who happen to attain to old age are all killed and eaten, but this is the case with few; as the generality fall beforehand into some disease, which causes them to be put to death. Again, there are other Indians who live as follows: They neither kill any

[44] HEROD. iii. 98.

[45] The cane of which Herodotus speaks, I consider to be the Bamboo, which abounds in these parts. THEVENOT, ii. p. 158. Other authors as well as Herodotus have greatly exaggerated its thickness. CTESIAS (*Ind.* cap. 6) gives some other marks which perhaps might assist a botanist in identifying the plant: "The Indian canes are of different degrees of thickness: the thickest being so large that two men cannot encompass it, and as high as an ordinary mast. The plants are male and female, the male, which is very strong, having no pith, which the female has.

[46] Till lately the best account we possessed was that of RENNELL (*Memoir*, etc. p. 180) and VINCENT, Periplus of Nearchus, etc. Since their time we possess the accurate description of POTTINGER, (*Travels*, 342—382,) accompanied by an excellent map of the mouths of the Indus.

[47] ARRIAN expressly tells us (vi. 17) that Pattala was situated at the apex of the Delta. I must leave it to geographers to examine this point more particularly, and determine its details.

[48] HEROD. iii. 99—101.

thing having life, nor sow seed, nor possess houses, but live on a kind of grain nearly as large as millet, enclosed in a husk, and springing up spontaneously, which they cook and eat in the husk. If any one among these fall into a malady, he retires into the desert and is there laid up; nor does any one show the least concern about him during his sickness, or at his death."[49] Herodotus also tells us that these people live to the south of the Persian empire, and pay not the smallest respect to the authority of the monarch of that country, which sufficiently defines their general position. They are evidently Southern Indians, living on the further side of the Indus, which was the boundary of the dominion of Darius. Consequently we cannot apply the description to any other countries but those which flank the Indus to the east near the sea; the province, namely, of Sinde, already mentioned, or the country between Multan and Guzerat; and notwithstanding the imperfect state of our information respecting these territories, we possess sufficient to enable us to illustrate the traditional accounts followed by the father of history.

Herodotus has marked the situation of the first of these tribes, the Padæi, by adding, "that they live to the east of the Indians who subsist by fishing." If the latter lived near the mouth of the Indus, it follows that the former must be sought to the east of them, and consequently above the district of Guzerat. Their situation again leads to a very probable conjecture respecting the origin of their name, which appears to have been derived from the river Paddar, on the banks of which they fed their flocks. In their immediate neighbourhood are extensive deserts of sand, extending to Multan, at all times haunted by lawless Indian tribes, with whom a large part of the peninsula is filled, almost in a state of savage nature.[50] In two other places Herodotus calls them Calantiæ, or Calatiæ:[51] a name which seems to have been immediately derived from their Indian appellation of Callar, Coolier, or Cooleries.[52]

[49] Presently after follows the author's account of the Northern Indians already referred to.

[50] SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, p. 17—30.

[51] HEROD. iii. 38, 97, from whose account it is clear that this was a general appellation for the Indians of these parts.

[52] BARROS, *Decadas da Asia*, p. 298; cf. SPRENGEL, *Gesch. der Maratten.*

Their disposition to robbery has at all times made them formidable to the merchants of Guzerat, and the imputation attached to them by Herodotus, of eating human flesh, has at all times adhered to their race, as even Thevenot assures us that a little before the time of his visit food of this description was exposed for sale in the bazaar of Debca.[53] In another place Herodotus tells us that their custom is to eat their parents;[54] and, without vouching for the truth of these accounts, it is clear that the tradition is of genuine Indian growth, being repeated almost word for word nearly two thousand years after the time of Herodotus, by Marco Polo,[55] the earliest Indian traveller to whom the nations of modern Europe are indebted for more accurate information respecting these countries, as the ancients were to Herodotus.

Nor can we fail to recognise the race of Indians who live on a vegetable diet, and abstain from all things having life. The distaste for animal food is indeed extremely general among the Hindus, but it may also be traced among their neighbours whom we at present know under the name of Mahrattas,[56] whose ancestors (as I shall have occasion to show) have always occupied the same districts. Even the species of grain on which he tells us they subsist cannot remain a question, notwithstanding he has afforded us no complete description of it; rice, as we all know, being the principal diet of these tribes, and (so to speak) indigenous in their country. What he adds respecting the wild and savage character of these tribes is strictly conformable with what we know of their warlike and cruel habits, as well as his remark respecting their complexion, which, especially in the southern parts of Hindustan, becomes almost black.[57]

These preliminary remarks enable us to reduce the information afforded by Herodotus to certain general heads.

I. The India of Herodotus embraces also, in part, the countries to the north, known likewise to Ctesias, namely, Little Thibet and Cabul, as well as the southern districts

[53] THEVENOT, ii. p. 18. The same is confirmed by the most recent accounts. ELPHINSTONE tells us (p. 28) that the tribe of the Vizores, living here, are savages and cannibals.

[54] HEROD. iii. 38. [55] MARCO POLO in RAMUS. ii. p. 53.

[56] SPRENGEL, *Gesch. der Maratten.* passim.

[57] POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 378.

near the mouths of the Indus, and, beyond that river, as far as the Paddar and the confines of Guzerat. Of these countries he had learned all that a stranger was sure to hear first, (as may be seen by comparing the narrative of Marco Polo,) namely, the wonderful and the marvellous. Nevertheless, there is in the most part a fund of truth at the bottom of all his statements, and the historian errs only in cases where it was impossible for him to attain exact information.

II. The assertion of Herodotus that India terminated in the east in a sandy desert, admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation. This notion must appear at first sight the more erroneous, from the fact that, even in the time of the Persians, it is certain, from other authorities, that the great kingdoms of Central Hindustan were not unknown to the rest of the world. Nevertheless, it is certain that both Southern and Northern India, as known to Herodotus, actually terminated in such deserts; the former in the desert of Cobi, the latter in the sandy waste which stretches from Guzerat to Multan, and it was, therefore, very natural that the historian should fall into the error, that the whole of India terminated towards the east in a desert of this description.[58]

These ideas were of course corrected by the daring expedition of Alexander, which threw a new light on the countries into which he penetrated.

The countries explored by that conqueror, are those at present denominated the provinces of Lahore and Multan, comprehended under the general appellation of the Panjab, or the Land of the Five Streams, because, besides the Indus, which bounds it to the west, it is watered by five rivers, which rise in the boundary-mountains to the north, and pursue a south-westerly direction towards the principal current, to which they unite themselves. The ancient names of these rivers, as recorded by the followers of Alexander, appear to be all of Persian origin, and hence we miss the resemblance which we generally find between the local names of ancient and modern Hindustan. The nearest to the Indus is the Hydaspes or Behut, which falls into the second, the Acesines or Chunaub, and both descend into

[58] In Rennell's great map of Hindustan, these deserts are indicated in all their extent.

the third, the Hydraotes or Rauvee. The confluence of these rivers takes place in Lahore, and they traverse in a single current Multan, situated more to the south, and pour their waters into the Indus, near a city of the same name with the province, in lat. 30° 50′. Lastly, the fourth of these minor streams, the Hyphasis or Beyah, as far as which Alexander advanced, and which receives the Setledge, pursues a course nearly parallel with the preceding, forming the eastern boundary of Lahore and Multan, and emptying itself into the Indus, without encountering the others, in lat. 29° 12′.

This fruitful territory was the scene of Alexander's victories,[59] who penetrated as far as the banks of the Hyphasis, but was compelled to stop, just in the middle of his triumphant march from the Indus to the Ganges, (which would otherwise have been the proper termination of his conquests,) by the mutinous dispositions of his troops. He marched homewards by a different direction from that by which he had advanced, pursuing a southerly direction to the mouth of the Indus, through the territory of Multan.[60] Thence he despatched his fleet along the coast to the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Euphrates, while he himself led his triumphant forces to Susa and Babylon, directly across the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania, by a route never attempted by any other regular army of Europeans.

In this manner, at the downfal of the Persian empire, a large portion of ancient Hindustan emerged from obscurity, and we are entitled to consider that the state in which this region was found by Alexander, was the same in which it had subsisted during the empire of the Persians, for it

[59] The march of Alexander has been traced with critical accuracy, by Rennell, in his excellent map illustrative of the countries situated between the sources of the Ganges and the Caspian Sea, as well as in his Memoir appended to the same, p. 200. Elphinstone also, who returned from Cabul through the Panjab, has thrown new light upon the subject, *Account*, p. 501, etc. Notwithstanding the present lamentable condition of the Panjab, it appears by the account of the latter, to be still a fruitful country, though not equal in that respect to Bengal and the district of the Ganges, which have at all times been the richest parts of Hindustan.

[60] It is remarkable how many even of the less considerable details afforded by Arrian, have been confirmed by modern travellers. POTTINGER (*Travels*, p. 9) has remarked the extraordinary noise and turbulence of the waves of the ocean, where they meet the waters of the Indus, which so astonished and alarmed the Macedonian soldiers.

was found by that conqueror in the repose of a profound peace, no traces existing of violent revolutions, nor any thing at the most but slight matters of dispute between the princes of the interior. Consequently, the picture which the followers of Alexander have transmitted to us of the country, is applicable to its former condition, and would on this account deserve our attention, even if it did not contain so many interesting points of detail.

The whole of the Panjab appears at that period to have been densely inhabited, and generally cultivated; filled with a multitude of flourishing states, and various tribes, living under different and independent forms of government. All, however, were equally warlike, and by the testimony of the soldiers of Alexander, the most courageous race of Asia, and their obstinate resistance, and the dread of the still more powerful nations on the Ganges, had no small share in driving the unconquered army of the Macedonian to the mutinous conduct which put an end to his further progress. The complexion of all these nations is described as being swarthy, but not black like that of the Ethiopians: they were not enervated by habits of effeminacy; their stature was tall and slender, and they had a proportionable alertness in their motions.[61]

The Panjab, like the rest of India, consisted of a number of states of different sizes, mutually independent of each other. On the further side of the Indus, as far as the Hydaspes or Behut, reigned the king or rajah of Taxila or Attock, an ally of Alexander, who had purchased the favour of that conqueror, by an offering of two hundred talents, three thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep, and thirty elephants. His kingdom was the most considerable of all between the above-named rivers, and though only accounted one of the petty kings of India, the extent of his present proves the abundance of cattle within his territory, which was bounded on the north by that of another rajah, Abisarus, who also submitted to the conqueror.[62]

A much more powerful monarch ruled on the further side of the Hydaspes, and opposed a stout resistance to the invader. The Grecian historian calls him Porus, which,

[61] ARRIAN, v. 4. [62] ARRIAN, v. 8.

however, may have been only a title; as we find it belonged also to another rajah.[63] This king headed an army of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two hundred elephants, with three hundred and fifty war-chariots, and ranked among the most powerful monarchs of India. He had at all times been the enemy of Taxilas;[64] a proof that the mutual rivalry of the Indian princes was no less serviceable to the cause of Alexander, than that of their successors to the English. The habits of life and the court establishment of these princes, appear to have been much the same then as at present; the rajah appearing in public on a state elephant, and his power being generally estimated by the number of these animals in his service. The general dress of the great men was then, as now, garments of fine cotton; either wrapped round the shoulders, or enveloping the head. Their beards are dyed of various colours, white, scarlet, or blue, or some dark colour. They are adorned with costly earrings of ivory, and the more wealthy are distinguished by an umbrella, and an umbrella-bearer. A difference of rank is also marked by the fashion of their shoes, which are high and decorated, in proportion to the rank of the wearer.[65]

These, and the like circumstances, demonstrate that the manners, as well as the constitutions of the nations of Hindustan were the same then as at present; but in these same districts we are called upon to remark another fact highly deserving of our attention. When Alexander had crossed the Acesines or Chunaub, and penetrated further into the country, he fell in with other nations not living under the rule of princes, but possessing a republican constitution. These Indian republics, of which Nysa, already mentioned, was one, occurred in the country between the Acesines and Hyphasis, (Chunaub and Beyah,) or in the eastern half of the province of Lahore, as well as in the southern district of Multan, as far as the Indus. Along the banks of the latter, after its junction with the Hyphasis, we again meet with nations living under the authority of rajahs, like those to the north. In the province of Lahore, the Cathæi, the

[63] ARRIAN, v. 9, 21. In the annals of Hindustan he is denominated Pur; if this be not fictitious. Dow, *Hist. of Hindustan*, i. p. 24.
[64] ARRIAN, v. 18. [65] ARRIAN, *Indic. Op.* p. 179, 180.

Adraistæ, and some others, were of this description; in that of Multan, the Malli and Oxydracæ; and it is said that still more powerful nations, living under the same form of government, were to be found on the other side of the Hyphasis, in the direction of the Ganges.[66]

Republican governments are of much too rare occurrence in Asia, to be passed over unobserved, especially when discovered in such remote regions, and at so great a distance of time. It shall be our endeavour first of all, carefully to collect the scattered notices respecting them preserved in ancient history; and next, to inquire whether any traces of them may still be discovered in modern Hindustan, which may lead to a better understanding of them.

The constitution of all these republics was uniformly aristocratic; all, without exception, being described as under the government of their optimates. They usually were governed by a senate, which in the instance of the city of Nysa, already mentioned, consisted of three hundred members, in whom the supreme authority resided.[67] The numbers of the same body in other cities has not been given, but they appear to have been considerable. The Oxydracæ (inhabiting Outch, below Multan) sent one hundred and fifty of their aristocracy as deputies to Alexander;[68] and the same conqueror demanded as hostages from the Malli, (in Moultan,) the most powerful of the mall, no les sthan a thousand of their principal citizens (κρατίστευοντες).[69] The authorities of these states are denominated either nomarchæ,[70] or autocrats, (αὐτοκράτορες,) or, generally, magistrates (τέλη); nor is it possible accurately to define the differences of their respective ranks; only it is to be observed, that the nomarchæ and autocrats are expressly distinguished from one another.[71]

[66] ARRIAN, v. 22; vi. 6, 14.
[67] Ibid. v. 1, 2.
[68] Ibid. vi. 14.
[69] Ibid. loc. cit.
[70] The Greeks were in the habit of giving the title of nomarchæ to the governors of districts or provinces: consequently they were inferior magistrates, and, as such, opposed to the αὐτοκράτορες, or the supreme magistrates. Diodorus mentions only one of these cities, (named by him Hyala,) which appears in its constitution to have resembled Sparta, possessing two races of hereditary chiefs or kings, whose office it was to command the troops of the nation in war. The supreme authority appears to have resided in their senate. DIODORUS, ii. p. 241.
[71] ARRIAN, loc. cit.

In the next place, all these nations are described as very warlike, and many of them as very populous and powerful; opposing to Alexander an impetuous and courageous resistance, such as he had scarcely encountered any where else. His victories over them were uniformly purchased at a vast price of blood; and the Macedonians had to overcome, not only the usual obstacles of walls and ramparts encircling their cities, but also the resistance of citadels within. Their encampments were often protected by a triple line of military waggons and cars; the numbers of which are as remarkable as were those of the various descriptions of boats and vessels, which the conqueror got together in their country. The size and populousness of their cities may be gathered from the example of Sangola, the capital of the Cathæi; on the capture of which seventeen thousand of its inhabitants perished; seven thousand were made prisoners; as were also five hundred horsemen and three hundred chariots.[72] Many tribes, however, deserted their cities, and withdrew into the deserts which border Multan to the east; preferring exile to subjugation.

In the midst of these warlike tribes we meet with a race of Brachmans, or Bramins, who are expressly distinguished from them by the historian. Mention is made of certain cities exclusively belonging to the Brahmani,[73] at the same time that we also hear of the Brahmans as residing in other places, and as having been the authors of a very formidable insurrection against the conqueror.[74]

Lastly, it is to be observed that all these tribes, according to the Greeks, esteemed their free constitutions as an inheritance which had descended to them from Bacchus or Dionysus. This tradition is first mentioned in the case of Nysa, a city on this side of the Indus, in which instance it appears to have received considerable embellishments from the fancy of the Greeks;[75] but we also find the same story repeated with reference to the republics of the Malli and Oxydracæ, the most powerful of all, and seems to have been common to the rest also.[76]

These few particulars are all that history has preserved for us respecting these states, and these naturally lead, in

[72] ARRIAN, v. 23, 24.
[73] Ibid. vi. 7.
[74] Ibid. vi. 16.
[75] Ibid. v. 1.
[76] Ibid. vi. 14.

the first place, to the question, What, in general, were these Indian tribes? Do any remains of them still subsist? or have they altogether perished in the lapse of centuries?

This question the history of India enables us to answer with certainty. The countries possessed by the nations already described, have in all ages been the abode of the warrior-caste of Hindustan, the Rasboots, or Rajpoots, of whom the renowned Mahrattas, and the Seikhs, are branches. It was natural that the most warlike tribe of a mighty nation should be placed on its most exposed frontier, (as was the case with those of the Egyptians in Lower Egypt,) and it was from this quarter alone that Hindustan was accessible to an enemy. It is also clear from Indian history, that these tribes have never been completely eradicated from their seats, but at the most have been only reduced to the temporary payment of a tribute.[77] Their country is full of narrow valleys and defiles, and even the plains which occur are encompassed by hills, and the approach of a conqueror was moreover impeded by a multitude of strong holds and castles. Even under the Moguls, their subjugation appears to have been merely nominal: their fastnesses, indeed, were occasionally taken, but the spirit of freedom and independence, which does not reside in fortresses, nor is cooped up by walls, was not so to be overcome, and the Rajpoots preferred a retreat into their deserts to subjugation and slavery.[78]

If we adopt the idea that the military castes of Hindustan occupied these districts, we may easily understand how Alexander came to experience a resistance so determined; and the fact is confirmed by their very names. One of the most common appellations of the caste, in addition to that of Rasboots, is Kuttry, or Catry, and is often applied to the whole caste,[79] though it originally appears to have been only the appellation of a particular tribe, situated in the

[77] RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc. p. 230. SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, p. 16. The name of the Mahrattas is of modern origin; and (according to SPRENGEL, p. 40) first occurs about the middle of the last century. Anciently they were denominated Rajpoots.

[78] According to ELPHINSTONE, p. 61, the upper class of the inhabitants of the Panjab still consists of Rajpoots; the inferior, of Jauts. The latter are of low stature, dark complexion, and unsightly: the Rajpoots, on the contrary, are beautifully formed, with aquiline noses.

[79] FORSTER, *Travels*, etc. p. 188. RENNELL, *Memoir*, etc. pp. 123, 130.

eastern part of Multan.[80] Exactly in the same situation we find, as early as the days of Alexander, the republic of the Catheri,[81] which was subdued by the Macedonian prince. Any one who, by comparing modern history with ancient, has been led to remark the unchangeableness of Indian names, will not consider this proof a slight one.

If we consider it as established that the modern Seikhs and Mahrattas are the genuine descendants of the ancient enemies of Alexander, and occupy the same districts, however widely they may have extended their conquests south and north, we may fairly conclude, that in proportion as we become acquainted with the modern races, we advance in information respecting their ancestors. The most recent accounts which we possess respecting these tribes, tend in a striking manner to confirm this expectation.

A love of independence continues to characterize this race, and the republican form of government still subsists, as was found to be the case by the Portuguese, when they first became acquainted with the Rajpoots, and the countries in their possession. The nation was then under a republican government of an aristocratical or oligarchical character.[82]

In like manner, it is certain that the constitution of the Seikhs, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to contemporary writers,[83] is altogether republican. The nation

[80] THEVENOT, ii. 184. This is confirmed by the statement of ELPHINSTONE, p. 15, who travelled through Multan, and visited its principal city, which has still a circumference of four miles. It is, at present, governed by a deputy of the king of Cabul.

[81] DIOD. ii. p. 231. ARRIAN, v. 22. By the latter they are called Cathæi; which reading Wesseling has injudiciously, as it appears to me, adopted into the text of Diodorus.

[82] BARROS, *Asia, Decas* iv. p. 545. Estes Rasbutos eraõ da mais nobre gente, que senhoreavaõ aquella terra da Guzerate, e saõ homens grandes, e naõ tem a religiaõ de Baneanas, (the merchant-caste,) armados, e em bons cavallos descem das montanhas. *Governaõ-se os Rasbutos em Republica*, per os mais velhos, repartidos em Senhorias.

[83] See FORSTER'S *Travels*, p. 211, sqq. The Seikhs appear, however, not to have been, in their first origin, a distinct race, so much as a religious sect, which formed itself among the Hindus in the sixteenth century, the founder of which was a prophet named Nanok, A. D. 1539. They continued for a considerable space of time a mere sect, under nine successive spiritual heads, till they were compelled by the external violence to assume the character of a political party. They became victorious over their enemies, the Afghans and Moguls; and, in the last century, extended their dominion over the greater part of the Panjab, and even further towards the Ganges.

consists of a multitude of military republics, compelled, on occasion of aggression from without, to combine for their mutual defence; just as their ancestors the Malli, Oxydracæ, and others, became united on the approach of the Macedonian conqueror, as they had done before on the invasion of the rajahs to the north, who were, it is probable, as little well affected to republics as Alexander himself.[84] "Their constitution," says the British traveller,[85] "has, at first sight, the appearance of being aristocratical, but on a nearer inspection, it appears to deserve rather the name of a democracy. No member of the state enjoys any title or honorary distinction, the chiefs are only military. In common society, an equality of rank prevails, which no class, however rich and powerful, durst venture to abolish. The assemblies of the people are altogether military; each member has a vote, and the majority decide."

Pure as this democracy appears to have been, it is apparent from the very account of the narrative, that these assemblies of the nation at large were convoked only when the Seikhs were menaced by foreign enemies, and have ceased since their wars with the Afghans. On the contrary, it would seem that an aristocracy was the established form of government, modified to a more popular constitution, when the necessity for a general resistance to a powerful oppressor called for such a change.

However this may be, it is clear, (and I shall not press this conclusion further,) that a taste for republican institutions has at all times characterized these Indian nations, of which the Mahrattas, a race allied to the Seikhs, afford still stronger proofs. The latter have indeed their chiefs or rajahs, yet it is no uncommon circumstance for a number of their principal men, especially of the Brahmanical caste, to assume the supreme authority, and reduce their monarchical to an oligarchical or aristocratical form of government.[86] These countries are, indeed, the proper seats of the warrior-castes, but nevertheless contain, like all the rest of Hindustan, a large number of Brahmans, and the warlike spirit of the country has taken and seized this caste, no less than those of the agriculturists and traders.

[84] ARRIAN, v. 22. [85] FORSTER, loc. cit.
[86] SPRENGEL, *Geschichte der Maratten*, pp. 102, 105.

"The character of Northern India is very different from that of the South. In the Panjab the peasant is also a soldier from necessity, and the Brahman himself scruples not to handle the sword; no one goes out of his house unarmed, the merchant as well as the labourer, even when he has to go but a few miles from home, is fully accoutred; and in some districts it is not unusual to see the peasant armed with a spear while engaged in tilling the ground."[87]

Precisely the same phenomena occurred in the time of Alexander, when, as at the present, the Brahmans were not only disseminated over the country, but (as we have had occasion to observe) had cities of their own, which they defended with no less obstinacy than the rest of their countrymen against the Macedonians.[88] It even appears to me highly probable, that the rulers of the states alluded to (as is at present the case among the Mahrattas) were all, or the greater part of them, Brahmans. First, because this hypothesis would tend to explain the extraordinary tradition that these republican governments were an inheritance derived from Dionysus, or Bacchus, since not only the characteristics of the Indian Bacchus, as recorded by the Greeks, but many particulars of his mythological history, appear to prove that his story has been ingrafted on that of Brahma; and we cannot be surprised that the Brahmanical caste, which, besides the privilege of ministering to the worship of their deity, claimed the distinction of being the civilizers of their country, should have assumed the merit also of being their political legislators. Secondly, this conjecture is rendered still more probable by the circumstance, that the Brahmans are expressly mentioned as the authors of the revolts against Alexander,[89] since what cause (no encroachment being made in their national religion) could so readily lead them to such attempts as the desire of regaining their lost authority? If this supposition be well founded, we see another proof of the immutability of Indian constitutions, as well as manners, notwithstanding the number of centuries that have elapsed, and the multitude of political revolutions to which they have been exposed. I reserve for the portion of my work relative to India, the observations which

[87] FORSTER'S *Travels. Preface.* [88] ARRIAN, vi. 7. [89] Ibid. vi. 16.

I have to make on the origin and character of Republicanism there.

With the above nations terminates the degree of light which the expedition of Alexander disseminated over Hindustan. It was reserved for his successor, Seleucus Nicator, to penetrate to the banks of the Ganges, in all ages the genuine abodes of Indian religion and civilization. It was only by hearsay that Alexander could gather any thing respecting the mighty kingdom of the Prasii, the modern Bengal and Oude, and its capital Palibothra, near the modern Patna, which has since been often regarded as the metropolis of all India.[90] The reports they heard of the innumerable elephants and mighty armies of this nation, so terrified the hitherto unconquered Macedonians, that, in opposition to the will of their commander, they commenced their retreat homewards; and although Alexander himself at first treated these rumours as exaggerations, succeeding ages have proved them to be any thing but ill-founded.

[90] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 175. Concerning the site of Palibothra, (Patelputher,) see my essay *De Græcorum notitia Indiæ*, in the *Comment. Soc. Goett.* vol. x. p. 139.

PERSIANS.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

I. GENERAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

PREVIOUS to an examination into the state and constitution of the Persian empire in later ages, it is indispensable that we should take a survey of the early history of the race, their origin and connexion with their neighbours,—circumstances which influenced most of their more recent institutions, though modified, indeed, by many accidents of time and circumstances.

The Persians are descended from that widely-disseminated people, who occupied the countries between the Tigris and Indus on one side, and between the Oxus and the Indian Ocean on the other. Their very aspect and complexion distinguish them from the Mongols, their neighbours to the north, as well as from the Hindus to the south, in a manner too decided to admit of our supposing any consanguinity between them; while their language proves them to be equally independent of the Semitic or Arabian tribes to the west; since the fact of a totally different speech prevailing on the western bank of the Tigris from that spoken on the eastern,[1] entitles us to consider the races by whom it was used as equally distinct. In like manner, as we are enabled, not only by the fragments we possess of the language of the race in question, but by the express testimony of antiquity, to assert that its different dialects were essentially off-shoots

[1] See above, p. 45.

of the same stock,[2] we may fairly conclude, that the nations who employed them were the descendants of a single race.[3] This proposition must not be interpreted to mean that all the inhabitants of those regions belonged to this stock. Even previous to the time when the Arabs, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, overran and subdued Persia, they were the more open to settlers from the north and east, from the circumstance that Persia was situated on the great highway of nations by which the human race spread itself from east to west. All that is meant to be asserted is, that the various races who successively had dominion in these parts, all belonged to the same original stock.

The most ancient of these ruling nations are recorded to have been the Medes, Bactrians, and Persians, but we are expressly told that the term Medes was applied not only to the inhabitants of Media Proper, but that the Arii also belonged to the same race.[4] In like manner we are assured by Herodotus that the Arii meant, not only the inhabitants of Arii in the more restricted sense of the term, but rather, all who occupied the extensive regions comprised, according to Strabo, under the term Ariana, and at present termed Iran.[5] To this belonged Bactriana; and the evidence we possess of the ancient civilization and prosperity of this country, would of itself incline us to the belief that the Bactrians belonged to the same race, even if their own traditions, as we shall presently have occasion to see, did not confirm the fact. It is true that Herodotus in his catalogue

[2] I assume as proved by the essays in the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, ii. 1, that the Zend, Pehlvi, and Parsee, are all dialects of the same language.

[3] STRABO, p. 1054. *Ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τ' οὔνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν προσάρκτιων Βακτρίων, καὶ Σογδιανῶν. Εἰσί γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.* Arianæ nomen usque ad partem quandam Persarum et Medorum, et septentrionalium Bactrianorum et Sogdianorum extenditur. Sunt enim fere ejusdem linguæ.

This important passage contains not only a specification of the countries comprehended by Strabo under the name of Ariana, (Iran,) i. e. Persia, Media, Bactriana, and Sogdiana (see p. 88); but also his express testimony that the languages of those countries differed only as dialects. The testimony of Strabo is the more valuable from the circumstance that he was himself born not far from Persia; and in his great historical work, which has not come down to us, *The Continuation of Polybius*, containing a particular account of Parthian history, (cf. *Comment.* iv. *de Fontibus Vitarum* PLUTARCHI,) must have been necessarily led to touch on these points. Respecting the eastern provinces, compare ELPHINSTONE, p. 311; who considers the languages spoken there also to be of Persian origin.

[4] HEROD. vii. 62.

[5] STRABO, loc. cit.

speaks of the Bactrians, and several other nations, as being distinct races, but this is the more easily to be accounted for, inasmuch as we not only discover a great similarity in their arms and dress,[6] but Herodotus himself, in other places, speaks of some of them as only offshoots of the same original race.[7]

It is no less clear, from the similarity of their language, as well as from their history, that we must not consider the Persians as being a distinct race from the Medes, but as belonging to the same stock. The case of the mother of Cyrus is a familiar instance of what appears to have been of frequent occurrence among them, the intermarriages even of their sovereigns; and after that these nations had successively reduced one another to a state of dependence, it is difficult to believe that on the subjugation of the Medes, the *amalgamation* (so to express myself) of manners and religion could have been so complete, if they had been of totally different originals. Accordingly, we shall venture to consider as the same parent stock, the race which bore rule in Iran, comprehending all the inferior races, and which may be termed in general the Persian or Medo-Persian;[8] inasmuch as the countries in its occupation were termed, in a wider sense, the land of Persia.

The traditions of this race preserve some very important particulars respecting their descent, their ancient abodes, and their gradual dissemination through the land of Iran. These traditions are preserved in the beginning of the Vendidat, the most important, and, it is probable, the most ancient of all their sacred books, the collection of which is styled the Zendavesta, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The two first chapters of this work, entitled *Fargards*, contain the above traditions, not wrapped up in allegory, but so evidently historical as to demand nothing more than the application of geographical knowledge to explain them.[9] With the exception of the Mosaical Scriptures, we are acquainted with nothing (the untranslated Vedas perhaps excepted) which so plainly wears the stamp of remote

[6] HEROD. vii. 64.

[7] Such as the Mardi, Parætaceni, etc.

[8] They have been denominated by RHODE, (*Heilige Sagen*, etc.,) the people of Zend, not improperly, if we consider the Zend as the original language of all the race.

[9] See the Appendix to the following volume.

antiquity, ascending beyond the times within which the known empires of the East flourished; in which we catch as it were the last faint echo of the history of a former world, anterior to that great catastrophe of our planet, which is attested in the vicinity of the parent country of these legends, by the remains of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the mammoth, and other animals properly belonging to the countries of the south. It would be a fruitless labour to attempt to assign dates to these remains, but if the compiler of the Vendidat himself, who was long anterior to the Persian, and, as we shall have occasion to show, probably also to the Median dynasty, as known to us, received them as the primeval traditions of his race, our opinion of their importance may be fully justified.

These legends describe as the original seat of the race a delicious country named *Eriene-Veedjo*, which enjoyed a climate singularly mild, having seven months summer, and five of winter. Such was its state at first as created by the power of Ormuzd; but the author of evil, the death-dealing Ahriman, smote it with the plague of cold, so that it came to have ten months of winter and only two of summer. Thus the nation began to desert the Paradise they at first occupied, and Ormuzd successively created for their reception sixteen other places of benediction and abundance, which are faithfully recorded in the legend.

What, then, was the site of the Eriene referred to? The editors and commentators on the Zendavesta are inclined to discover it in Georgia, or the Caucasian district,[10] but the opinion must necessarily appear unsatisfactory to any one who will take into account the whole of the record, and the succession of places there mentioned as the abodes of the race. On the contrary, we there trace a gradual migration of the nation from east to west; not, as this hypothesis would tend to prove, from west to east. The first abode which Ormuzd created for the exiled people was Soghdi, whose identity with Sogdiana is sufficiently apparent; next Môore, or Maroo, in Khorasan; then Bakhdi, or Balkh (Bactriana); and so on to Fars itself, and the boundaries of Media and India. The original country of Eriene must,

[10] I am unconscious on what grounds RHODE (p. 63) has ascribed to me this opinion, which in fact I have never entertained.

therefore, lie to the east of Sogd, and thus we are led by the course of tradition to those regions which we have already referred to, as the scene of the traditions and fables of the nation, viz. the mountainous tracts on the borders of Bucharia, the chain of Mus-tag and Beloor-Land, as far as the Paropamisan range on the confines of Hindustan, and extending northwards to the neighbourhood of the Altaic chain. This savage and ungenial region enjoys at present only a short summer, at the same time that it contains the reliques of an ancient world, which confirm, by positive proof, the legend of the Vendidat, that anciently the climate was of a totally different character. When the altered nature of their original seats compelled the race to quit them, Ormuzd prepared for them other places of repose and abundance, within the precincts of that territory, which has preserved, to the present day, the appellation of Iran; the nation carrying with them the name of Eriene, which is obviously the same with Iran. How does it come to pass, however, that instead of a single spot, sixteen are named as the abodes of blessing and abundance?

The answer is contained, if I mistake not, in the observations of the preceding part. Iran, or Persia, in the more extensive sense of the word, is by no means generally fertile; its fertility depending, as we have seen, altogether on its irrigation, which is very partial. Though some fruitful situations are scattered over its surface, it contains immense deserts incapable of cultivation, and this is the account conveyed to us by the legend. The abodes which Ormuzd created for his people, are described as single and separate: the intervening or surrounding country being passed over without notice. I leave it to the commentators on the Zendavesta to identify all the sixteen places there recorded; and the more willingly, as I would abstain from any thing like mere conjecture. Even if a few names should remain unexplained, it is apparent that this chain of successive abodes followed the course of the great highway of nations which afterwards became that of commerce, and led from Sogdiana across the Oxus to the west, into Media and Persia, and southward by Herat, Cabul, and Kandahar, to Arachotus, and the confines of India. To identify all the places mentioned in our authority, would demand a more accurate

knowledge than we possess of the language of Zend, the ancient speech of the original race; but our present acquaintance with the subject fully warrants the above conclusions.

When this people quitted their original abodes, it appears from their records that they were a race of herdsmen and shepherds, acquainted with no other species of property than their herds of camels, horses, oxen, and sheep. A change of residence was, however, necessarily accompanied by a change of habits. The earliest of their kings or chiefs, Jemshid, is celebrated in the legend as the first who, at the command of Ormuzd, introduced into the countries he visited, or the land of Iran, a knowledge of agriculture, tillage, and cattle-breeding. He was also the legislator of his race, having been appointed to that office by Ormuzd.

When Jemshid and his people occupied Iran, it was, according to the legend, uninhabited by any but wild animals. The nature of the country, however, did not admit of all the new settlers devoting themselves to the same occupations. A comparatively small number gave themselves to agriculture, and occupied settled habitations; by far the greater part of the nation continuing of necessity to pursue their old pursuits as shepherds and herdsmen. In this manner, by the variety of their occupations, rather than the diversity of their origin, was the nation necessarily split into a multitude of distinct tribes, of which some, like the Medes and Bactrians, acquired by agriculture and the improvement of commerce, (the highways of which crossed their territory,) riches and power; while others, shut up in steppes and mountains, continued true to their original habits, which their situation in a manner prescribed.

To this latter class belonged the Persians; the portion of the race of which we have occasion to speak at present. One of the first observations which must impress itself on the mind of the historian must be this, that the constitution of their country could not have sprung up at once, but must have been the gradual effect of time and circumstances. The question, what were their habits and form of government when they effected the conquest of Asia, is the first to be answered, if we would trace the development of their civilization.

Their original abode may be fixed with certainty, the general testimony of all antiquity proving them to have been a race of mountaineers, inhabiting the wild and hilly region of Fars, or Persia properly so called: Herodotus[11] tells us, that "The Persians originally occupied a small and rugged country, and that it was proposed in the time of Cyrus that they should exchange this for one more fertile; a plan which Cyrus discouraged, as likely to extinguish their hardy and warlike habits! Arrian[12] from more ancient authorities assures us of the same fact; "That the Persians, when, under Cyrus, they conquered all Asia, were a poor people, inhabiting a rugged country;" to whose testimony must be added the still more full and important evidence of Plato, who was contemporary with their monarchy. "The Persians," he assures us,[13] "were originally a nation of shepherds and herdsmen, occupying a rude country, such as naturally fosters a hardy race of people, capable of supporting both cold and watching, and, when needful, of enduring the toils of war." It will appear, however, from the names of some of their tribes, that the Persians were not confined to Persis properly so called, but extended over the steppes of Carmania and to the shores of the Caspian.

It is clear from the above authorities that the Persians were at the commencement a race of shepherds and mountaineers. However much, therefore, their own legends may have disguised or embellished the truth, any one acquainted with the course of Asiatic history in general will have no difficulty in detecting the true character of the revolution of which they were the authors. It was no unusual occurrence in the East for mighty empires to arise from similar beginnings.

Agreeably to what was invariably the case among the great nomad races, the Persians were subdivided into several hordes or tribes, of which Herodotus has given us an excellent account.[14] The number of these hordes was ten, and they were no less distinguished from one another by their differences of rank than by their modes of life.

[11] HEROD. ix. 122. [12] ARRIAN, v. 4.

[13] PLATO *de Legg.* iii. *Op.* ii. p. 695. A passage of classical importance as far as regards the ancient Persian history.

[14] HEROD. i. 125.

Three of them were noble; the Pasargadæ, the noblest of them all, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. Three other tribes devoted themselves to agriculture, the Panthialæi, the Derusii, and the Germanii;[15] while four others, the Dai, Mardi,[16] Dropici, and Sagartii continued to retain their wandering and nomad habits, but are occasionally mentioned (more especially the last) as contributing hardy bands of cavalry to the Persian armies.[17] The extensive salt deserts which divide Persia from Media, as well as the plains of Southern Persia, offered inexhaustible pasture to the cattle of these hordes, whenever they thought proper to descend from their mountains.

Two principal observations illustrative of the history of Persia naturally flow from these facts, as recorded by Herodotus: 1st. We must discard the idea that the Persian nation, even at the most flourishing epoch of its history, was universally and equally civilized. A part of the nation ruled the remainder, and this portion alone had attained a certain degree of civilization by its acquaintance with the arts of peace and of luxury. The other tribes continued in their original barbarism, and partook but little, or not at all, in the improvement of the race. Persian history, therefore, as it has come down to us, is not so much the history of the whole nation as of certain tribes, or possibly even of a single tribe, that of the Pasargadæ. These composed the court, and it appears that, almost without exception, all that was distinguished among the Persians proceeded from them.

When we contemplate in this point of view what Xenophon in the Cyropædia has told us of the Persians, especially as relates to their national education, we are struck by the greater degree of probability which his account acquires;

[15] Probably the same with the Carmanians, or inhabitants of Kerman, who continue to give some attention to agriculture.

[16] Of these the Mardi occupied the mountains to the south of the Caspian; the Dai, the sandy plains to the east of that sea.

[17] The statement of the historian is corroborated in the most satisfactory manner by the accounts of latest travellers. The case continues on the whole to be the same in modern Persia. MORIER (i. p. 240) tells us that the Persian nation is split into tribes having their several chiefs or heads; and that some occupy permanent habitations, while others continue to dwell in tents: the numbers of the latter class being, it is probable, greater than those of the agriculturists. The strength of the nation (says Kinneir) consists in the nomad hordes; and he proves their numbers by his statements at p. 45. The mode of life which nature herself has prescribed must needs be invariable.

the discipline which would have been impossible in the case of an entire nation, being very practicable as applied to a single tribe.

2ndly. The above particulars would at once lead us to conclude, that in a country so constituted every thing would depend on descent and the distinctions of tribe. As the tribes were distinguished by a greater or a less degree of nobility, so there was a gradation also in the different families of which each tribe was composed. The noblest family of the most noble tribe was that of the Achæmenidæ, from which exclusively the kings of Persia were always taken.[18] The same distinction of more or less noble tribes has at all times existed among most of the nomad nations of Central and Southern Asia, the Arabs and Mongols, and probably had its origin in the military pride of the more warlike, to which the rest were reduced to pay homage. The tribes thus distinguished by descent are often rendered still more distinct by the different modes of life they pursue, and hence arises the distinction of castes, which has so invariably prevailed among certain nations of the East. To judge from the examples of other oriental nations, this gradation of ranks prevailed among the Persians at a period anterior to their empire,[19] and (though we have no direct evidence of it in history) may probably have been anciently connected with a degree of actual authority residing in the superior tribes and families. However this may be, the historian who would investigate the constitution of a nomad people, establishing itself in permanent abodes and attaining to dominion, ought to give his close attention to this question, almost to the exclusion of all others: namely, how a political constitution came to be gradually formed from the mere association of so many tribes?

The revolt of the Persians against the Medes, a very simple circumstance in itself, and readily accounted for by the fact that the revolted nation were tributaries to the other, became by its consequences an event of the highest importance, and the groundwork of numberless exaggerations and

[18] HEROD. loc. cit. He calls it φρήτρη.

[19] In this manner we hear of the golden horde among the Calmucs; and we find that among the Mongols this dominion of tribes degenerates, even in their nomad state, into the most absolute tyranny. PALLAS, *Mongol Völker*, i. 185.

fictions. The legends respecting the childhood and youth of Cyrus, and the causes which led to the revolution achieved by him, like those of Ginghis-Khan, are involved in a cloud of fable which it would be in vain to attempt to dissipate, and which, if removed, would probably ill repay the labours of the inquirer. Accident has frequently been at the bottom of such insurrections: a slight and occasional cause has often sufficed to set in motion those armed and warlike hordes, which, accumulating like a mass of snow, presently forms an avalanche, crushing kingdoms and empires in its resistless descent.

The only circumstance in this part of ancient history which deserves our attention, is the fact which Herodotus has recorded, that previous to the revolt, Cyrus procured himself to be appointed generalissimo of all the Persian tribes. This is described as having been effected by craft, and the Persian conqueror is said to have accomplished his purpose by a method similar to that adopted by Ginghis-Khan among the Mongols, before he also began his conquering career. The method pursued by both is decidedly characteristic of a rude state of society, when men were to be wrought upon only by appeals to their senses.[20]

[20] "When the assembled tribes," says HERODOTUS, (i. 126,) "in conformity with his subtle design, which he pretended to confirm by exhibiting a fictitious written order, as if from the Median king, appointing him commander-in-chief, immediately recognised him as such, he ordered them to attend on the following day in a field overgrown with thistles, each prepared with a reaping-hook. Accordingly, therefore, when they were all come together, he set them to work the whole day in clearing the field; when they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he inquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most. They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second day every thing that was good. On receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view: 'Men of Persia,' he exclaimed, 'you are the arbiters of your own fortune; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils: if you are hostile to my projects, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. My voice is the voice of freedom; Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity; you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave!'" Compare the account of the elevation of Ginghis-Khan to the rank of general-in-chief of the Mongols in LACROIX, *Hist. de Ginghis-Khan*, p. 77.

As general of the armies of Persia, Cyrus assumed the name or title by which he is constantly known and designated in history, and which betokens the sun;[21] his original name having been Agradates.[22] It has been the invariable custom of princes of the East to change the names of their birth for surnames or titles of honour, as Ginghis-Khan from the time of his elevation to the throne received the appellation of Temugin;[23] and we have had occasion to remark that this has continued to be the custom of Persia, down to the most recent time.[24]

We have already analyzed the course of the conquests of Cyrus, who overcame all the kingdoms of Asia: his course, like that of all the other great nomad incursions, being from east to west. His host, as was generally the case in Asia, consisted principally of cavalry, perpetually accumulating fresh recruits from the conquered nations, (which also took place with later Persian armaments,) and thus his wars resembled in some sense the migrations of an entire people, who, for a time at least, were transplanted from their original seats to other countries. The sieges of cities were the operation which, as requiring the greatest degree of skill, was the most formidable to these warlike wanderers; and if art had not come in to succour force, it is possible that the walls of Babylon might have opposed a continual barrier to their further progress. As yet, they were unacquainted with any other method of vanquishing such obstacles than that of throwing up an agger equal to the height of the wall, and from this assailing the ramparts of the city.[25]

The expeditions of Cyrus, however, are of less importance than his institutions for the administration, and at the same time for retaining possession of the conquered countries.

Little as history has recorded of these institutions, that little is in close accordance with what we might have been led to anticipate; being exactly of that simple character which must at all times mark the system of a conquering

[21] CTESIAS, apud PLUT. in ARTAXERXE, *Op.* i. p. 1012: Khor in Parsee signifies the sun.
[22] STRABO, p. 1060, as corrected by PALMERIUS.
[23] LACROIX, *Hist. de Ghinghis-Khan*, p. 77.
[24] See above, p. 57. [25] HEROD. i. 162.

nation like the Persians, and being, in fact, precisely similar to those of the Mongols under Ginghis-Khan. The conquered provinces were left in the occupation of armies commanded by generals charged with the duty of keeping them in subjection, and answerable for the security of the conquest. Associated with these were the receivers of the king's tribute, whose office was to levy, and remit it to the royal exchequer, while the commanders of the garrisons of the several cities remained independent of both; the secure possession of the conquered cities being important in the same degree as their conquest had been difficult.[26] These were precisely the regulations adopted by the first great Mongol conqueror, when his conquering hordes overran the very countries which had been subdued by Cyrus.

The tributes to be collected were never accurately defined by the Persian government. The whole of the conquered country, with all its inhabitants, was looked upon as their absolute property; of which they might appropriate whatever they preferred.[27] The sums levied were denominated presents;[28] but it would be a false inference to conclude from the use of this term any thing in favour of the mildness or forbearance of the administration. The obstinate resistance which most of the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor had opposed to the generals of Cyrus, and their despair, which drove many of them to plan, and some to execute, a complete abandonment of their native country, are ample proofs of the contrary.[29] In the case, indeed, of undefined arbitrary imposts, every thing must of course depend on the character of the sovereign for the time being, and the clemency attributed by his subjects to Cyrus is easily explained by the harshness and oppression of his successors.[30]

Various methods have been at different times adopted for the maintenance of dominion acquired by conquest, and

[26] See the account of Cyrus's arrangements in Lydia, where Mazacus was commander-in-chief, Tatalus governor of Sardes, and the traitor Pactyas receiver-general of the treasury, HEROD. i. 153—156; and compare those of Ginghis-Khan, in LACROIX, *Hist. de Ginghis-Khan*, p. 276, sq.

[27] HEROD. ix. 116. [28] Ibid. iii. 89. [29] Ibid. i. 164.

[30] MORIER (i. 237) shows that presents in the East are, to this day, of the most oppressive description; in fact, tribute under another name. The whole burden, however, ultimately falls on the inferior landholders.

it cannot be without its use to inquire into the nature of the plans, (some of them highly remarkable,) which were devised by infant despotism for the permanent subjugation of mankind.

The most natural and simple of these was the plan of keeping on foot standing armies in the conquered districts, composed in part of hordes of the conquerors, and in part (especially at a later period) of mercenary troops. A military government was thus established, and that at the cost of the vanquished, who, as we shall show, were compelled to be at the whole expense of maintaining their conquerors.

A second, and no less common method, was the transplanting, as it were, of such conquered nations, as, after having been once overcome, had proved refractory. Instances of this occur previous to the Persian monarchy, and are familiar to all, from the Jewish records of the Babylonian captivity. The Persians, however, not only retained but extended this practice. Examples occur in almost every reign, and occasionally we meet with the remains of nations forcibly transported from Europe or Africa, into the very heart of Asia.[31] In the case of islanders, it was even their custom to make a sweep of the inhabitants. The army of the conquerors was formed in a line, extending across the island, and drove before it every thing which bore the human form, leaving a desert behind![32] "It is the characteristic of despotism," (says Montesquieu,) "to cut down the tree in order to get at the fruit."[33] The most usual situations appointed for such exiles, were the islands of the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean; and, as examples had occurred of entire nations, impelled by longing for their native land, escaping, in spite of a hundred dangers, from their places of exile, it was the design of the conquerors to select spots from which flight was impossible.[34] Such transplanted na-

[31] I have no doubt that the celebrated colony of Egyptians, which Herodotus visited at Colchis, was the effect of some such transplantation of the race, by Nebuchadnezzar or some other of the Asiatic monarchs who penetrated into Egypt. See HEROD. ii. 104, 105. In like manner a colony of six thousand Egyptians was transported to Susa on the conquest of that country by Cambyses. CTES. *Pers.* cap. 9.

[32] The Greeks called this sort of chase very appropriately σαγηνεύειν, to sweep with a drag-net. HEROD. vi. 31; cf. BRISSON, p. 781, etc.

[33] *Esprit des Loix*, vi. 9.

[34] For instance, the Pœonians, in HEROD. v. 98.

tions (styled by Herodotus ἀνασπάστοι) gradually appeared to constitute, as it were, a new nation, and are occasionally mentioned in connexion with the expeditions of the Persians.[35]

A third and perhaps still more extraordinary method adopted for the same end, was that of compelling by positive laws, certain powerful and warlike nations to adopt habits of luxury and effeminacy. In this manner the Lydians were constrained by Cyrus to deliver up their arms, to clothe themselves in effeminate apparel, and to train up their youth in habits of gaming and drinking.[36] In this way, from the most warlike people of Asia, they soon became the most effeminate: a lot which, within a short time, was shared by their conquerors also, uncompelled by any legal enforcement of luxury.

Such are some of the features which characterize the Persian empire on its first establishment; but the rude victors very soon adopted much of the manners, the modes of life, and even the religion of the vanquished; as was the case, also, with other nations resembling them in circumstances, and the degree of civilization they had attained. In the arts of luxury and habits of effeminacy, the Persians became the pupils of the Medes, the Babylonians, and Lydians; just as the Mongols, who overthrew the Chinese empire, adopted the manners of the Chinese. It has been already remarked, that nomad tribes are peculiarly prone to adopt such changes, owing to their unsettled mode of life, and because the desire of sensual gratifications is the only motive which spurs them to conquest. The Persians, however, showed such a peculiar aptness in this particular, that Herodotus himself makes the remark,[37] "that no nation in the world was so ready to adopt foreign customs;" and even as early as the time of Cyrus, that conqueror, as we have already remarked,[38] was obliged to bind them to their native land by national institutions, foreseeing the pernicious consequences which would follow upon their desertion of it.

[35] HEROD. vii. 80; cf. BRISSON, p. 58. These islands, however, can only have been devoted to the above purpose from the time of Darius Hystaspis, because the Persians then first became masters of them. See HEROD. iv. 44.

[36] It must be remarked, however, that Cyrus adopted this plan at the suggestion of Crœsus, who thus saved his people from the doom of transportation. HEROD. i. 135.

[37] HEROD. i. 135.

[38] See above, p. 213.

The records both of the Greeks and Jews prove that the Medes, hitherto the ruling nation, were the principal instructors of the Persians, not only in the manners and habits of domestic life, but as respected their public institutions, the consanguinity of the two races contributing to produce this effect. The new monarchy is usually denominated the Medo-Persian, the Jewish chroniclers commonly mention together the laws of the Medes and Persians,[39] and while the Persians assumed the rank of the sovereign race, it is no less certain that the Medes came next to them in importance. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the name of Media embraced other nations besides that properly so called; comprising the more civilized regions of Eastern Asia, and, in particular, Bactriana. The customs of Media were, therefore, those also of Eastern Asia in general, and the remarks above made on the remains of Persepolis, tend to show how much had been adopted from those of the Bactrians.

There is no question that the whole system of the court, and particularly the seraglio, or harem, of the king and the grandees, as well as the dress and manners of private life, were borrowed from the Medes; but together with these they adopted the religion of that nation, with all its ceremonies, political and religious. The caste of the Magi, to which had been committed by Zoroaster the conservation of these ordinances, originally of Median descent,[40] became the priest-caste of the Persians, and, as such, possessed great influence in the government. In the next section I shall endeavour to analyze the spirit of this religious legislation, and at the same time to defend the position I have laid down, (in opposition to the common belief,) that its origin dates further back than the commencement of the Persian dynasty. At present I would only entreat my reader to guard against the erroneous opinion that all the Persians at once adopted the manners and religion of the conquered. It is apparent from what has been said, and will be still more certain from the sequel, that this change took place only in a part of the nation, namely, in the ruling tribe or

[39] Book of ESTHER, i. 18, 19; DANIEL, vi. 8, etc.

[40] HEROD. i. 101.

race; and even in the case of these, it is self-evident, even if we were not able to adduce express evidence, that such an alteration could not have taken place at once in the opinions, the manners, and the customs of the victors; and that the change could not have been a complete one, but rather that an admixture must have taken place of the manners of the two nations, which may be still distinctly recognised in its effects.[41]

The disposition of his empire which Cyrus made before his death is worthy of observation, and completely in character with the spirit of the great Asiatic conquerors. He divided it between his two sons, ordaining, however, that the younger, to whom he bequeathed Bactriana and the adjacent countries, though not a tributary, should be dependent on the elder.[42]

The internal constitution of Persia appears to have received little development under the reign of his successor Cambyses. Like his father, he also was a conqueror, and, by the concurrent testimony of Ctesias and Herodotus, achieved the conquest of Egypt. In estimating the character of this prince, however, as given by Herodotus, great allowance must be made for the hatred borne him by the Egyptian priests, who could never forgive him the humiliation and loss of dignity to which he had subjected them, and were thus led to represent him as brain-sick and epileptical. He is described in a less odious light by Ctesias,[43] except that the murder of his brother, whom he suspected of a design to supplant him in his authority, leaves him with a stain, which is of too frequent and almost uniform occurrence on a change of reign in the Asiatic monarchies. The continual wars which, like his father, he waged at a distance from his own country, and his consequent absence from the seat of government, were little favourable to the advancement of civilization at home. Nevertheless, the foundation of the principal cities of Persia, and the adoption in the

[41] The illustrations of the remains of Persepolis must have already afforded sufficient proofs of this. Compare, however, the observations of H. D. KLEUKER, in the Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, ii. iii. p. 13, etc.

[42] CTESIAS (*Pers.* 8) calls the younger brother Tanyoxances: Herodotus names him Smerdis.

[43] CTESIAS, cap. 9.

court at that early period of the Median system of education, prove that a great alteration had already taken place in the manners of at least the principal tribe.[44]

The events, however, which followed upon the death of Cambyses, the two revolutions of the pretended Smerdis and of Darius Hystaspis, deserve our observation in the highest degree.

The first of these events was a revolution concocted within the seraglio. It is usual to consider it as an attempt of the Magians to get possession of the sovereign authority, because the principal conspirator belonged to that caste; but by the express evidence of the most credible authorities, the conspiracy had a higher object, namely, the re-establishment of the monarchy of the Medes.[45] The Magians, as we have observed, were a Median race; and it was natural for the Medes, when the true stock of Cyrus had ended in Cambyses, to aim at a resumption of their ancient sway. The commotions which ensued were so vast as to be felt throughout all Asia;[46] but it is well known that the attempt was rendered abortive by the assassination of the pretended Smerdis by the seven Persian chiefs, among whom was Darius Hystaspis, who afterwards succeeded to the throne.[47]

The history of this conspiracy, as detailed by Herodotus, contains much that is interesting as well as surprising, for one engaged in the study of the state and constitution of

[44] This remark is admirably developed by Plato. He traces the disorders which occurred during the reign and after the decease of Cambyses, to the adoption by the Persian king of the Median custom of committing the education of the heir to the throne to the women and eunuchs of the seraglio. PLATO, *Op.* ii. p. 695.

[45] "Cambyses," says Plato, (loc. cit.,) "was for his debauchery and madness deprived of his empire by the Medes, by means of the eunuchs, but Darius restored the kingdom to the Persians." "Shall we that are Persians endure to be governed by a Mede?" demands Gobryas of the other conspirators. HEROD. iii. 73. See especially the last speech of Cambyses. Ibid. iii. 65.

[46] HEROD. iii. 126. The Magian pretender had remitted the imposts for three years, which were afterwards to be collected by his successor. Ibid. iii. 67.

[47] That an undertaking, such as that ascribed to the Magians, is completely in the spirit of the great empires of the East, is proved by the accurate and highly instructive account which we possess of a revolution attempted a few years since in China, where certain Bonzes undertook to overthrow the ruling dynasty, and establish another in its place: an exact counterpart to the narration of Herodotus! See HENKE ARCHIV *für die Neueste Kirchengeschichte*, B. ii. p. 385, etc.

Persia. The question which we are told was agitated, after the assassination of the usurper, whether Persia should thenceforward be governed by a monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, is so singular a phenomenon in Asiatic history, that, even in the time of Herodotus himself, many of the Greeks were disposed to disbelieve it.[48] The historian, however, expressly asserts the fact; which is sufficient to prove that it cannot have been a mere fiction of his own.[49] It is much more probable that there existed some foundation for the narrative of Herodotus, though all acquainted with the usages of the East will readily be convinced that the fact has been disguised by a Grecian dress. If the historian had named his authorities, we might indeed have formed a more certain opinion; in the absence of these we are reduced to reason upon analogies drawn from the practices of other nations, possessing the same constitution with that of ancient Persia. With such nations it is not an unusual occurrence for the heads of various tribes or families to meet for the purpose of discussing the claims of a successor to the throne;[50] and all that we know of the seven conspirators tends to prove, that either they were the heads of the tribes of Persia, or that they belonged to the race of the Pasargadæ. By the express testimony of historians, they were of the number of the most illustrious among the Persians: Darius himself being the son of the governor of the province of Persia, and belonging to the family of the Achæmenidæ.[51] Their dignity was so considerable that, as the narrative proves, they were allowed to approach directly the person of the monarch, without being stopped by his guards. All this appears to put it beyond question that they were the chiefs of Persian tribes. Supposing this to be the case, we may readily perceive, that it is no improbable circumstance that an aristocracy of this sort, consisting of the heads of tribes, should be proposed and discussed. The proposal of a democracy would appear, on the same grounds, to be

[48] HEROD. iii. 80. [49] Ibid. loc. cit. He repeats his assertion, vi. 43.

[50] Compare the account of the convention of the heads of tribes of the Mongols, and their deliberation respecting the choice of Mangu-Khan, the third in succession from Ginghis-Khan, A. D. 1250, *Hist. des Tartares*, p. 377, etc.

[51] HEROD. iii. 70; cf. vii. 11; which places prove the family of Darius to have been a branch of that of the Achæmenidæ.

nothing more than a pre-eminence accorded to the principal tribe, as is the case with the "golden horde" among the Mongols. Such a supposition, though it be impossible to establish it by positive proof, appears to be the only one in accordance with the known usages and temper of oriental nations.

The reign of Darius Hystaspis is unquestionably that which possesses most interest for the student of the ancient Persian constitution. It was to this monarch that the empire owed the commencement of what might be called its "internal organization," having previously consisted of nothing more than an incongruous union of conquered nations. It was in his time that the crisis occurred, which necessarily takes place in the history of every nomad nation which has attained a dominion by conquest, when the simple institutions of a constitution of tribes are exchanged for those of a regular state, although traces of the former are allowed to remain. Darius himself, as well as Cyrus and Cambyses, was of the ruling family of the Achæmenidæ; yet we find that he esteemed it essential to the confirmation of his title to take in marriage a daughter of Cyrus.[52] The nation looked up for a monarch to this family, and although in Asiatic kingdoms the rule of primogeniture does not necessarily determine the right of succession, yet the idea is very general that the monarch must be taken from the reigning family.

The services which Darius rendered his country by improving its internal organization were of more than one description. In the first place, it is certain that he first established the royal residence in certain fixed situations, and thus led the way to a change in the habits of the ruling tribe, from a nomad life to one more stationary; although, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, the domestic manners of the Persian kings themselves continued to retain somewhat of their ancient character. Cyrus and Cambyses were almost constantly engaged in wars at a distance from their country; but from the time of Darius, who was himself a conqueror, Susa appears to have been the customary residence of the king, though occasionally exchanged for

[52] HEROD. vii. 11.

that of Babylon or Ecbatana; and (as we have had occasion to see) part of the monuments of Persepolis were of his erection.

The principal step, however, which was made in the reign of Darius, towards a better internal administration of the country, was "the division of the empire into satrapies." An accurate division into departments is the first thing necessary to the organization of an empire of great extent, whatever may be its form of government; and in despotic states, in particular, is the only method by which the absolute authority of the monarch can be extended through all the gradations of his subjects, and thereby more effectually consolidated. Imperfect as was the departmental division of the empire, being rather ethnical than geographical,[53] yet the beneficial effects which resulted were considerable. A regular nomination of governors was a necessary consequence, as well as a regular collection of the tribute, which was the original object of the plan;[54] and the former of these institutions led to that of an established civil administration, which was the more certainly and speedily effected, because, as we shall show, it was kept distinct from the military government.

The long reign of Darius sufficed to bring to maturity his plans, and under his successor, Xerxes, the Persian empire assumes the appearance of an internally organized country. It is to be regretted that Herodotus is principally engaged with the details of the wars of this prince, and the remains of Ctesias are in no one point so defective as where they bear upon the history of this reign. Nevertheless, even these records suffice to prove that, as the internal constitution of the empire was first established in the reigns of these princes, so also the seeds were then sown of those abuses, which in the sequel proved fatal to the existence of the empire.

Even in the time of Darius began those mighty armaments against Europe which led to all the fatal effects subsequently developed. Not only did the prodigious efforts, and boundless expense, which these expeditions demanded, drain the empire of men and exhaust its resources, but the Persians soon perceived, to their cost, that they could effect

[53] See above, p. 63.

[54] Herod. iii. 89.

little with those undisciplined hordes, compelled to march into another quarter of the globe, against a people who, besides their courage and patriotism, were possessed of military discipline; and who were inspirited by their past successes to assume an offensive attitude. These circumstances brought about a revolution in the military system of the Persians, who saw themselves compelled to maintain by arms the dominion they had forcibly acquired; and who, with the most important results to themselves, lost their own military character, and fell the faster into an almost incredible excess of luxury and effeminacy.[55] In the armament of Xerxes, the Persians are still cited as the most valiant nation, but with their defeat they lost this distinction, and it became the practice to compose the body of their armies of mercenary soldiers, especially Grecians, though the nomad tribes of Central Asia are often mentioned as having served in the pay of Persia. The consequence was, that even in his time Xenophon confesses that the Persian troops were scarcely of any use, and his own history proves that the fate of a battle was usually decided by the Greek auxiliaries. Historians have not yet fully developed all the evil consequences to the character of both nations which flowed from this practice, and influenced the history of the world at large. Bands of men, governed by no motive but their individual interests, and selling themselves without scruple to the highest bidder, cannot but degenerate into hordes of banditti, among whom, as the history of Xenophon alone may suffice to show, it must have been impossible to maintain discipline. The facility with which such armies were got together contributed in an especial manner to augment the frequency of wars; and in consequence of the general insecurity which ensued, it frequently happens that the times subsequent to a war proved more disastrous than the war itself. The abolition of this practice has been one good effect of our standing armies; and notwithstanding all the abuses which the latter institution may entail, the enlightened philanthropist will not overlook the disastrous consequences which would follow upon an exchange of the present system for that established of old.

[55] See the comparison, which Xenophon draws, of the Persian customs of his time, with those of an earlier period. *Cyropædia, sub. fin.*

Another cause of the internal decomposition of the Persian empire, must be sought in the refractory conduct and frequent revolts of the satraps. It had been attempted to guard against this by separating the civil and military powers; but the great extent of the satrapies must necessarily have had the effect of allowing these two distinct authorities to counteract and reverse their several operations. As an empire increases in extent, it becomes necessary that it should be subdivided into a number of small, and consequently feeble, provinces, in order to prevent the rebellion and usurpation of more powerful satraps. The princes of Persia, however, were guilty of the folly, not only of neglecting to diminish, in any degree, the extent of the provinces, but even of intrusting several governments to the same individual, more especially when the satrap in question belonged directly to the family of the king, being a brother or other near kinsman.[56] So far was this practice from preventing rebellion, that it directly encouraged it, as we learn by the example of the younger Cyrus; and the more so, as it was a frequent custom to nominate the governor of the province to the command of the army, and commit the civil and military authorities to the same person. Such revolts of the satraps began in the time of Artaxerxes I., the successor of Xerxes, and grandson of Darius,[57] and were promoted by the relations in which Persia stood to Greece and Egypt, the western countries of Asia—Asia Minor and Syria being the usual theatres where they were enacted. The inveterate hatred which the Egyptians bore to their conquerors, and the constant dissensions of Greece, rendered it no difficult matter for a revolted subject to obtain succour from one or other of those countries;[58] and in this respect those remote provinces acquired a high degree of importance in the eyes of the government,

[56] This was the case with the younger Cyrus, *Anab.* I. *Op.* p. 243. Another example is furnished by XENOPHON, *Hist. Gr. Op.* p. 480. The same is the case at the present day in modern Persia.

[57] Compare CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 23. Scarcely any one contributed more to this effect than Megabyzus, the satrap of Syria, who was one of the first to set the example, and who, notwithstanding his reverses, left behind him a party which proved formidable to the royal authority. CTESIAS, cap. 22, etc.

[58] During the latter half of the period of the Persian dynasty, occurred the Peloponnesian war, which afforded continual encouragement to both the factions into which Greece was split.

and became the principal objects of their policy, while, in spite of all the precautions that were taken, the evil continually gained ground, especially after the revolt of the younger Cyrus. He had been joined by several satraps of Asia Minor, and this gave occasion to leagues formed among the satraps themselves, of which frequent instances occur in the subsequent history of Persia.[59] Without the assistance of a party among them, how could the Spartan king, Agesilaus, with a handful of his countrymen, have defied the whole power of Persia, and shake the throne of the great king in Asia?

Lastly, the monstrous corruption of the court, or rather of the harem, was another no less powerful cause of the decay of the empire. Every thing was here subject to the influence of eunuchs, of the reigning queen, or, still more, of the queen-mother. It is necessary to have studied, in the court-history of Ctesias, the character and violent actions of an Amytis or Amistris, or, still more, a Parysatis, to form an adequate idea of the nature of such a harem-government. The gratification of the passions, the thirst for vengeance, and the impulse of hatred, no less than voluptuousness and pride, were the springs which moved every thing in this corrupted circle; passions which acquire a force in proportion to the narrowness of the circle in which they are exercised. None of the Persian kings (with the single exception perhaps of Cambyses) appears to have had an innate proneness to cruelty; but the furious effects of female hatred and vengeance were not, on that account, a whit the less formidable; and it is impossible to read without shuddering, the descriptions of the horrible and premeditated punishments which were executed at the command of the females of the royal family, when the sanction of the monarch had been obtained.[60]

These causes combined to prepare the downfal of the Persian monarchy, in the second century of its existence: resembling, in this respect, other great despotic dynasties, which, at first, collapse in their internal structure, and on an impulse from without, are shaken to pieces. We behold,

[59] See DIOD. xv. xvi.

[60] Compare the accounts of HERODOTUS, ix. 109, 113, with those of CTESIAS, *Pers.* 42, etc.

in the present day, a similar empire, which possibly may not even require the reverses of three defeats, to afford on the banks of the Hellespont, the same spectacle which followed the success of Alexander on the Granicus, at Issus, and at Arbela.

II. POWER AND PRIVILEGES OF THE MONARCH. LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY THE CODE OF ZOROASTER. COURT, HAREM, AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE KING.

In the great empires of Asia, the person of the monarch is the central point around which every thing else revolves: according to the notions of the East, he is regarded not merely as the ruler, but rather as the master and proprietor of the lands and lives of all. On this leading principle were founded all the institutions of that continent, and these were frequently stretched to a length, which to civilized Europeans, living in the undisturbed possession of personal freedom and the rights of property, appears either incomprehensible or ridiculous.[1]

The monarchs of Persia present themselves to the historian of antiquity precisely in the same attitude, and invested with the same splendour, which usually characterizes the despots of the East. At the same time the justice of this idea has been questioned, and several authors have even described them as possessing a limited authority.[2] The cause, however, of this discrepancy appears to lie not so much in a real contradiction as in a misapprehension, which can only be removed by a right understanding of the nature of despotic governments in general, and in an especial manner those of the East. An examination into this question will lead us to discuss another respecting the legal institutions of the East, and those especially which were peculiar to the Persians.

Since the time of Locke and Montesquieu, it has been constantly the aim of political writers to carry still further

[1] If a Mongol plucks another by the tuft of hair on his head, he is liable to punishment, not because he has committed an assault, but because the tuft is the property of the king! PALLAS, *Mongol. Völker*, i. p. 194.

[2] GATTERER, *Versuch einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte*, p. 180.

the distinctions drawn by them, respecting the different forms of government; but as long as these theorists adhered to the threefold division handed down from the days of Aristotle, of the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic governments, it was impossible that much progress should be made in such speculations. It was impossible that any satisfactory result should be obtained so long as men assumed, as an essential division, a distinction which respected merely the number of the rulers, and not the nature of the government. The only solid distinction must arise out of the relations in which the governing part of the community, whether consisting of a single, or many members, stands to the governed. The differences belonging to such relations can alone afford a principle, according to which the different forms of civil government may be classed. The essential character of a republican form of government is, that the possessor of the executive authority is responsible and subordinate to the people, as their magistrate: while in monarchies the executive, residing in the person of the sovereign, is exalted above the rest of the community. In the former case the supreme power resides with the people; in the latter, with the king.[3] The monarchical form, however, leaves room for three different relations between the rulers and the ruled; according as the mass of the community may stand in the situation of vassals, subjects, or citizens. By vassals, I mean such as are not possessed of personal freedom, nor the free use of their private will; their ruler is a despot, and these relations are the foundation of what are called despotic governments. By subjects we must be understood to mean such as are possessed, indeed, of personal freedom, but have no share in the public councils, nor any civil freedom; and in such relations originate what are called autocratic forms of government, or, as they are commonly termed, unlimited monarchies. Lastly, by citizens, we mean such as not only possess private freedom, but through the medium of public assemblies, conventions of the States-General, or representatives chosen by themselves, participate in the public councils, and enjoy alike personal and civil

[3] For a further development of this idea, see my essay *Ueber den Einfluss der politischen Theorien in Europa und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Prinzips. Hist. Werke*, i. 434, etc.

liberty. The ruler of such a nation continues to be a prince or sovereign so long as the popular assemblies cannot be holden without his consent, nor establish any ordinance without his concurrence.

This last class presupposes, at least to a certain extent, the existence of that division of powers which is generally designated by the executive and legislative authorities, since it is this participation in the legislative functions, whether personal and direct, or by means of deputies, which implies an interest in the public councils. Such constitutions, however, with all their immense results to the cause of civilization and human happiness, flourish only under the climate of Europe: it is only in Europe that, in the proper sense of the term, there has ever existed a constitutional monarchy.

If we apply these theoretical principles to the great Asiatic kingdoms, (with which alone, and not with any isolated states or small communities, like those in Phœnicia, or India, we have to do,) it is easy to perceive that they all belong to the class first described. In none of these was the legislative power lodged in the hands of the people, nor was the idea of such a state of things ever even started among them. On the contrary, not only did both the legislative and executive powers reside in the hands of the monarch, but to these was also added the supreme judicial authority; and history even asserts that in some cases the regal office grew out of the exercise of the latter;[4] and it must be observed, that next to the causes which have been enumerated in the Introduction, as tending to create the despotic governments of the East, there was none which was calculated to produce that effect so much as this sort of origin of the sovereign power. From the want of a civil and criminal code, every thing was left to the judgment or caprice of the judge, and a way prepared by which he might readily make himself master of the lives and properties of those under his jurisdiction. The oppressions which result from an abuse of the judicial authority are peculiarly galling, and the first attempts at legislation on the part of the people are generally directed to the reformation of abuses in this department; especially with a

[4] Herodotus expressly says this of the Medes and their first king Deioces. Ibid. i. 96, 97.

view to the prevention of corruption. Recent political writers have even assumed, as the characteristic distinction between despotic and limited monarchies, that the courts of justice in the latter are independent of the control of the government.

This concentration of all the powers of the state in the person of the king, makes it impossible to suppose that our ideas of a limited monarchy, like those which exist in Europe, could in any degree apply to the kingdoms of the East: the leading principle of which, whether formally recognised or tacitly admitted, was this, that the sovereign was not only an irresponsible autocrat, but the master also of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. Consequently the notion of the rights of free citizenship, in the European sense of the term, was utterly unknown; all, from the highest to the lowest, being looked upon as the vassals of the monarch, and the monarch's right of disposing of any individual without any personal and formal servitude on his part, according to his good pleasure, was never contested on the part of the nation.[5]

Unlimited as such a system of despotism must be pronounced to have been, according to European principles of government, it nevertheless was not without its restraints, imposed by other circumstances. The very nature of things made it necessarily less exorbitant in practice than in theory. The despot can tyrannize only within the narrow circle of those by whom he is surrounded. Accordingly, the iron sceptre of oriental despotism fell immediately on the heads of the great and the powerful who were in the service of the king; and the punishment of satraps and pashas, on the smallest shadow of suspicion, has ever, in the East, been one of the most ordinary occurrences. The mass of the people, on the other hand, have at all times been removed by distance from the observation of the monarch; and self-interest has made it a maxim with the latter to observe rigid justice towards the great body of the people. The avarice and partiality of the satraps, however, and of their inferiors, suffice to grind down the commons; and it is for this reason

[5] On this subject, compare MORIER, i. p. 212, in reference to the modern Persians. See also what we have remarked above, (p. 18, note,) of the present Shah of Persia.

that we constantly find, in the case of all the Asiatic kingdoms, that it is not the gentleness and clemency of the sovereign, but his severity and inexorable rigour against all injustice, which are cited as the proofs and measure of the goodness of his government. When we reflect that the power of the king was equally absolute to promote good as to inflict evil, we cannot be surprised at the picture which is presented to us in oriental history of the flourishing condition at certain periods of several of those monarchies.[6] The evil lies in this, that it was left to chance whether a furious tyrant like Nadir-Shah, or an Acbar the Great, should ascend the throne. If it had pleased Providence to afford to mankind an oracle by which the wisest and best individual might always be appointed to the supreme power, even a philosopher need not perhaps have blushed to proclaim himself the partisan of unlimited authority.

This limitation to the exercise of the king's despotic authority, imposed by the very nature of things, was not, however, the only one. The human mind devised in those countries another way of attaining to something like the same end, which has been accomplished in Europe by more direct means. The idea of legislation was not altogether unknown to the kingdoms of the East, but it had its origin in a different source, and was differently modified, from any thing which has existed among the civilized nations of Europe. What was here the effect of philosophy and political science, was there, under the pressure of despotic power, achieved by religion. On religion were raised their rude essays at legislation; the priests were the conservators and expositors of such laws; and it was religion which furnished the motives for obedience.

The ideas of legislation and religion are consequently inseparably connected in the East; but it is obvious that a legal system of this kind must necessarily possess a character peculiar to itself. Inasmuch as the laws thus enjoined were not enacted by the nation, nor assured to it any share in the

[6] See the admirable picture given by CHARDIN, iii. p. 368. The cupidity of the satraps of the East, and their inferiors, causes the effects of a rigid or indolent administration of justice on the part of the monarch to be inconceivably rapid and striking. A mere change of sovereign, by which an infant is placed on the throne, suffices, in a few years, to convert into deserts the most fertile provinces. FORSTER'S *Travels*, p. 150.

legislative prerogative, they were incapable of securing the rights of the people: one description of men alone, the priestly caste, assumed an attitude more independent of the monarch, nor has any legislator of the East ever conceived the idea of a limited monarchy like those of Europe. None of them ever ventured to attack the persuasion, that the lives and fortunes of the subject were at the disposal of the monarch, and so to convert the subject into a citizen. We are thus led to make the following general observations:

In the first place, the legislative systems of the East were designed to soften the rudeness of the nation, by placing a restraint on the prevailing vices, and therefore enforcing the penalties of crime. Consequently they can only be said to oppose limits to the arbitrary exercise of judicial authority; and it cannot be pretended that they gave occasion to any regular constitution, by which the prerogatives of the ruler and his relations to the governed were defined. Notwithstanding the degree of good which they may have effected, by restraining the arbitrary procedures of the inferior judges, yet the instances of barbarous punishments inflicted by the Asiatic monarchs are so abundant, as to prove that the degree of deference paid to such restraints by the functionary, must have been always dependent on his personal character. Faith is the only principle on which a priesthood can erect their ordinances, and this sanction must necessarily be extremely indeterminate, inasmuch as every thing depends on the individual.

Secondly, as religious and political systems, (the legislative codes of the East have been at all times connected with a religious ceremonial,) making religion to consist less in doctrines than in rites, the observance of which (the more important because it compelled to certain prescribed forms) was looked upon as a religious obligation, early inculcated, and which, as the individual could be induced to fulfil them only by moral motives, gave to the priesthood a great influence in forming the personal character of the king. Such religions necessarily partook of the character of a religious court-ceremonial, and at the same time gave to the priesthood a share of authority, by elevating them to the rank of chief ministers of their worship; giving occasion, within their own order, to the establishment of an hierarchy con-

sisting of many gradations of ranks. Such an hierarchy in some degree compensated for the imperfect rights of the nation at large, and the pretended ministers of the deity stood in something like the position of the representatives of the nation.

These general observations are of importance before entering on an account of the constitution and legislative system of the Persians. The different questions respecting the degree of limited or absolute authority enjoyed by the princes of Persia become in this manner more capable of solution, and our way is cleared towards a better perception of the character of the doctrines and laws of Zoroaster, which were the established code of the nation. I have already had occasion in two several places to refer my reader to the present disquisition, which embraces a topic of great interest as regarding a religion which, like that of Mohammed, was disseminated over a large portion of the world, and retained for centuries its predominance. Nor was it in the power of persecution, nor of civil or religious revolutions, effectually to eradicate this creed; the adherents of which preferred exile to apostacy, and sought in the deserts of Kerman and Hindustan places of refuge and toleration for themselves and their sacred records. It is only in our own days that the latter have been rescued from obscurity and presented to Europe; a fact which has mainly contributed to improve and extend our acquaintance with ancient oriental history, and we are enabled to speak with the greater certainty on this subject, as few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zendavesta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage: the genuineness of the principal compositions, particularly the Vendidat and Izeshre, as religious books of the ancient Persians, has been demonstrated; and we may consider as completely ascertained all that regards the rank of each book of the Zendavesta.[7]

[7] A foreigner had the honour of first presenting the *Zendavesta* to the nations of Europe, but the German literati were the first to examine it critically. The superficial remarks of some Englishmen are as far from satisfactory, as the disquisitions of Anquetil, who on many points of importance has struck into an erroneous path. The researches of Kleuker, and still more those of Rhode, have placed this obscure subject in the proper light. The latter, in his excellent introduction, shows what we must understand by the authenticity of the *Zendavesta*; namely, that this collection contains either all or most of the compositions which existed before the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. He has examined with scrupulous criticism all the books of the collection; but while we admit the general accuracy of his conclusions, we may be allowed to differ on points of detail, as our remarks on the ruins of Persepolis have proved.

With respect, however, to another question, which also demands a previous inquiry, the age in which Zoroaster first appeared as a religious reformer, and the reign in which he flourished, opinions continue to be divided. Did he promulgate his laws in the time of the Persian, or rather of the Median empire? or at a period of still more remote antiquity? Was his religion first addressed to the Persians, or was it only adopted by them? It is easy to perceive that these inquiries are of the highest interest, not only for the antiquarian in general, but in particular for the student of Persian history.

It is the almost universal opinion, promulgated by Hyde,[8] and defended by the editor of the Zendavesta,[9] that the prophet was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, and that consequently his laws were promulgated under the empire of the Persians; while another hypothesis carries them back to the dynasty of the Medes, and the reign of Cyaxares the First; about seventy years before Cyrus.[10] Rhode, however, has laboured to prove that they are considerably more ancient even than this date.

Notwithstanding the general adoption of the first hypothesis, it could hardly have been suggested, had not all the first commentators pursued a wrong course. The chronological data afforded by the later Grecian authors were compared—these were thought to tally with the date of Darius Hystaspis—and it was considered a decided confirmation of this supposition, that the name Hystaspis tallies with that of Gustasp, to whom Zoroaster generally addresses his doctrines. It would surely have been a more natural mode of proceeding, without the assumption of any such hypothesis, to have endeavoured to collect from the writings of Zoroaster himself the place and time of his appearance, and after-

[8] HYDE, *De Relig. Veter. Persar.* 303, 312—335.

[9] *Zendavesta* of KLEUKER, Appendix i. 1, etc.; cf. p. 327, etc.

[10] This opinion has been fully developed in the treatise of M. TYCHSEN, *De Religionum Zoroastricarum apud veteres gentes vestigiis;* in *Comment. Soc. Goett.* vol. xi. p. 112, etc.

wards to apply the information so obtained towards supporting or invalidating the very imperfect data afforded by Grecian writers, without allowing too much importance to the name of Gustasp, which was no uncommon appellation or title in the East, and which consequently of itself proves nothing. It may be added that the Persepolitan inscriptions show that Darius did not himself assume this as his proper name.

If this method be adopted, the data of more recent authors neglected, and the Zendavesta studied by itself, the hypothesis referred to must fall to the ground; being indeed utterly destitute of any foundation, except the resemblance of the name Gustasp, and contradicted by the most decisive evidence.[11]

The works of Zoroaster abound in details relating to his own person, as well as the countries and kingdom which were the first scene of his career as a religious reformer. He proves, by the clearest geographical data, that his native country was Northern Media, Azerbijan, or the territory between the rivers Kur, or Cyrus, and the Araxes; both of which empty themselves into the Caspian. Here he first appeared as a legislator and reformer; but soon quitting this district, he passed into the countries east of the Caspian, to Bactra, the residence of king Gustasp, who became his disciple and admirer. The original seat, therefore, of his new religion or doctrine was Bactra, whence (under the protection of Gustasp) it was disseminated over Iran.

The writings of Zoroaster, we thus perceive, lead us to conclude that the kingdom in which he first appeared as a reformer was a Bactrian monarchy. Might not, however, the Persian empire be understood to answer this description, the above-named countries being important provinces of its dominion? and might not Darius Hystaspis have made Bactra, for a time at least, the place of his residence?

Zoroaster has himself so accurately described the extent and partitions of the kingdom in which he lived, that this hypothesis cannot be maintained. The opening of his Vendidat contains a catalogue of the provinces and principal cities of that kingdom; and this record, so invaluable to the historian, is so clear and complete as to leave no room for doubt.[12] The chief provinces and places, sixteen in number, are registered according to their oriental appellations, and for the most part are easily to be recognised. We learn hence that, except Azerbijan to the west of the Caspian, all the countries east of the same, as far as Northern Hindustan, were, together with the latter country, subject to king Gustasp, at whose court the sage resided. The whole of Khorasan is here enumerated, with the several provinces of which it is composed. Bactriana and Sogdiana, Aria or Sehestan, Cabul, Arokhage, the confines of Hindustan, and finally, Lahore in the Panjab, are all successively mentioned. Nothing, however, is said of the two chief provinces of the Persian empire, Persis and Susiana, nor of their capitals, Persepolis and Susa, nor of Babylon; which, nevertheless, were the customary residences of the kings of Persia, and, in particular, of Darius Hystaspis. Can it, then, be supposed that it was under this king that Zoroaster lived, and that his laws were digested for his dominions? Is it to be imagined that, in a catalogue of all the principal cities and provinces of his patron's empire, he should have omitted to mention the very chiefest of all, living as he did at the court of the monarch? To make Zoroaster contemporary with Darius Hystaspis is not only to vitiate all historical probability, but to make Zoroaster contradict himself.

What, however, must we say to the chronological notices of the Greeks, which place him in this era? Supposing them to have been much more authentic than they are, they cannot be admitted as destructive of undeniable data, drawn from the writings of Zoroaster himself: the genuineness of the latter having been once established. The contrary, however, is the fact: it is only in the third, fourth, and following centuries that any authors speak of Zoroaster as living in the reign of Darius Hystaspis; while no trace of any such assertion is to be discovered in the remains of writers contemporary with that monarch, who alone would

[11] It is to be observed, that reference is here made only to the most ancient parts of the Zendavesta, particularly the *Vendidat* and *Izeshne*, not to the *Boondehesh*, which is a mere commentary, appertaining to the age of the Sassanian princes.

[12] *Zendavesta*, ii. 299.

be competent witnesses of the truth. Neither Herodotus, Ctesias, nor Xenophon, who make such frequent mention of the Magi, and the former of whom relates their unsuccessful attempt to regain their power in the person of the pretended Smerdis, as well as the reign of Darius which followed, none of these historians say a word of Zoroaster, who is supposed to have appeared at that time. Even Plato, the first Grecian writer who mentions Zoroaster, speaks of him as a sage of remote antiquity; and the same is established by the evidence of Hermippus and Eudoxus, which Pliny has preserved.[13]

We may therefore assume it as proved, that the reformation effected by Zoroaster took place, not in the time of Darius Hystaspis, but antecedently to the commencement of the Persian dynasty. What then was the date of its occurrence? a question perfectly distinct from that which we have been considering, and much more difficult to answer. From Zoroaster himself we can only learn that it took place during the Bactro-Median empire, under a king named Gustasp, of the dynasty of the Keanides.[14] By a comparison of different authorities it has been thought probable that this monarch was the same with the Median king Cyaxares the First, who, according to Herodotus, reigned about a hundred years before Darius Hystaspis.[15] Of the two hypotheses alleged, the latter is undoubtedly the more plausible, but even this is open to many objections.[16] The kingdom in which Gustasp is described as reigning, and in which Zoroaster appeared, was not Media, properly so called, but Bactriana. The very name of Medes and Persians, as distinct nations, are not even mentioned; the nation subject to the monarch in question, is styled the people of Ormuzd. It cannot even be shown that Media was among

[13] Consult a collection and critical statement of the accounts given by different Grecian authors of Zoroaster, KLEUKER'S *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, ii. iii. p. 90: besides the proofs alleged and examined with great ability by my friend M. TYCHSEN, in his treatise already referred to.

[14] *Zendavesta*, ii. p. 142.

[15] This hypothesis was first proposed by FOUCHER, who, however, adopted the idea that there were two Zoroasters. His treatises are translated in the *Anhang zum Zendavesta*, i. ii. p. 51, etc. The second Zoroaster, supposed by Foucher to have flourished under Darius Hystaspis, is the mere figment of some later Grecian authors of little credit.

[16] See the disquisition of RHODE, *Heilige Sage*, p. 152, etc., who makes Zoroaster anterior to the Assyrian monarchy.

his tributary kingdoms, and it is certain that it was not the principal kingdom, the seat of the empire. On the whole, we are compelled to carry back Zoroaster to the period when Bactriana was an independent monarchy, a period anterior to the very commencement of the Median empire, as related by Herodotus, ascending beyond the eighth century before the Christian era. Whether we must refer him to a still more ancient epoch, prior to the Assyrian monarchy, (as is the opinion of Rhode,) must remain a question, as we have no certain knowledge whether Bactriana formed a part of the empire of the Assyrians, or whether it constituted a contemporary and independent kingdom. The chronological notices we have already given are all that can be afforded, except we be prepared to transport the sage beyond the utmost limits of recorded history.

These preliminary observations were indispensable to the solution of the two questions with which, on the present occasion, we are chiefly concerned, namely, what was the religion of Zoroaster under the Medes, and what under the Persian dynasty?

It is not without anxiety that I prepare to answer these queries, not only on account of the difficulties with which they are encumbered, but because I feel how hard it is to transport my reader to a point of view which may enable him (and which alone can do so) to view this system of laws in its true light and proportions. Zoroaster made his appearance in the heart of Asia, among a people whose constitution, religion, and manners are completely different from our own. His doctrines, however, like those of every reformer, were occasioned by present circumstances, and adapted to the times in which he flourished; and consequently, we form a just estimate of his character only by contemplating him with a reference to his age. We must forget that we are Europeans, and, together with our more advanced knowledge, lay aside our prejudices also. It is no objection to his laws, that they contain much that is strange, or even absurd, nay, this very circumstance rather confirms their authenticity, being precisely what was to be expected in a legislative system belonging to so remote an age and country.

In several parts of his writings, Zoroaster speaks of him-

self as a subject of one of those great despotic governments, which have always abounded in Asia,[17] and consequently was more sensible than a European can be, of the advantages and evils which attend such a form of government in a civilized country. He could not be blind to the beneficial effects of agriculture, and the other peaceful arts, which flourish only under the shelter of civil society, and his sense of these advantages must have been heightened by the contrast of the lawless and wandering hordes by which his country was overrun. The evils, also, which generally attend despotic governments, must have been no less strikingly presented to his observation: the intolerable oppression of satraps and their subalterns; luxury and debauchery, with the maladies and physical afflictions of another kind, which he himself enumerates and bewails,[18] had so generally crept in, as to excite in him the desire to restore by his religious reform more fortunate and better days.

The picture which an Asiatic forms to himself of such happier days, is different from that which a European would conceive. Bowed down from his youth beneath the yoke of absolute authority, he does not presume to emancipate himself, even in idea; but takes another way of compensating his present grievances. He pictures to himself a despotic government in the hands, not of a tyrant, but a father of his people; under which every class of men and every individual might have his appropriate sphere of action, to which he confined himself, and the duties of which he fulfilled; under whom the peaceful arts of agriculture, tending of flocks, and commerce, were supposed to flourish, riches to increase and abound, as if the hands of the monarch, like those of a divinity, showered blessings on his people.

Such a government and such a sovereign are recorded in the Cyropædia itself; and their image has survived through all the periods of Asiatic history, still continuing to form, as it were, the central point of oriental tradition, and vividly impressed on the code of Zoroaster. According to that sage, the era of Jemshid, the ancient sovereign of Iran,[19]

[17] See the first Fargards of the Vendidat, *Zendavesta*, ii. 300, etc., and the books of Yesht-Sades and Izeshne *passim*.

[18] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 78, 118, etc.

[19] Iran, the oriental name for the countries of higher Asia, as far as the Indus, and also applied to the country in which Zoroaster resided. In the language of Zend it is called Eriene. See above, p. 88.

was the golden age of his country. "Jemshid the father of his people, the most glorious of mortals whom the sun ever beheld. In his days animals perished not: there was no want either of water,[20] or of fruit-bearing trees, or of animals fit for the food of mankind. During the light of his reign there was neither frost nor burning heat, nor death, nor unbridled passions, the work of the Deevs. Man appeared to retain the age of fifteen;[21] the children grew up in safety, as long as Jemshid reigned, the father of his people."[22]

The restoration of such a golden age was the end of the legislation of Zoroaster, who, however, built his code on a religious foundation, agreeably to the practice of the East; and the multifarious ceremonies he prescribed had all reference to certain doctrines intimately associated with his political dogmata; and it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind this alliance, if we would not do injustice to one part or other of his system.

The philosophical system of Zoroaster set out with those speculations with which philosophy, in the infancy of nations, is apt to commence her career, being impelled thereto in the most lively and powerful manner, namely, with discussions respecting the origin of evil, which in so many forms oppresses human nature. It is indifferent to us, whether he was himself the first propounder of the doctrines he maintained on this subject, or whether he borrowed them from more ancient traditions of the East. It is sufficient that in this respect he assumed such high ground that

[20] As the fertility of the soil depended in those countries on a plentiful supply of water, the latter circumstance is perpetually mentioned by Zoroaster as denoting the former.

[21] That is to say, they enjoyed a perpetual youth. In those warm countries the age of puberty is accelerated.

[22] *Zendavesta*, i. 14. Jemshid is generally described as the founder of civil society, by introducing the art of agriculture. See the beautiful mythus in the Vendidat, *Zendav.* ii. 304. A recent author has made it appear probable that the above name conceals the Achæmenes of the Greeks, the reputed head of the royal family of Cyrus. See WAHL, *Allgemeine Beschreib. des Persischen Reichs*, p. 209. I confess that this hypothesis appears to me extremely probable. Besides the similarity of the names, which will be immediately recognised if we take away the Greek termination *enes*, and the Persian *shid*; it is perfectly in harmony with the practice of the Orientals, that the more recent dynasty of the descendants of Cyrus should seek to ingraft their genealogy on the ancient Median stock which sprang from Jemshid.

all obscurity which involved the subject seemed to disappear, as long as no clouds of metaphysics obscured the horizon. The doctrine of a good and evil principle, the sources of all good and ill, is the foundation-stone of the whole structure, both of his religious and political philosophy.

This leading idea was, however, modified by the character which its author assumed of a legislator. He asserted the existence of a kingdom of light, and a kingdom of darkness: in the former reigns Ormuzd, the author and giver of all good; in the latter, Ahriman, the source of all evil, moral as well as physical. The throne of Ormuzd is surrounded by the seven Amshaspands, the princes of light, of whom the sage himself was the first. Subordinate to these are the Izeds, the genii of good, of whatever kind. The kingdom of darkness subject to Ahriman, contains the same sort of hierarchy; his throne being surrounded by the seven superior Deevs, the princes of evil, while an infinite number of inferior Deevs are subordinate to the former, as the Izeds to the Amshaspands. The kingdoms of Ormuzd and Ahriman are eternally opposed to each other, but at a future period Ahriman shall be overthrown, and the powers of darkness destroyed; the dominion of Ormuzd shall become universal, and the kingdom of light alone shall subsist and embrace the universe.[23]

It is apparent that this ideal system was copied from the constitutions of the oriental monarchies, and conversely, the forms of the first were applied to the latter: the whole being obviously adapted to the place and circumstances of time in which the legislator appeared. He lived in a country situated on the borders of the nomad tribes,[24] where he had opportunities of comparing the advantages of civil society with the striking contrast presented by the wandering and lawless hordes, which incessantly laid waste his native land. He beheld, as it were, his kingdoms of light and of darkness realized on the earth: Iran, the Medo-Bactrian kingdom, subject to Gustasp, being the image of the kingdom of Ormuzd, and the monarch, of Ormuzd himself; while Turan, the land of the nomad nations to the north, of which Afrasiab was king, was the picture of the kingdom of darkness

[23] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 4, etc.

[24] See above, p. 11, 12.

under the rule of Ahriman. The leading ideas, originally distinct, have been so intimately mixed up together, that if not absolutely confounded, at all events many of the subordinate images have been transferred from one to the other. For instance, as Turan lay to the north of Iran, the kingdom of Ahriman is made to occupy the same relative position; thence descend the Deevs, which at all times inflict infinite mischiefs on Iran. As the inhabitants of Turan led a lawless, unsettled life, causing continual mischief by their incursions, so the Deevs wander in all directions from their abodes in the north, and seek occasions of inflicting mischief every where. Nevertheless, as Ahriman shall eventually be overcome, and his kingdom annihilated, so shall the power of the chiefs of the Turanians be broken; the laws of Zoroaster prevail, and the golden age of Jemshid return.[25]

Such are the principal ideas on which the system of Zoroaster turns. He did not, however, confine himself to generalities, but applied his principles to the different species of created beings. All that exists appertains either to the kingdom of Ormuzd or to that of Ahriman, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate. There are pure men, pure animals, pure vegetables; (all these the creation of Ormuzd;) and again, there are impure men, impure animals, impure vegetables, subject to the dominion of the Deevs, and appertaining to the kingdom of Ahriman.

All men are accounted impure, *(kharfasters,)* who by thought, word, or deed despise the laws of Zoroaster; all poisonous and pernicious animals or reptiles, (which in the countries bordering on Media are much more abundant and formidable than in Europe,) with all plants and vegetables possessing the same qualities. On the other hand, in the country where the law of Zoroaster is revered, every thing is pure, every thing is holy: so that his precepts extend their influence not only over the human race, but even to the brute and inanimate creation. It is the duty of the servant of Ormuzd (Mazdryesnan) to foster every thing in nature which is pure and holy, as all such things are the creations of Ormuzd, at the same time that the enmity he

[25] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 116, 160.

has vowed against Ahriman and his creation, make it incumbent on him to attack and destroy all impure animals. On these principles Zoroaster built his laws for the improvement of the soil by means of agriculture, by tending of cattle, and gardening, which he perpetually inculcates, as if he could not sufficiently impress his disciples with a sense of their importance.[26]

In the internal organization of his kingdom, Zoroaster continued faithfully to copy the character peculiar to the despotic governments of the East. The whole system reposed on a four-fold division of castes: that of the priests, the warriors, the agriculturists, and the artificers of whatever denomination.[27] This is the order in which they are enumerated, but the legislator omits no opportunity of elevating and dignifying that of the agriculturists. These extract plenty from the earth; their hands wield the blade of Jemshid with which he clove the ground, and drew forth the treasures of abundance.[28] It is to be observed, however, that this division into castes is not described as an institution of Zoroaster, but as having existed from the era of Jemshid; an institution which the legislator did not originate, but merely maintained.

The gradation of ranks is conformable to the hierarchy of the kingdom of Ormuzd. We hear of rulers of petty towns, rulers of streets, (or portions of cities,) rulers of cities, and rulers of provinces; the head of all these potentates being the king. All, as subjects of Ormuzd, are supposed good and upright, especially the highest of all, the monarch. He is the soul of all, on whom all depend, and around whom the whole system revolves. His commands are absolute and irrevocable, but the religion of Ormuzd forbids him to ordain any thing but what is just and good.[29]

These are the principal characteristics of the kingdom sketched by Zoroaster; the picture of a despotic government on the principles of the customs of the East. To this he added precepts calculated to advance the moral improvement of his people; nor did it escape his observation, that on the habits of the nation, and in particular on their domestic virtues, must be founded its public constitution.

[26] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 16, etc.
[27] Ibid. i. p. 141.
[28] Ibid. ii. p. 305.
[29] Ibid. i. 72, etc.

Hence his laws for the furtherance of marriage, his praises of fruitfulness in women, and his condemnation of the unnatural vices which abounded in the countries where he dwelt.[30] He did not, however, venture to proclaim himself a patron of monogamy, either because he himself had not been convinced of its expediency, or because his countrymen were too firmly attached to their existing practices.

The conservation of his ordinances was intrusted to the priestly caste, the Magians,[31] who, under the Medes, formed one of their original tribes, to whom was committed the preservation of such sciences as were known among them, and the performance of the offices of public devotion. Herodotus expressly names them as a distinct tribe of the Medes,[32] and this arrangement, peculiar to the East, with which the Jewish annals have made us familiar, is further illustrated by the observations already offered respecting the priest-caste of the Egyptians. The reform of Zoroaster also addressed itself to these. According to his own professions, he was only the restorer of the doctrine which Ormuzd himself had promulgated in the days of Jemshid: this doctrine, however, had been misrepresented, a false and delusive Magia, the work of Deevs, had crept in, which was first to be extinguished in order to restore the pure laws of Ormuzd.[33] He composed the first and best of his treatises, the Vendidat, at a period when his doctrines had only begun to obtain the ascendency, and when the false Magians, the worshippers of the Deevs, withstood him; hence the maledictions which he continually heaps upon them.[34] We know from history that in the end his reformation triumphed, though we are not enabled to trace its progress in detail.

Zoroaster, therefore, must not be considered as the founder, but only the reformer of the caste of Magians, and to him must therefore be ascribed the internal constitution of this caste, though it may have subsequently received some further development. The three orders of Herbeds (disciples), Mobeds (masters), and Destur Mobeds (complete masters), into which they were divided, occur in his

[30] See the precepts of the Vendidat, *Fargard*, v.—xix.
[31] The name of Magian is derived from the Pehlvi dialect: *Mag* and *Mog* in this language signifying a priest. *Zendavesta*, *Anhang* iii. p. 17.
[32] Herod. i. 101.
[33] *Zendavesta*, i. p. 43.
[34] Ibid. ii. 171, etc.

works.[35] They alone were entitled to perform the offices of religion, they alone possessed the sacred formularies or liturgies by which Ormuzd was to be addressed, and were acquainted with the ceremonies by which the offering of prayers and sacrifice was to be accompanied. This was their peculiar knowledge and their study, and it was only by them that prayers and sacrifice could be presented to the deity.[36] In this manner they came to be considered the only interlocutors between God and man; it was to them alone that Ormuzd revealed his will, they alone contemplated the future, and had the power of revealing it to such as inquired into it through them.

On these foundations was reared, both among the Persians and the Medes, the dignity of the priestly caste. The general belief in predictions, especially as derived from observation of the heavenly bodies, and the custom of undertaking no enterprise of moment without consulting those who were supposed acquainted with such oracles, as well as the blind confidence reposed in such pretenders, all conspired to give this class of men the highest influence, not only in the relations of private life, but also over public undertakings. In the days of Zoroaster, as at present, it was esteemed necessary to the dignity as well as the exigencies of an Asiatic court, that the person of the king should be surrounded by a multitude of soothsayers, wise men, and priests, who formed a part of his council. The origin of this persuasion, which has so universally and invariably prevailed in the East, may be left for others to discuss; but the extraordinary influence which it has exercised over the manners of private life and the constitution of the state at large, deserves the closest attention of every one who interests himself in the history of nations and their manners.

If we take these things into the account, and assume it as proved that Zoroaster flourished under the Median dynasty, we cannot be surprised by the fact, that on the downfal of that monarchy its hereditary religion was adopted by the conquerors. Supposing (what I am not prepared either to assert or deny) that up to that period these doctrines were unknown to the Persians, yet from the nature of

[35] *Zendavesta*, ii. 261.

[36] HEROD. i. 132.

things, their reception was an almost necessary consequence of a fact which is indisputable, the adoption by the Persian monarchs of the court-ceremonial of the Medes. The latter had been defined and prescribed by the mixed political and religious code of that nation, and was inseparable from the authority on which it rested. The Magians and wise men formed the most dignified portion of the court; they surrounded the king's person, and were indispensable to him as soothsayers and diviners. They were distinguished also by their dress; their girdle (costi), which was not passed over the shoulder like the cord of the Brahmans in the manner of a scarf; the sacred cup *havan*, used for libations; and the *barsom*, a bundle of twigs held together by a band.[37] Besides, the question was not whether a new religion should be adopted by the mass of the people, (the doctrines of Zoroaster being the exclusive inheritance and science of the priest-caste,) but only respecting the observance of certain religious forms and modes of worship which were left for the priests to administer.

The above observations will, I trust, enable us to reply with somewhat greater accuracy to the second question, respecting the time when the doctrines of Zoroaster were adopted by the Persians, the extent to which they were received, and the influence they had on the national constitution.

It is certain from history that the Median priest-caste became established among the Persians as early as the foundation of their monarchy by Cyrus. Not only do Herodotus and Ctesias describe them as an order of priests under the first Persian princes,[38] but the express testimony of Xenophon in the Cyropædia leaves no further question, possessing as it does an historical value from an observation appended by the author. Having described the etiquette of the Persian court as copied from that of the Medes, he adds: "Cyrus also first appointed the Magi to chaunt

[37] I should be disposed to consider the fan, already mentioned, p. 114, and borne, together with an umbrella, by an attendant on the person of the king, as the sacred instrument called *barsom*, if it were carried by the monarch himself, and not (as is the case) by an inferior. If, after all, it be the *barsom*, it must be understood as denoting the priestly authority, as the umbrella does the secular. For the sacred utensils of the Magi, see *Zendavesta*, iii. 204.

[38] In his account of the usurpation of the pretended Smerdis.

sacred hymns at the rising of the sun, (the Ha's,) and to offer daily sacrifices to the deities, to whom it was enjoined by their law. This state of things continues to be maintained by each successive monarch; and the rest of the Persian nation followed the example of their prince, conceiving that they should in the same way be more likely to prosper, if they worshipped the gods as their monarch did."[39]

Thus the first consequence of their appointment was the introduction of a certain religious ceremonial in the court of Persia. It by no means, however, follows from this that the Persians at once laid aside the manners and customs of their forefathers, and, as it were, suddenly became converted into Medes; but rather, that a mixture and union of their ancient and newly-adopted opinions and customs took place. The laws of the Persians, in consequence, came to be cited in connexion with those of the Medes; their national deities were still reverenced as before;[40] and in his time Herodotus remarks certain diversities observable in the ceremonies of the Persians as compared with those of the Magians.[41] We must not therefore be surprised at not finding a complete correspondence between the precepts of the Zendavesta and the customs of the Persians; on the contrary, this very diversity is one mark of the genuineness of that composition.

Nor are we authorized to conclude from the expressions of Xenophon that the whole Persian nation at once adopted the Magian religion. This appears to be sufficiently contradicted by the totally different way of life of the various Persian tribes; besides, as we have already had occasion to remark,[42] and shall presently see confirmed, by the Persians Xenophon means the nobler tribes, and possibly only that of the Pasargadæ. Far less are we entitled to suppose that the creed of Zoroaster was at once introduced in the conquered countries as the universal religion of the state; for although strongly marked by the character of intolerance, this religion appears never, like that of Mohammed, to have

[39] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 204.

[40] He frequently names the θεοὶ πατρῷοι: see the places collected by Brisson, *de Reg. Persar. imperio*, p. 347.

[41] For instance, in their treatment of the dead, which the Magi, previous to interment, suffered to be torn by a dog or bird of prey. Herod. i. 140.

[42] See above, p. 214.

been propagated by fire and sword: its author was himself neither a conqueror nor a warrior, nor did the princes who embraced it esteem it a duty to provide for its dissemination by the power of the sword.

It is much nearer to the truth to suppose that the reception of this religion was at first confined to the court, of which the caste of Magi, as priests, as soothsayers, and as councillors of the king, formed an important part, and next to the wives and eunuchs of the monarch, had nearest access to his person. It was a principal part of the education of the monarch to be instructed in the lore of the Magi,[43] a privilege communicated to very few personages besides, and those highly favoured.[44] This doctrine of the Magi, mixed up with the hereditary opinions of the Persians, was designated as the law of the Medes and Persians, and embraced a knowledge of all the sacred customs, precepts, and usages which concerned, not only the worship of the deity, but the whole private life of every worshipper of Ormuzd, respecting the duties which he was bound to perform, and the penalties which he would incur by transgressing them. In proportion as the ritual prescribed was extensive and multifarious, so was it open to cases of doubtful interpretation, when the counsel of the Magi was needed, and consequently was not neglected. From a comparison of several passages, it appears probable that they composed the council of the king's judges, of which mention is made as early as the time of Cambyses.[45] The very notion of a religious legislation, such as we have described, implies that the priests should be also judges, and the individual cases which have been recorded as brought before this tribunal appear to fortify such a conjecture. This court of judicature consisted of men distinguished for their wisdom no less than their justice, possessing their places for life, unless proved guilty of some act of injustice. When this happened, they were punished not only with strictness, but with a cruelty such as despotism alone can either devise or execute.[46] Examples, how-

[43] *Cic. de Divin.* i. 23, and other passages in Brisson, p. 384.

[44] As, for instance, to Themistocles during his residence at the Persian court. Plutarch. in *Themist. Op.* i. p. 126.

[45] Compare Esther, i. 13, with Herod. iii. 31; vii. 194. The other places which bear on this point are to be found in Brisson, p. 189.

[46] In this manner Darius caused one of them to be crucified, but on dis-

ever, are not wanting to prove that although it was esteemed a duty by the monarch to take the opinion of this council, yet he was by no means necessarily bound to abide by their sentence. Cambyses demanded whether it was lawful for him to marry his sister, and the council, knowing that it was his purpose to do so, replied that there was no law which permitted it, but that there did exist a law which made it allowable for the king of the Persians to do what seemed him good.[47] Notwithstanding, therefore, the apparent limitation set to the royal authority by the separation of the judicial power from the administrative,[48] the answer of this high tribunal makes it plain that the authority of the kings of Persia was as unlimited as that of any other oriental despot at any period.

In like manner, the idea which has been adopted by several eminent modern authors, that the Persian constitution was modelled after the hierarchy of the kingdom of Ormuzd, appears, at all events, to require strong limitations. Appeal is continually made to the seven princes who stood about the throne of the king, in like manner as the Amshaspands surrounded the throne of Ormuzd; as well as to other less striking analogies.[49] But, at the most, this analogy applied only to the economy of the court, and did not extend to the kingdom at large: of the former the Magi composed an important part, and it is very possible that this may have influenced the character of the whole. When, however, we come to compare the picture which Zoroaster has sketched of the constitution of the kingdom in which he

covering that he had benefited more than he had injured the royal house, he commanded him to be taken down from the cross. Cambyses commanded another to be flayed alive; and his skin spread over the judgment-seat on which his son and successor was to sit. HEROD. vii. 194. For a similar example of modern Persian justice, see MORIER, ii. 103.

[47] HEROD. iii. 31.

[48] The want of such a separation has been often felt in the East. In the Turkish empire, as in the Persian, the cadi, or judge, is not subject to the pasha; but as all criminal jurisdiction, as well as that of the police, is nevertheless in the hands of the ruler and his officers, little good is effected by a nominal separation.

[49] The number seven is continually found in all the public institutions of the Persians, where a plurality of persons were required, and accordingly would appear to have been long esteemed by them a sacred number. Something similar is to be remarked in the cases of some other Asiatic races, for instance, the Mongols, who esteem the number nine to be holy. PALLAS, i. 198.

lived with that of Persia, we remark similarities which exist in all great despotic governments: a prince, whose mandates are irrevocable, a division of the empire into provinces, and a departmental administration by satraps; while we discover at the same time some striking dissimilitudes. The general distinction of castes, on which the legislative system of Zoroaster is founded, was never completely established among the Persians, although the foundation of such a system was laid in the diversity of occupations and modes of life pursued by the different tribes. We find among them the tribes of nobles or warriors, and of agriculturists, but none of artisans, which indeed could hardly exist among a race of conquerors; nor is it certain that in the cases of the former their occupations were necessarily restricted to individuals of that tribe.

If we take into account these and some minor differences, which have been already touched upon by others, between the law of Zoroaster and the institutions of the Persians, we shall see in them a confirmation of the remark that Zoroaster was not contemporary with the Persian monarchy, but that his doctrines were received at the same time with the order of priests, to whom they were committed, without being adopted by the nation at large or literally complied with by all.

The further information which has been preserved to us respecting the court and household of the Persian monarch, I would fain compress in some general remarks relative to the information afforded by Xenophon in the eighth book of the Cyropædia, which has all the weight of historical testimony, in consequence of the repeated assertion of the author, that the same state of things subsisted in his own time.[50]

First. Agreeably to the customs of all the great despotic princes of the East, the court consisted not only of the king's servants, but also of a numerous army, principally cavalry, which surrounded the person of the king, and formed part of his retinue. This body of cavalry was divided into corps of ten-thousands; according to the nations of which it was composed.[51] The most distinguished were the Persians;

[50] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 202—216.

[51] XENOPH. loc cit. p. 215. Next to the Persians came the Medes, then the Armenians, the Hyrcanians, the Cadusians, and the Sacæ.

the rest succeeded in a fixed gradation. To these were attached the numerous body-guards posted at the gates of the palace, of whom we have already had occasion to speak in the description of Persepolis. If we compare with these the descriptions of the household troops of the kings of modern Persia, or the Mongol princes in Hindustan and China, we shall perceive that the court establishment of the monarchs of the East is precisely what it was in the days of Cyrus.[52]

Secondly. It was a natural consequence of the increasing luxury of the Persians, that the number of courtiers should be augmented, when the rule had once been established, that for all, even the most trivial duties, special officers were necessary.[53]

As all these officers were supported free of expense, there were daily fed at the king's table, according to Ctesias, fifteen thousand persons,[54] and Xenophon assures us that a considerable body of men was required only to make the king's bed.[55] These inferior attendants on the court were marshalled in the same manner as the army, and divided into tens and hundreds.[56] Courtiers, however, of a superior rank were also very numerous, distinguished by the general appellations of the friends, the kinsmen, or the servants of the king, titles which under every despotic government are understood to confer a high degree of importance. It is unnecessary to enter largely on particulars respecting them in the present place, as the remarks already made on the remains of Persepolis must have conveyed a distinct idea of their characters.[57]

Lastly. Not only from the analogy which prevails in other courts of the East, but from a comparison of different passages in ancient writers, it appears probable that the household of the Persian monarch was originally composed of the ruling tribe or horde, namely, that of the Pasargadæ, and especially of the family of the Achæmenidæ.[58] For this

[52] CHARDIN, iv. p. 370, etc. BERNIER, *Voyage aux Indes*, ii. p. 218, etc.

[53] XENOPH. loc. cit. p. 209.

[54] CTESIAS, in ATHEN. iv. p. 146. Where are also collected many other details respecting the luxury of the Persian court.

[55] XENOPH. p. 241.

[56] Ibid. p. 203.

[57] A number of passages bearing on this point have been collected by BRISSON, p. 279, etc.

[58] This view of the matter receives considerable confirmation from a similar economy prevalent at the present day in the court of Eastern Persia. The

reason the courtiers of superior rank bore the appellation of the king's kinsmen,[59] and almost every page of Persian history proves that every trust of importance was confided, if not to this family, at all events to this tribe. The great body of the inferior attendants of the court was, as Xenophon expressly informs us, gradually filled up with the warlike followers of the king.[60]

The very name Pasargadæ, as we have had occasion to remark, betokens that the household of the court was made up of this race,[61] and though it cannot be ascertained to what extent in the end the other noble tribes were gradually admitted to the same privileges, it is certain that the majority of the court at all times was taken from this. The student of Persian antiquity will, accordingly, find reason to adopt the conjecture, that the Grecian authors in general meant by "the Persians," not the entire nation, but only, or principally, the tribe of the Pasargadæ; and this hypothesis applies (as has been already remarked) with especial propriety to the Cyropædia of Xenophon. The details which he affords us, in the commencement of his work, respecting the education and institutions of the Persians, cannot be referred to the whole nation, but only to the ruling tribe, or the king's household, as is proved by the notices of place which he adjoins. If we adopt this principle of interpretation, the whole picture presents itself under a totally different aspect, and it is no longer necessary to consider it as a romance. It is a description of the education and habits of life which, in compliance with custom, the noblesse of the nation, or the portion of it which composed the household of the king, were obliged to observe; and the very strictness of the discipline prescribed is perfectly in harmony with the customs of oriental courts, where every thing is regulated by an exact ceremonial. Accordingly, it must not be looked upon as an account of the national system of

tribe of the *Doraunis* there stands in exactly the same relation to the king, that the Pasargadæ did to the monarchs of ancient Persia. This tribe is distinguished above all the rest, and furnishes satraps or governors for the provinces. ELPHINSTONE, p. 522, 532. In Western Persia also, the body-guard is described as twelve thousand men strong, taken principally from the tribes allied to the reigning shah. MORIER, i. p. 242.

[59] They were distinguished by peculiar marks of honour, a purple garment, and an ornament of gold. JOS. ANT. *Jud.* xiii. 5, 4.

[60] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 242.

[61] See above, p. 214.

education, nor of the manners of the people at large, but the court-education, and court-ceremonial; and in proportion as these are strict under all despotic and especially under all oriental governments, it becomes necessary to accustom to them from their very youth such as are destined to observe them.[62]

The economy of the harem of the Persian monarchs appears to have been precisely the same with the present customs, in that respect, of the Asiatic nations. It was peopled from the different provinces of the empire, and the surveillance of the whole committed to eunuchs, of whom we find traces, long before the Persian monarchy, in the courts of the Median kings, a consequence of the practice of polygamy. His eunuchs and his wives encircled the person of the monarch, and thus easily attained an influence, which, under a weak monarch who felt himself unable to shake off the yoke, often became a species of protectorship, by which they were enabled to sway the helm of state, and, in the end, to exercise dominion over the throne itself.

The interior of these gynæcea is best described in the narrative of the book of Esther, while the account of a court intrigue in the reign of Xerxes, recorded in the last book of Herodotus, throws great additional light on their history.[63] The harem was divided into two sets of apartments, and the new comers were transferred from the first to the second on having been admitted to the king's chamber.[64] Unbounded luxury, which in the end degenerates into wearisome etiquette, imposes of itself a restraint on the passions of arbitrary despots. It is far from being the case that, at the present day, the sultan of Constantinople can select the object of his desire according to his own pleasure; and Persian etiquette demanded that a whole year should be spent in purification by means of aromatics and costly perfumes, before the noviciate beauty was thought worthy of approach-

[62] That this hypothesis is correct will be apparent to any one who will compare the beginning of the Cyropædia with the eighth book of the same work. Xenophon here expressly declares that the education of the Persian court continued to his own time, but had been much loosened by the luxury which had crept in. *Op.* p. 240. In another place, when the same author puts the whole number of the Persians at one hundred and twenty thousand, (*Op.* p. 7,) it is evident that he can only be speaking of the ruling tribe.

[63] HEROD. ix. 110, etc. [64] ESTHER, ii. 12—14.

ing the presence of the despot.[65] The number of concubines must therefore have been sufficiently great to present a new victim for every day.[66] The passions of hatred and jealousy, which are apt to become intense in proportion as their sphere is limited, attained in the harem of Persia a degree of rancour which our imaginations can hardly picture. When Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, succeeded at last in getting into her power her sister-in-law, whom she suspected as her rival, she caused her to be mutilated in a manner so horrible that I dare not even lay the recital of it before my reader.[67]

The legitimate wives of the king stood, however, on a totally different footing from his concubines; a distinction which prevailed also in the inferior conditions of life.[68] As every thing in the constitution of the country depended on the distinctions of tribe, the consort was chosen from the family of Cyrus, or that of the Achæmenidæ;[69] though the example of Esther appears to prove, that occasionally concubines were elevated to the same rank. In that case they were invested with the insignia of royalty, the diadem and the other regalia.[70] The mode of life, however, of the queen-consort, was no less rigidly prescribed and limited than that of the concubines; and it is mentioned as a remarkable instance, that Statira so far overstepped that burdensome system of etiquette as to appear in public without a veil.[71]

Uncertainty of succession is an inseparable consequence of a harem administration. It is true that illegitimate children were altogether excluded from inheriting by the customs of Persia;[72] but the intrigues of their mothers, and the treachery of eunuchs, with the help of poison, often prepared the way for them to the throne.[73] Of legitimate sons the rule was, that the eldest should inherit, especially if he

[65] ESTHER, and elsewhere. Each was brought only once into the king's presence, except he should expressly command them to be presented again.

[66] Darius Hystaspis had three hundred and sixty concubines: a number proportioned to that of the days of the year, according to the computation of the Persians. DIOD. ii. p. 220. Many other details relative to the economy of the Persian harem may be found in BRISSON, p. 163, etc.

[67] HEROD. loc. cit. [68] Ibid. i. 135.

[69] Ibid. iii. 88. CTESIAS, *Pers.* cap. 20.

[70] See the passages collected by BRISSON, p. 158, etc.

[71] PLUTARCH. in ARTAXERXE, *Op.* i. p. 1013. [72] HEROD. iii. 2.

[73] As in the cases of Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus. Cf. CTESIAS, 44; ARRIAN, ii. 14.

was born when his father was king.[74] The selection was, however, left to the monarch, and as his decisions were commonly influenced by his queen, the power of the queen-mother became still more considerable among the Persians than among the Turks. As the education of the heir to the crown was mainly intrusted to his mother, she did not fail early to instil a spirit of dependence on her wishes, from which the future king was rarely able to emancipate himself. The narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias respecting the tyrannical influence exercised by Parysatis, Amestris, and others, bear ample testimony to the fact.

Another necessary consequence of such a system is the insignificance of any thing which could be properly called a council of state. Affairs of public importance are discussed in the interior of the seraglio, under the influence of the queen-mother, the favourite wife, and the eunuchs.[75] It was only on occasions of some great expeditions being meditated, or the like, that councils were held for any length of time, to which the satraps, the tributary princes, and the commanders of the forces were invited.[76] The principal question was, however, for the most part already settled, and the debate respected only the means of carrying it into execution. Even in this point, however, the despotic character of the government manifested itself; since he who gave any advice, was obliged to answer for its issue; and in case of ill success, the penalty fell on his own head.

All the other circumstances of the king's private life bore traces of the original condition of the race, and presented the picture of a nomad state of existence carried to the highest excess of luxury. Even after these monarchs had occupied permanent residences, the signs of this did not altogether disappear, especially in their annual migrations from

[74] HEROD. vii. 2. In Persia, as in all other despotic countries, every change of reign was generally stained with blood. Such as were suspected of aspiring to the crown were either put to death or had their eyes put out, (HEROD. vii. 18,) which latter custom has descended to later periods of Persian history. CHARDIN, ii. 89, 90; iii. 297. The same uncertainty respecting the succession to the throne prevails also among the Mongols; see *Hist. Geneal. des Tartares*, p. 342, 381; and compare LA CROIX, *Hist. de Genghis-khan*, 350, etc.

[75] CTESIAS, *Pers.* 8, 10, 39, etc. The same system prevails in modern Persia, see CHARDIN, iii. p. 296.

[76] HEROD. vii. 8; viii. 67; cf. BRISSON, p. 49.

one abode to another, at fixed seasons of the year. Like the chiefs of nomad hordes, the kings of Persia removed with their household at certain seasons, from one chief city of their empire to another. The three capitals, of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana, each enjoyed every year the privilege of being for a certain period the residence of the monarch.[77] The spring was spent at Ecbatana, the three summer months at Susa, the autumn and winter in Babylon. The great diversity of climate in so extensive an empire, (a diversity which for several reasons is still more perceptible in Asia than in Europe,) was the source of enjoyments, which, in our quarter of the globe, we can scarcely appreciate. These removals took place with such a multitude of followers, that the suite of the court resembled an army,[78] and for this reason the poorer provinces were spared a visitation, which would have exposed them to the horrors of famine.[79] A numerous attendance of armed followers constitutes at the present day a permanent part of the household of the great men of the East; and in the cases of their kings these amounted to the numbers of a regular army. The same system is retained unaltered by the rulers of modern Asia, and the accounts of travellers respecting this particular can hardly be read without astonishment.[80]

The traces of the same nomad mode of life may also be detected in the arrangement of the king's palaces and pleasure-houses. These were universally surrounded with spacious parks, or, as the Persians denominated them, paradises; forming domains sufficiently extensive to allow armies to be reviewed in them, or to assemble for the pursuit of game, of which great numbers and in every variety were collected. Such establishments existed, not only in the three capitals already named, but in several other countries of Asia, in

[77] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 233. A number of other passages have been collected by BRISSON, p. 88, etc.

[78] We are indebted for an accurate picture of the internal arrangement of the royal household on these occasions to XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 225.

[79] STRABO makes this observation with respect to Parthia, p. 783, and MORIER observes the same of modern Persia, ii. 274. The king and his suite are the guests of the country through which they make their progress; and the provinces and towns are compelled to supply every necessary.

[80] See especially BERNIER for an account of the progresses of the Great Mongol, *Voyage*, ii. 318, etc.; and CHARDIN, for those of the shahs of modern Persia, iii. p. 393.

which the king was accustomed to spend a part of his time, or in which his satraps resided.[81]

The king's palace was styled among the ancient Persians also, as in modern Constantinople, the Porte.[82] Agreeably to the customs of other despots of the East, the kings of Persia resided in the interior of their palaces, seldom appearing in public, and guarding all means of access to their persons. The crowd of ministers and courtiers were consequently obliged to take their stations, according to their degrees of rank, in the court without, or before the gate or porte of the palace; and respect for the monarch prescribed, especially in his actual presence, a rigid system of etiquette, the discipline of which commenced with the early youth of those who were compelled to observe it.[83] The number of courtiers, masters of ceremonies, guards, and others, was endless. It was through them alone that access could be gained to the monarch; and they were consequently invested with titles which betokened their relation to him, being styled the king's ears, the king's eyes, etc., because no one without permission, or without their intervention, could approach his presence.[84]

The king's table also was regulated by a system of etiquette no less absolute, which, while it aimed at securing the highest enjoyment, necessarily became in the end more burdensome to the despot himself than to his guests.

As lord and owner of the whole empire, it was thought unworthy of him to taste any but the best and most costly productions of his dominions;[85] no water was fit to be drank by him but that of the Choaspes, which accordingly was conveyed in silver vessels on a multitude of waggons wherever he might journey.[86] His very salt was brought

[81] See XENOPH. *Œconom. Op.* p. 8, 29; PLUTARCH. in *Artaxerxe, Op.* ii. p. 1024; and several other passages collected by BRISSON, p. 107, etc. On adopting stationary abodes instead of a nomad life, it is common for the chiefs of such hordes to establish their residences in spots which had been the places of encampment of their tribes, and which are thus gradually converted into great cities. See the volume on the Babylonians.

[82] The expression *αἱ πύλαι* frequently occurs in the *Cyropædia*, see p. 201, and elsewhere.

[83] See above, p. 256; and compare DANIEL, i. 3, etc.

[84] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* loc. cit. Many other places have been collected by BRISSON, p. 264. The same appellations were current also among the Medes, HEROD. i. 114.

[85] ATHEN. p. 652, ex Dinone.

[86] HEROD. i. 188.

from the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the centre of the African desert;[87] his wine from Chalybon in Syria;[88] the wheat, of which his bread was made, from Æolia,[89] and so forth. Hence arose the custom, that on his progresses the best of the fruits of each country should be presented to the monarch; and on the testimony of Xenophon, there were bodies of men destined to the sole purpose of searching through his spacious dominions for whatever might add to the luxury of the royal table.[90]

Lastly. Among the pleasures of the court was accounted the chase, which was not only esteemed the highest of all amusements, but a suitable preparation for the toils of war.[91] In the end whole armies were devoted to the pursuit, and such expeditions resembled those occasionally adopted by the monarchs of continental Europe. The Persians were originally a race of hunters as well as shepherds, and one entire tribe among them, the Sagartians, who adhered to their pastoral habits in the time of Herodotus, practised in war the arts of hunting, casting a lasso round the neck of a flying enemy, as of an animal of the chase.[92] In their more advanced stage of civilization, the Persians are still characterized by their fondness for the same pursuits, and the manner in which of old they prosecuted this amusement precisely resembled that adopted by the Mongol princes.[93] A distinction was made between the chase as carried on in the park, and which constituted the favourite recreation of the monarchs and grandees of Persia, and in the open country, which was a nobler species of amusement,[94] and usually pursued in the districts abounding with game of Northern Media and Hyrcania.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES. FINANCIAL SYSTEM. SATRAPS.

As our preceding observations have been confined to the court and person of the king, it is now time to extend our regard to the conquered countries and the provinces of the

[87] ATHEN. ii. p. 67. [88] Ibid. i. p. 28. [89] STRABO, xv. p. 1061.
[90] XENOPH. in *Agesil. Op.* p. 671. [91] XENOPH. *Cyrop. Op.* p. 5.
[92] HEROD. vii. 85. [93] Compare BERNIER, loc. cit. [94] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 5, 6.

empire. The division of these, as established in the latter half of the Persian monarchy, has been already discussed in the first chapter: but the question still remains, What was their internal condition, and the nature of their administration? It may be hoped, however, that the reader has already received some information on these heads from the foregoing pages. If we reflect upon the original circumstances of the Persians, we must acknowledge that their ideas on the subjects of administration and finance could not have been very refined; and the primitive condition of the race continued to give a tinge to their institutions, notwithstanding their gradual refinement and the development of their first constitution. The forms of European government and finance could have no place in an empire founded by a nomad people; notwithstanding the difficulty which many authors, of great pretensions to an intimate knowledge of the East, have shown in liberating themselves from their European preconceptions.

"The Persians," says Herodotus, "look upon all Asia as theirs, and as the property of each successive king of Persia."[1] These few words contain the leading idea, on which all the following discussion must be grounded.

A rude people of conquerors naturally look upon the conquered countries, with all they contain, as their own; and Asiatic history presents several instances of such nations, in order to their own peaceable occupation, entirely depopulating their conquered possessions. The Persians did not fail to adopt the same plan, when no other appeared likely to answer the purpose of repressing their vassals;[2] but when their conquests became very extensive this was impracticable, and they were compelled to devise other means of securing their dominion.

We have already explained how and when these institutions were first adopted.[3] The conquered nations were compelled to pay a tribute, at first arbitrarily imposed, but under Darius reduced to an annual and regular tax, of which Herodotus has given us a full statement.[4]

[1] Herod. ix. 116.

[2] Compare the conduct of the Persians on the conquest of Ionia. Herod. vi. 32.

[3] See above, p. 218, 219.

[4] Herod. iii. 20, etc.

Important as this document is, it has nevertheless given occasion to many misapprehensions. The tribute in money has been treated as the only, or, at all events, the principal revenue which the monarch derived from his empire; and (with the customs of Europe before their eyes) authors have imagined the existence of a public exchequer, out of which the expenses of the state were paid, the armies maintained, and the public officers remunerated, etc.[5] Such a mode of proceeding was, however, utterly unknown in the East. The Persian public officers received no appointments in the European sense of the word; the tribute in question furnished nothing more than the private revenue of the king, and, besides his own expenses, was applied to no public purposes whatever, unless, perhaps, to that of conferring presents.

As the end of a financial system adopted by a nation of conquerors must be different from that of all others, so also must the internal regulations belonging to such a system.

The end in question is no other than that of obliging the conquered nations (whose land is esteemed the property of the conquerors) to pay for every thing, and provide for the maintenance of the king, the court, and, in some sense, of all the nation.

Herodotus tells us that, independently of the tribute, the whole Persian empire was divided into portions for the support of the king and his army, or his suite; each district being obliged to provide for a certain period.[6] In consequence of this arrangement the payments from the provinces were principally made in the fruits and natural productions of the earth; exacted with a reference to the fertility of each soil, and its natural advantages. The best of every country was considered as the property of the king, and was delivered to him by the rulers of the provinces;[7] and as by these

[5] Even a recent author who designs to give an account of the statistics of Persia adheres to this opinion. How else could he argue against the veracity of Herodotus from the fact that the treasury of Xerxes would be inadequate to maintain his forces? Wahl, *Geschichte Pers. Einleit.* p. 12.

[6] Herod. i. 192.

[7] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 202; compare Strabo, p. 1086. The payments in money appear to have been usually collected from the maritime states, while those in kind were made from the provinces of the interior. In this way Media alone contributed annually one hundred thousand sheep, four thousand horses, etc.; and the same is related of Cilicia, Armenia, and other countries. Cf. Strabo, p. 797; Herod. iii. 90; Xenoph. *Anab. Op.* p. 333.

means provisions of all sorts were accumulated at the royal residence from every quarter of the empire, there necessarily reigned there an abundance and luxury which corrupted the morals of the court, and introduced those habits of waste and sensuality for which the Persians were so notorious.

Not only, however, was the king's court to be maintained, but also those of the satraps of each province, which were modelled on that of their master: their suite was often no less numerous, and they kept up a state which often exceeded their income; and as the wants of the monarch were supplied from all parts of his empire, so were theirs from every part of each department. Particular spots were appointed to provide particular necessaries or luxuries, and Herodotus tells us that Masistius, satrap of Babylon, reserved no less than four considerable villages of Babylonia for the support of his Indian hounds.[8]

To these burdens was added the maintenance of the king's troops, which were quartered in large corps through all the provinces, and which (as will be shown in the next section) were paid, not out of the king's private chest, or from the provincial tribute, but by the provinces they occupied.

With these contributions in kind were reckoned the payments in specie, or rather the tributes in uncoined gold and silver, of which Herodotus has afforded us his well-known statement.[9] Whether these were collected by way of a poll-tax, or an income-tax, or in whatever other way, the historian does not inform us, but he assures us that they amounted annually to fourteen thousand five hundred talents. The gold and silver thus collected (the Indians alone paying their tribute in gold) was stored up in ingots, of which the king made use as he found occasion.[10]

We may, however, readily suppose that the sums set down by Herodotus did not always continue the same. The

[8] HEROD. l. c. [9] HEROD. iii. 20, etc.

[10] Ibid. iii. 96. Before the time of Darius Hystaspis the Persians had no coinage of their own; and the daricus first struck by him was properly a medal (HEROD. iv. 166) of the finest gold. Such also was the origin of the gold coinage of the Sofis of the later Persian empire. CHARDIN, ii. p. 127. When the darics became current, especially after the mercenary troops were paid in them, their numbers must have been greatly augmented. Yet Strabo assures us that coin was by no means abundant among the Persians, and their gold was rather employed in decoration than as a circulating medium. STRABO, p. 1068.

mighty armaments undertaken by the Persian government, especially under Xerxes, called for extraordinary expenses, and necessitated an augmentation of the imposts, as is expressly mentioned.[11] When mercenary troops came to be a part of the Persian establishment, an augmentation of the tribute was a necessary consequence.

Nor were the sums of which the satraps drained the provinces comprehended in those already enumerated. The satrap of Babylon alone received every day more than an Attic medimnus full of silver,[12] which on a moderate computation made up a revenue of more than £100,000 sterling, and the sum paid to the king from the same province amounted to about twice as much.

The conclusion deducible from all this is, that the sums enumerated by Herodotus by no means comprehended all that the provinces had to furnish, but only what the satraps paid over to the king's exchequer.

These imposts were extended over the whole empire, Persis alone excepted:[13] immunity from tribute being a natural privilege of the victorious nation.

To these principal sources of public revenue were added others, founded partly in the peculiar character of the country, partly in the nature of its constitution.

To the first class belongs the revenue derived from the rights of irrigation. Persia is a very arid country, and, with the finest climate, its fertility depends in consequence on the supply of water. In ancient, as well as modern times, this has furnished its rulers with a pretext for exacting contributions from their subjects,[14] of which Herodotus records a remarkable example. One of the most fertile portions of the country was divided by the river Aces into five distinct branches or arms, which extended up into the mountains; among these mountains the kings of Persia caused to be erected mighty embankments, in order to keep in their own power the water of the river, and employed this power to extract from their subjects an additional tribute.[15]

Another source of revenue to the royal treasury was the

[11] HEROD. vii. 7; STRABO, loc. cit. [12] HEROD. i. 192.

[13] Ibid. iii. 97. [14] See the account given by CHARDIN, ii. 346.

[15] HEROD. iii. 117. We have already remarked that this appears to be the modern Khieva.

right of fishing in the canal which connects the lake Mœris with the Nile. During the six months that the water flowed into the lake, the revenue amounted to a talent each day, during the remaining six, to twenty minæ.[16]

In addition to these, the confiscations of the property of satraps and other grandees was a considerable source of revenue; in Persia, as in all despotic states, the loss of life being accompanied by the forfeiture of property.[17]

The free-will offerings, however, as they were styled, which were presented to the king, were probably still more considerable. It was the universal custom of the East for none to present himself before a superior, more especially the king, without a present. The grandees of the court (the satraps for instance) sought in this manner to purchase or retain the king's favour, but on certain solemnities, (particularly on the king's birthday,) such offerings flowed in from all parts of the empire.[18] These consisted not so much in money, as in rarities and valuables of every description, such as are delineated on the ruins of Persepolis. What treasures must on such an occasion have been accumulated out of the immense empire of Persia!

Such an arrangement with respect to the public revenue shows at the outset that the expenditure also must have been no less peculiar.

We have already remarked, that we must dismiss the idea of any thing like a public treasury, out of which the servants of the state were regularly paid, an arrangement equally unknown in ancient as in modern Persia.

All the expenses which could be characterized as public, such as the maintenance of armies, etc., are not met by the resources of the king's exchequer, but previously provided for in the provinces. The king's treasure remains a private chest for his personal use, from which he takes what he wants for the purpose of making presents, not in coin, but in ingots, or in vessels of gold;[19] even the expenses of the court and household not being provided for out of it, but defrayed in the two following ways.

[16] Herod. ii. 149.

[17] An example occurs in the punishment of Orœtes, Herod. iii. 128.

[18] Plato, *Op.* ii. p. 121. Compare what has been already offered respecting the relievos at Persepolis.

[19] Herod. iii. 130.

All the inferior attendants in the court, including the body-guard, which in Europe would receive pay, were not paid in specie at the court of Persia, but in produce;[20] and to this purpose were devoted the provisions of which such abundance was transmitted from the different provinces, and which more than sufficed for the consumption of the court.

On the other hand, all of a more elevated rank, the great officers of the court, the friends or kinsmen of the king, who on account of their birth or offices might aspire to favours or pensions, did not receive any thing in money, but were rather in assignments of towns or cities, which the king disposed of at his pleasure, in virtue of his title as sole proprietor of the chattels and lives of his subjects; as the autocrat of all the Russias was in the habit of making a present of some thousands of serfs.[21] The individual to whom

[20] The principal passage on this subject is in Athenæus, iv. 146, taken from an ancient author, Heraclides of Cumæ. The reader may not be displeased to find it here entire, though only the last words have reference to the present chapter.

"Those who wait on the king at table, being always freshly washed and handsomely dressed, pass nearly half the day in preparing his repast. As for the king's guests, some of them dine without, in a place where all may see them, others in the interior of the palace in his presence. Even these, however, do not properly dine with him, for there are two apartments over against one another, in one of which dines the king, and in the other his guests. The king sees them through the curtain at the door, but they cannot see the king. On solemn occasions, they sometimes dine all together in the great hall. When the king gives a banquet (which happens frequently) only twelve guests are invited. When the king and his guests provide severally their own dinners, the latter are called in by a eunuch, and when they are all assembled they drink wine with him, but not the same wine; they are seated on the floor, the king on a chair with golden feet, but it is usual for them to quit his presence intoxicated. Generally, "however, the king dines alone, his consort" (as in the history of Esther) or one of his sons is occasionally admitted to his table, and damsels from the harem are accustomed to sing before him. The banquet of the king has the appearance of being very splendid, though in fact there reigns a great economy, as in the meals of the grandees also of Persia. A thousand victims are slaughtered every day for the service of the palace, consisting of horses, camels, oxen, asses, but especially sheep; together with a great abundance of fowls. A separate mess is set before every one of the king's guests, and he takes away what he does not eat. By far the greater portion however of these victuals, as well as the bread, is destined to support the household of the court, the guards, etc., and is carried out to them in the courts, both bread and meat, where they receive it in rations. For as the mercenary troops among the Greeks are paid in money, so are the king's soldiers in food. The same is the case in the households of the grandees of Persia, and those of the governors of cities and provinces."

[21] For what follows I must refer to the excellent account of Chardin, vol. iii. 352, etc. It is astonishing how completely the same customs appear on comparison to have prevailed in the court of Xerxes, and that of the Sofis.

such an assignment was made received the revenue of the place in question, and the king possessed accurate accounts of their value, so as to regulate the distribution of his favours.[22] Nevertheless the person thus favoured appears to have been obliged to make over a part of his income to the king in the way of tribute.[23] With individuals of the highest rank, the mother or consort of the monarch, luxury had attained such an excess, that a variety of places were assigned them to provide severally for even the most insignificant of their wants. In this manner a fruitful district, a day's journey in length, was allotted to furnish the queen's zone;[24] and thus Themistocles received the city of Magnesia, producing a revenue of fifty talents, to supply him with bread, Lampsacus to furnish wine, and Myus the side dishes of his table.[25]

Besides these allotments of villages and cities, it was usual also to assign, in like manner, houses and lands in the provinces; and donations of this kind were usually coupled with offices at the court, an institution ascribed to Cyrus himself, and which descended to after ages.[26]

Those possessed of such assignments enjoyed them for their lives; on their decease their places and possessions reverted to the king, to dispose of according to his pleasure. Without such an arrangement it would have been impossible for the boundless empire of Persia itself to have sufficed to supply the liberality of the monarch, exercised as it was towards so large a number, and compelled also to provide for many expenses. Nevertheless the possessions attached to places at court became, according to Xenophon, hereditary, and constituted the patrimony of those whose ancestors had been first appointed to the same by Cyrus.[27] Among a people whose constitution, like that of the Persians, was entirely dependent on descent and distinctions of tribe, it was natural that offices should become hereditary,[28] and an immediate consequence that the revenues attached to them should follow the same rule.

The same thing is true also of Eastern Persia. See ELPHINSTONE, 524. In almost every case remuneration is made there also in the way of payments in kind, or assignments on the part of the court, denominated *Tokuls*.

[22] A variety of examples confirmatory of this custom have been collected by BRISSON, p. 209, etc.

[23] This appears from the example of Tissaphernes, XENOPH. *Op.* p. 244.

[24] PLAT. *Op.* ii. p. 123; cf. CICERO, *in Verrem.* iii. c. 83.

[25] THUCYD. i. 138; cf. STRABO, xiv. p. 943; and DIOD. i. p. 447.

[26] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 230.

[27] Ibid. loc. cit.

These preliminary observations will help us to comprehend the internal administration of the provinces. As the very division into provinces was for the purpose of collecting with greater accuracy the tribute, the political administration of the satrapies connected therewith was not matured at once, but gradually developed. As the age of Xenophon may be considered on the whole the most flourishing period of Persian history, we shall be less likely to err if we confine ourselves to the evidence which he has afforded.

The government by satraps, which was then complete, was common to Persia with other despotic empires; but as it entailed a multitude of abuses, attempts were made as much as possible to mitigate them.

The advantage which, in this particular, the Persian system of administration possessed over all others of the same kind, was the careful separation made between the civil and military powers; the exceptions which occurred in the latter ages of the empire having grown out of abuses. According to Persian ideas the king had a twofold duty to perform, of providing for the security, and also for the good government and cultivation, of his empire: to secure the former object, garrisons were established throughout its whole extent; and the civil authorities[29] were appointed to provide for the latter.

The foundation of this beneficial arrangement was laid at the very commencement of the empire, by the appointment of receivers of the royal treasury, together with that of commanders of the forces, and the same continued after the provinces came to be more accurately divided, and satraps to be created. Xenophon gives us the most satisfactory proof of this, when he records the first nomination and appointment of satraps, which, as he tells us, were first made by Cyrus.[30]

"You know," he is introduced saying to his friends, "that I have left garrisons and their commandants in the

[28] The same is the case with the modern Persians, CHARDIN, iii. 325.

[29] See for what follows, XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 829.

[30] XENOPH. CYROP. *Op.* p. 230.

conquered countries and cities, to whom I have given in charge to attend to nothing else but their security. Together with these I shall also appoint satraps who may govern the inhabitants, receive the tribute, pay the garrisons, and attend to all other necessary points of business." This institution continued uninterrupted for a long period, and the satraps are repeatedly mentioned in history together with the commandants of troops.[31] However, in the later ages of the Persian monarchy, it became the custom to appoint the satraps to the command also of the king's troops, more especially when they happened to be individuals of the royal family. In this manner the younger Cyrus was satrap of Mysia, Phrygia, and Lydia, and at the same time generalissimo of all the forces assembled in the plain of Castolus.[32] The same we find to have been the case with Pharnabazus and others, so much so, that even in the time of Xenophon it had become customary for the satrap of a province to be also commander of the forces there;[33] more especially in the frontier provinces, where such a union of powers was more especially necessary.[34] The pernicious effects of this practice, and its tendency to promote revolt among the satraps, and to prepare the way for the internal dissolution of the empire, are sufficiently proved by the single example of the younger Cyrus. Notwithstanding, however, this abuse, it is not true that a military government was introduced in the provinces, for the other civil officers continued to be independent of the commanders of the forces, and the latter were not allowed to take any part in the civil administration. Xenophon tells us that the satraps were intrusted with the surveillance of the commanders of the troops as well as over the civil magistrates; the king of Persia appointing persons of both descriptions commanders of the forces, and also magistrates to govern the country, the one class being bound to pay deference to the other.[35]

[31] See HEROD. v. 25; ARRIAN. ii. 2.

[32] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 267. [33] Ibid. p. 829.

[34] In modern Persia, also, the military commanders (sardars) are distinct from the civil authorities. They hold their offices as military men, and consequently pay no tribute; but in time of war they are obliged to levy troops and defend the frontier. This is the case with the governor, or rather prince, of Erivan, who has also assumed some of the insignia of royalty. (PORTER, i. 202.) This throws a light also on ancient Persian history. In like manner Cyrus bequeathed at his death Bactriana, or the eastern provinces, to his younger son free from tribute. CTESIAS, *Pers.* 8. The same, undoubtedly, was also often the case in Asia Minor, as in the instance of the younger Cyrus.

The first duty of the satraps and their deputies (ὕπαρχοι)[36] undoubtedly was the collection of the revenue, whether in kind or in money; their office, however, was not limited to this, but they were at the same time commissioned to promote agriculture and the improvement of the soil;[37] and the remarkable attention which was devoted to these objects constitutes the chief merit of the Persian administration. The code of Zoroaster, as has been already remarked,[38] insisted upon the duty of cultivating the soil, by gardening, rearing of cattle, and tillage, as one of the most sacred duties of his disciples, every thing impure being banished from the land where his law was received, and nothing allowed there but pure men, pure animals, and pure vegetables. This idea of the legislator, when applied to a whole empire, presents, doubtless, a magnificent picture, which, though it must needs remain for the most part an ideal picture, was nevertheless, to a great extent, realized under the Persian monarchy. Those parks or paradises, which surrounded not only the palaces of the monarch, but those of his satraps, were so many lively images of the pure kingdom of Ormuzd, realized as far as was possible by the most illustrious of his servants. When the younger Cyrus led the admiring Lysander through his pleasure-grounds, and displayed their regularity and beauty, "All these," he informed him,[39] "I have myself planned, and even planted many of the trees with my own hands;" and when the Spartan general replied by an incredulous glance at his splendid robes, and chains, and armlets of gold, he sware to him by Mithras, as a good servant of Ormuzd, that he never tasted food till he had fatigued himself by labour.

These precepts, therefore, of their religion made it the sacred duty of the rulers of the provinces to further the cultivation of their several districts; and as the military establishment underwent a review every year, so also did the civil

[35] XENOPH. loc. cit.

[36] The Grecian name ὕπαρχοι denotes sometimes the satraps themselves; sometimes the intendants under them, otherwise termed οἰκονόμοι. JOS. *Ant.* xi. 6.

[37] See XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 829. [38] See above, p. 242, sqq.

[39] XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 830.

department. Xenophon tells us, that "The king visited every year some part of his empire, and wheresoever he was not able to proceed himself he sent a delegate for the same purpose. Those magistrates in whose territory the ground was found to be well cultivated, and covered with trees or crops, had an augmentation of territory allotted to them by the king, and are rewarded with presents; and those whose provinces were found to be ill cultivated and depopulated, whether through neglect or in consequence of oppression, were rebuked and deprived of their command, and others appointed in their place."[40]

If these institutions had not been broken down by the abuses which hastened the fall of the Persian monarchy, they would have formed a considerable set-off against all the inevitable evils which accompany despotic governments. However considerable might be the expense occasioned by the maintenance of the king, his satraps, and forces, it cannot have been oppressive in countries blessed with such singular fertility, where the imposts were chiefly paid in kind, so long as wise enactments for the cultivation of the soil tended to lighten these burdens; but the extravagance and luxury of the great, and their frequent revolts and intestine wars, caused these sage laws to fall into disuse, and frustrated the benevolent intentions of the Median legislator.

The disposal of the government of provinces rested with the king, who usually appointed kinsmen of his own, his brothers, or his sons-in-law.[41] The court of the satrap was formed on that of the monarch, and all its ceremonial the same, only less magnificent. The satraps also had their harems, intrusted, like that of the monarch, to eunuchs, and a numerous attendance of household troops, distinct from the king's soldiers, and consisting in part or altogether of Persians:[42] their residences, like those of the monarch, were surrounded by parks; and occasionally, in the finer months of the year, they (like the monarch) migrated from one place to another, attended by their courts, and spent the summer under tents.[43]

[40] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 828. [41] Ibid. p. 664.

[42] Orœtes, the satrap of Mysia and Phrygia, had a thousand Persian guards about him. Herod. iii. 128. Tritantæchmus, the satrap of Babylon, had no less than eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, without counting his war-horses. Herod. i. 192.

[43] See the example of Astabazus, in Xenoph. *Op.* p. 509, 510.

History has afforded us a remarkable instance of the manner in which the imposts were collected by these officers. When the Persians had subdued Ionia the second time, the whole territory was measured out by parasangs, and the tribute apportioned accordingly.[44] In this case it was evidently a land-tax, which, however, was paid, it is probable, for the most part in produce. The satrap received these imposts, whether in kind or in money, and after providing for his own expenditure, the support of the king's troops, and the maintenance of the civil magistrates, the remainder was handed over to the king. The personal interest of the satrap, if he wished to retain the king's favour, prompted him to make this return as considerable as possible, even if no precise amount was fixed.

To take care of the king's interests there were also attached to the court of each satrap royal scribes,[45] to whom were issued the king's commands, and by whom they were communicated to the satrap. The commands thus conveyed required the most prompt obedience, and the smallest resistance was accounted rebellion. Even the suspicion of any thing of the kind was sufficient to cause their ruin, and, as in the Turkish empire, their punishment was unaccompanied by any formality whatever. The sovereign despatched an emissary, who delivered the order for the execution of a satrap to his guards, who put it in execution by hewing him down upon the spot with their sabres.[46]

To further the speedy communication with the provinces, a system was adopted which has been compared, but very improperly, with the European institution of posts. Messengers were appointed at different stations, distant from each other a day's journey, for the purpose of conveying the king's mandates to the satraps, and the despatches of the latter to the court.[47]

[44] Herod. vi. 42. [45] Ibid. iii. 128.

[46] See the interesting account of the punishment of Orœtes under Darius Hystaspis, as given by Herodotus, iii. 126, etc. Another example is that of Tissaphernes, who, after the overthrow of the younger Cyrus, was restored to his lands. Notwithstanding this favour, Artaxerxes sent a plenipotentiary (Tithraustes) with orders to bring back his head. Xenoph. *Op.* p. 501.

[47] Herod. viii. 98; cf. Xenoph. *Op.* p. 232. The institution was termed by the Persians *ἀγγαρήϊον*. It cannot be compared with our posts, as it was exclusively intended for the use of the court alone. A similar arrangement still remains in modern Persia. Morier, i. 269.

Institutions of this kind are peculiarly essential to despotic governments, in which it is excessively difficult to maintain the dependence of the prefects or governors, and occur in almost every one which possesses any thing like an internal organization. The same existed under the Roman monarchy, and was established, at still greater expense, in the empire of the Mongols, by the successors of Ginghis-khan.[48]

Another plan was also adopted by the Persian monarchs for securing the allegiance of their satraps. A commissioner at the head of an army was sent every year, with authority, according to circumstances, to uphold or chastise those officers; and Xenophon assures us that this custom, which dated from the commencement of the empire, subsisted in his time.[49] The design at first undoubtedly was, as in other kingdoms similarly governed, to collect the outstanding tribute, but when we consider the power and arrogance of the satraps during the latter half of the Persian monarchy, we may well believe that the custom may have died away.

We have already described in general the causes of the presumption of the satraps and the revolts to which it led.[50] Besides the union in their persons of the civil and military powers, one main cause was the greatness of the command intrusted to some by joining together two or more satrapies. An example of this, and of the arrogance to which it gave rise, occurs as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspis in the person of Orœtes, who was at the same time satrap of Phrygia and Lydia;[51] and in succeeding reigns this practice became still more frequent, especially in the case of the satrapies of Asia Minor. Cyrus the younger was governor of the greater part of that peninsula, and, after his death, Tissaphernes was allowed to hold the governments possessed by him in addition to those which had been all along his own.[52]

From this period Persian history continues to present a constant picture of the perpetually increasing arrogance of these viceroys, who sometimes openly revolted, and sometimes, with the title of satrap, set themselves up as independent sovereigns.[53] Several of them were, in fact, the founders of monarchies, which, like those of Cappadocia, Pontus, and others, gradually became more or less independent. The combinations and dissensions of these governors among themselves contributed to keep alive a spirit of insubordination, which was promoted by the effeminacy and corruption of the court. They began to treat their provinces, not as districts committed to their care, but as territories, the revenues of which they were to enjoy; and as early as the time of Xenophon, we find a satrap of Mysia arbitrarily nominating a vice-satrap, to whom, on payment of a tribute, he committed the management of his province, and after his death, continued the same to his widow, on security being given of the payment of his revenues.[54] Such arbitrary measures must have gradually destroyed the internal structure of the empire, and the slightness of the adherence of its several parts is effectually proved by the history of its fall.

[48] See a highly interesting account of Marco Polo, in the collection of Ramusio, vol. ii. p. 30.
[49] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 232.
[50] See above, p. 228.
[51] Herod. iii. 127.
[52] Xenoph. *Op.* p. 480.
[53] Tissaphernes and the younger Cyrus were at war with one another previous to the expedition of the latter, and their enmity was viewed with satisfaction by the court. Xenoph. *Op.* p. 480.
[54] Xenoph. *Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 482.

IV. MILITARY AFFAIRS OF PERSIA.

In the case of a conquering nation, the institutions of war are so intimately mixed up with its constitution that, even in a work principally devoted to the arts of peace, the former cannot be entirely passed over. This is still more indispensable from the circumstance that the peculiar character of oriental warfare has given occasion to many erroneous ideas.

The military expeditions undertaken by a nomad nation, such as the Persians once were, are, in their origin, migrations, for the purpose of occupying better and more fruitful spots. Hence the custom of removing at the same time their wives and children and all their movable possessions, which invariably encumbered the march of such armaments. Xenophon expressly tells us that this was the practice of

most Asiatic nations,[1] and that it was an old Persian custom would appear from the sequel of their history.[2]

In like manner the habits of nomad nations necessarily causes such armaments to consist altogether or principally of cavalry. The first was the case with the Mongols; the last with the Persians. As the first-mentioned practice retards, so does this greatly accelerate the march of their armies. The limited nature of their wants enable them, when occasion requires, to dispense with any baggage, and the history of the Mongols affords examples of the inconceivable speed with which such armies have accomplished lengthened marches which would have driven a European army to despair.[3]

These are the fundamental points to be observed with regard to the military system of nomad nations in general and the Persians in particular; but as their civil constitution became gradually developed, so did their military institutions undergo at all events considerable modifications, although they never attained the perfection which marks those of Europe. The example of the Turkish empire continues to show with what difficulty an Asiatic, who is always half a nomad, can be inured to discipline. As this is the offspring of a sense of honour and love of country, so, on the other hand, despotism is the parent of licence and brutality, which may indeed display their energies in furious onsets, but not in deeds of cool daring like those of Europeans.

A dominion acquired by conquest can only be maintained by standing armies, and we cannot, therefore, be surprised to find the provinces of Persia constantly occupied by great masses of men, destined to keep them in subjection, as well as to defend them against a foreign invader.

Immediately upon the completion of their conquests such forces were suffered to remain in the provinces, supported not by the king but by the conquered. Examples especially occur in the frontier states, in Asia Minor, Egypt, and others, which were especially exposed to assaults from without, or where an insurrection was most to be appre-

[1] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 91.
[2] HEROD. viii. 186, 187. Not only the king, but all the chief Persians, continued to take their families with them. ARRIAN. ii. 11.
[3] See a highly interesting account of the Mongol expeditions by Marco Polo, RAMUSIO, ii. p. 151.

hended.[4] Asia Minor, however, from the commencement of the wars with Greece, became the principal depôt for the forces of Persia: it was filled with considerable bodies of men which could be readily drawn together when occasion required, and thus Alexander, on invading it, found there troops drawn together to oppose him on the banks of the Granicus.[5]

In the most flourishing epoch of their history the military system of the Persians was as follows.[6] In every province were kept up two descriptions of forces, those which occupied the open country, and those which kept possession of the cities, as garrisons. These were distinct, and commanded by different generals.

Of the first description of forces it was clearly defined how many, and of what class, were to be maintained in each province. The principal strength consisted in cavalry, but there were also bowmen, slingers, and heavy-armed infantry. The care of keeping up the full numbers of these forces was committed to their successive commanders, and they were supported, both as respected food and money, by the revenues of the provinces, and as these were paid into the treasury of the satrap, the latter had to provide for the pay of the soldiery. The commanders, however, of the forces, were not subject to the governors,[7] unless by special appointment. On the other hand, they appear to have been immediately dependent on the king, having been appointed by him, and deposed at his pleasure,[8] and a catalogue of such officers remaining in his hands. The annual review of the forces also, which was extended to all the empire, were not usually held by the satraps, but in the neighbourhood of the capitals, by the king himself, and in remote provinces, by persons deputed by him to hold them in his name. Great exactness was exercised on these occasions, and according to the good or bad condition of the forces, their commanders

[4] See HEROD. i. 162. For instance, in Thrace, under DARIUS, iv. 143, and vii. 58; and EGYPT, iv. 167.
[5] The Persian army was then forty thousand men strong, half infantry and half cavalry; the latter being Persians.
[6] The proofs of what follows are to be found in XENOPH. *Œcon. Op.* p. 828.
[7] If the satrap desired the services of the king's troops, he was obliged first to ask the king's permission.
[8] HEROD. vi. 43.

were applauded, and rewarded with presents, or deprived of their rank, or visited with arbitrary punishments.[9]

To these arrangements was added another, the subdivision of the empire into certain military cantons, independent of the civil administration; formed with a reference to the muster-places of the troops.[10] In this manner the forces stationed in a particular province were always collected at one point, from which the canton derived its appellation. Mention occurs of those in Asia Minor, and as the above institutions extended to the whole of the empire, and reviews were held in every province, it is to be supposed that this custom also was universal. Herodotus expressly mentions the cantons on this side the Halys, and consequently we must conclude the same to have prevailed on the other side. Of the cantons in Asia Minor, Xenophon particularizes that of which the muster-place was the plain of Castolus;[11] as that of Thymbra[12] was for the army of Syria; Herodotus also mentions the Aleius Campus in Cilicia.[13]

These troops were distributed through the provinces by thousands, and their commanders consequently denominated Chiliarchs;[14] and not only were they generally dispersed over the country, but bodies of them were posted on the boundaries, where, if the nature of the ground permitted it, the passage from one province to another was strongly fortified.[15]

It certainly remains a question what was the strength of these forces in the provinces, but the great facility with which armies were got together, proves them to have been very considerable. In Asia Minor alone Cyrus assembled above one hundred thousand men;[16] Abrocomas, who was opposed to him on his march, had three hundred thousand;[17] and the Persian army on the Granicus was forty thousand strong.[18]

From these troops the garrisons in the cities were kept

[9] XENOPH. loc. cit.

[10] They are termed by Herodotus *νομοί*, v. 182.

[11] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 243, 267.

[12] Ibid. p. 158.

[13] HEROD. vi. 95.

[14] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 828.

[15] For instance, at the defiles of Cilicia, the Persian and Cilician forces were posted over against one another. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 253.

[16] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 261.

[17] Ibid. p. 262.

[18] ARRIAN, i. 14.

entirely distinct,[19] and the importance attached by the Persians to places of strength was in proportion to the difficulty which (like all other nomad nations, who know nothing about the conduct of sieges) they had experienced in subduing them. They were looked upon as the keys of the provinces in which they were situated, and accordingly provided with ample garrisons. The troops in question were completely different from those mentioned above, not being comprehended in the military divisions alluded to, but being under commanders of their own, and not bound to appear at the general muster.[20]

Both descriptions of forces were, however, comprehended under the title of the king's army, and were distinct from the household troops of the satraps and grandees, which often amounted to several thousands.[21] By the customs of the East, every great man is attended by an armed retinue, proportioned to his rank and wealth, and as the vice-regal courts were formed upon the model of the king's, this became necessarily a part of their establishments, and the more readily, as corps of troops were a no less customary present from the monarch to his favourites than were cities.[22]

Originally, it is probable that all these troops may have been Persians, but as these gradually withdrew themselves from martial duties, their places were supplied by mercenaries, Greeks or Asiatics. As cavalry, the nomad nations to the south and east of the Caspian were preferred, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, and Sacæ. The first especially had a high character with the Persians for courage,[23] and on this account the latter kept up a good understanding with the wandering hordes of Great Bucharia, though no longer their tributaries.[24] The Greeks, however, were preferred to all the rest, and as early as the time of the younger Cyrus, not only did the flower of the army always consist of them, but, towards the end of the Persian monarchy, they

[19] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 828.

[20] Their duty was not so much to guard the cities themselves as the citadels and castles, which existed in every place of any sort of consequence. Their commanders were styled *φρουράρχοι*, and were perfectly distinct from the civil magistrates. XENOPH. loc. cit.

[21] See HEROD. iii. 127; ix. 113.

[22] HEROD. ix. 109.

[23] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 91.

[24] ARRIAN, iii. 19. These nations, thus receiving pay from the Persian government, were comprehended under the general term of allies, *σύμμαχοι*.

constituted the garrisons of all the cities of Asia Minor.[25] Before the time of the younger Cyrus, their pay amounted to a daric[26] per month, (about 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* sterling,[27]) which was augmented by Cyrus to a daric and a half. We have already remarked the fatal consequences which this custom had on the warlike temper of the Persians.

In a nation of conquerors every individual is expected to be a soldier, and among the Persians all, especially those in possession of lands, were required to be able to serve on horseback.[28] This necessitated an internal constitution of the whole empire, having for its object the military equipment of the population; and the arrangement adopted has usually been the same in all Asiatic nations, and is the simplest that could have been devised. A decimal system runs through the whole empire, and serves at the same time to mark the rank of the commander. The common people are divided into bodies of ten, having a captain of that number, after whom come the commanders of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. Officers of a higher rank are not apportioned to particular bodies of men, but form the general staff. This has been equally the case among the Mongols and the Persians,[29] and this simple arrangement made it possible for both races to assemble large armies with incredible rapidity. All that was required was a mandate from the commander of ten thousand, which was transmitted to the commanders of thousands, and hundreds, and tens, till the forces, already organized, assembled in martial array. In this manner the Mongol princes often got together, in a few days, armies of cavalry to the number of several hundreds of thousands, and we cannot, therefore, be astonished to see the same thing take place among the Persians.

The great multitude of nomad tribes which wandered on

[25] ARRIAN, i. 19. [26] XENOPH. *Op.* p. 252.

[27] Heeren says, "one ducat," but a ducat is only about 9*s.* 6*d.* or at most 10*s.* of our money. TRANS.]

[28] XENOPH. *Cyrop.* viii. *Op.* p. 241.

[29] See the places cited by BRISSON, p. 725; and for the Mongols compare MARCO POLO, *Ramusio*, ii. p. 15. The nomination of the officers depends upon the king only inasmuch as he appoints the generals, τοὺς στρατηγούς. The latter nominate the commanders of tens of thousands and thousands; and the former of these, the captains of hundreds and tens. HEROD. vii. 81. A similar institution (differing in some particulars) existed in the army of Timour. *Institutes de Tamerlain*, p. 47.

the borders of the Persian empire greatly facilitated the assembling of mighty armaments. These tribes readily engaged in such enterprises, either for pay, or allured by the hope of plunder. As the Baskirs and Calmucks follow the Russian armies, so did the Mardi, Pericanii, and others, those of Cyrus;[30] and the more widely the dominion of the Persians was extended, the greater became the number of such auxiliaries. The Persians stood the more in need of their aid, as their own cavalry was always heavy-armed. With them, as with the Parthians, both man and horse were armed in mail,[31] though, strictly speaking, this appears to have been a distinction confined to a certain number,[32] and the greater part seem to have had no defensive armour, and thus served to swell the carnage which the Greeks wrought among them after the victory of Platææ.[33]

The foregoing sections must have served to explain the way in which these forces subsisted in the provinces. Each province was obliged to furnish to the governor what was necessary to their maintenance,[34] in kind, and the governor caused what was so collected to be distributed among the soldiers.[35] Payment in money was made only to the Grecian auxiliaries, who could not otherwise have been kept together, having been accustomed to the same in their own country: the Persians were bound to serve without pay, and the nomad races of Central Asia, many of whom had never even seen coined money, were as little disposed to require remuneration in that shape as are at the present day many of the auxiliaries of the Russian armies.

In a warlike nation, a military command always confers great distinction, being often regarded as more honourable than the civil magistracies; and this was the case among the Persians. The Myriarchs (commanders of tens of thousands), and Chiliarchs (commanders of thousands), enjoyed

[30] The Mardi are mentioned as making part of the army of Cyrus by HERODOTUS, i. 84.

[31] The introduction of this custom is ascribed by Xenophon to Cyrus. XENOPH. *Op.* p. 263.

[32] HEROD. viii. 113. [33] Ibid. ix. 70. [34] See above, p. 264.

[35] This would appear from the expressions of Xenophon. Among the modern Persians the governor does not receive the payments in kind at all, but the soldiers are allowed billets upon particular villages, which are compelled to furnish them with all they want. It may be conjectured, therefore, that the same was the case among their ancestors. (CHARDIN, iii. 312, etc.)

a distinguished rank, and the officers above them, the generals, were among the most illustrious of the nation. Of the generality of these we are expressly told that they belonged to the family of the Achæmenidæ, or at all events to the tribe of the Pasargadæ,[36] or were connected by marriage with the royal house,[37] and consequently the officers of rank consisted principally of the king's kinsmen. Among these generals themselves, however, (of whom there were usually several in an army,[38]) there existed gradations of rank;[39] and if a king's son was appointed generalissimo, this was understood as equivalent to his nomination as successor.[40]

Hitherto we have confined our remarks to the troops which were regularly maintained by the Persians to defend the conquered provinces. With the exception of those raised among the Persians themselves, these appear, from what has been stated, to have consisted of mercenary troops, to the exclusion of the natives of the provinces themselves; nevertheless the latter were by no means free from all military service, but were summoned on occasions of extraordinary expeditions undertaken for the extension of the empire. On such emergencies general mandates were issued throughout all the vast dominion of Persia, the nations of the East and West were gathered together in herds, and one of the most extraordinary spectacles ensued which the history of the world has recorded, and the more deserving of our regard for the accuracy with which Herodotus has described the armament of Darius, and still more that of Xerxes.

When the Persians began their career as conquerors they adopted and always maintained the custom, that the conquered nations should swell the numbers of their host, and accompany them in their more remote expeditions.[41] When, however, their empire had become consolidated and organ-

[36] See HEROD. iv. 167; v. 32; and especially vii. 82, 88, 97. I am aware of only one instance of such a command being delegated to one of another tribe, the Maraphii (which, however, was one of the noble tribes). See HEROD. iv. 167.

[37] HEROD. v. 116. [38] Ibid. loc. cit.

[39] HEROD. v. 123, where Otanes is denominated the third in command. It is to be remarked that exactly the same system, both as regards the constitution and maintenance of the army, were adopted also by the Mongol conquerors. See *Instituts Politiques et Militaires de Timur*, p. 47, etc., and (for the modern Persians) CHARDIN, loc. cit.

[40] HEROD. vii. 2. [41] See HEROD. i. 171; iv. 87.

ized, and stretched from the Indus to the Mediterranean, the drawing together of forces so widely disseminated must have become burdened with endless difficulties, and would consequently, on occasions of minor importance, (such as slight internal disturbances, or trifling wars,) have been as futile as impossible. On extraordinary occasions, however, whether of great national undertakings for the aggrandizement of the empire, or of formidable invasions from without, the custom was revived of mustering the whole force of the empire, as is proved by the mighty expeditions of Darius Hystaspis, of Xerxes, and the last Darius.

Even the preliminary steps to such armaments were of vast magnitude. The king's mandate was addressed to all nations, and specified the number of men, horses, and ships, or the amount of provisions to be furnished by each.[42] The commotion which was excited in all Asia by the preparations made for the expedition of Xerxes, lasted for four years. Time was necessary to enable remote nations to send in their contingent.

A general rendezvous was then appointed, which, in the case of the armament just mentioned, was Cappadocia in Asia Minor.[43] Hither all the contingents of the different provinces resorted, conducted by leaders of their own race.[44] These, however, were allowed no authority in actual war, the officers being taken exclusively from among the Persians.[45] This was a privilege reserved for the conquering nation, as was the case, also, among the Mongols and Tartars. The subject nations, on the other hand, were treated as bondsmen, and termed slaves, in contradiction to the Persians, who were denominated freemen. These terms, however, only marked the comparative freedom of the nations to whom they were applied, for with reference to the king, the Persians were as little free as the other subject nations.[46]

The order of the march, as long as the army continued to traverse the dominions of the empire, was remarkable;

[42] HEROD. iv. 83; vii. 20. [43] Ibid. vii. 26.

[44] Herodotus tells us that each nation had as many commanders as they possessed cities; probably the cities were the first places of rendezvous.

[45] HEROD. loc. cit. [46] Ibid. vii. 9.

or rather, it might almost be called an absence of all order. The men were not arranged according to the nations to which they belonged, but formed one vast chaotic mass. In the centre was the king, among his Persians; and the baggage was sent on before.[47] As the troops advanced on their march, the inhabitants of the country were driven on before them, and augmented the numbers of the host,[48] which thus perpetually accumulated, and as most nations took their wives and children with them to war, the baggage must have been immense.[49] Undoubtedly the most inexplicable part of this account, is the way in which the army was supplied with provisions. In the countries through which they had to pass, magazines of corn were necessarily prepared, long before, and further supplies of the same followed the army by sea.[50] The rest of their food the forces were left to find for themselves. For the king and his suite banquets were provided long before, and with such an unbounded expense, that this alone sufficed to ruin the cities which furnished them. This also was a consequence of the idea that the monarch was the sole proprietor of all that his provinces contained, and the Persians understood this so literally as to carry away with them the costly utensils of plate which were displayed on these occasions. It is needless to say that the idea of a regular encampment could not be entertained in the case of such enormous hosts; the king and his great men had indeed their tents, but the army at large bivouached under the open heavens, the necessary consequence being a multitude of diseases.[51]

It was only on their approaching the enemy's borders that the army was classed according to the nations of which it was composed; and at the same time the host was reviewed at the king's command.[52] To this custom we are indebted for that precious document, the catalogue of the host

[47] HEROD. vii. 40.

[48] e. g. the Thracians.

[49] The multitude of the women, slaves, beasts of burden, and dogs, (says HERODOTUS,) was without number. (vii. 187.)

[50] The Phœnicians and Egyptians had been previously commissioned to store up magazines in Thrace and Macedonia. HEROD. vii. 25. The want, however, of adequate supplies compelled the king to divide his immense army into three portions. HEROD. vii. 121.

[51] HEROD. vii. 118.

[52] Ibid. vii. 118, 119.

of Xerxes, which the father of history has preserved for us.[53] This review took place just within the confines of Europe, and little as the scene may instruct the soldier, this is one of the most interesting of all the records of history to the philosophical historian. On no occasion have so many and such various races of men been gathered together, as were here assembled in one spot, in their appropriate dresses and armour, on the plain of Doriscus.[54] Herodotus has enumerated and described fifty-six, which served some on foot, some on horse-back, and others on board the fleet.[55] Here were to be seen the cotton garments of the Indians, and the Ethiopians from above Egypt habited in lions' hides, the swarthy Ballooches from Gedrosia, and the nomad hordes from the steppes of Mongolia and Great Bucharia; wild races of huntsmen like the Sagartians, who, destitute of weapons of brass or iron, caught their enemies, like animals of the chase, in leathern lassos; and besides these, the rich dresses of the Medes and Bactrians, the Libyans drawn in war-chariots of four horses, and the Arabs mounted on camels. Here also were to be seen the fleets of the Phœnicians, and the Greeks of Asia Minor, compelled to serve against their kindred. Never did despotic power create a spectacle more glorious at its commencement or more lamentable in its issue. The straits of Thermopylæ first presented to the astonished Asiatics a sight

[53] HEROD. vii. 59, 100. See above, p. 56.

[54] Situated in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus.

[55] Herodotus assures us that all these nations were originally accustomed to act as cavalry, but that the Persians only employed a certain number of them in that capacity. The difficulty of finding adequate forage must of itself have made this necessary. HEROD. vii. 84. He states the total amount of the fighting men in the army at about two millions and a half. In our own days we have seen the empire of France assemble in like manner about a million of warriors, and we cannot therefore be surprised that two millions and a half should have been collected from the vast extent of Asia, and no inconsiderable portion of Europe also. HEROD. vii. 185. The numbering of the army by tens of thousands was the customary practice on such expeditions, and adopted by Darius when he marched against the Scythians; the numbers, when thus ascertained, having been engraved on pillars. HEROD. iv. 87. The account, therefore, of the manner in which the troops were counted is no fiction, nor must the amount be considered as an exaggeration of Herodotus. Whether it was over-stated in the Persian accounts it is impossible to decide, and if any one should be inclined to think it exaggerated, he has a right to retain his opinion. As far, however, as relates to Herodotus, it is much more easy to accuse than to convict him of inaccuracy.

completely novel to them; it was to no purpose that their countless hordes were driven by the scourge [56] against a handful of Spartans; and although treachery at last conducted them over the lifeless bodies of those heroes, the names of Salamis and Platææ remained behind everlasting monuments of Grecian valour!

[56] HEROD. vii. 223.

PHŒNICIANS.

PHŒNICIANS.

The reflection, that the origin and internal government of the great Asiatic empires were nearly all alike, in a great measure consoles the historian for the scantiness of the information which has been preserved respecting the Assyrian, the Median, and other powerful monarchies. Even if our accounts of these were ever so perfect, they would scarcely afford us a picture of higher interest than the history of the Mongol states;—an endless series of warlike expeditions; of intestine wars, and the rebellion of powerful satrapies; of despotism, wholly unrelaxed, or only ceasing to reappear under some new form. How strikingly different from this is the history of the nation to whom the present chapter is devoted. The severest loss which ancient history has to mourn, a loss irreparable, is that of the destruction of the records that should inform us of the affairs, the government, and the enterprises of the Phœnicians. In proportion to the vast influence which this nation had in the civilization of mankind by its own great inventions and discoveries; (and the invention of alphabetical writing is alone sufficient to show their importance;) by its numerous colonies established in every quarter, and by its commerce extending even beyond these; the more sensibly we feel the gaps which the loss of these records leaves in the history of the human race. It is the conviction of the extent of this loss that gives the few fragments which have been preserved out of the great mass, a peculiar attraction to the historian; and though it may be impossible to compile from them a history of the Phœnicians, yet they will probably enable him to draw a tolerably faithful picture of the general character and genius of this nation in its various circumstances, and in the prosecution of its various undertakings. This object I think will be best attained by dividing the following

researches into four chapters: the first of these will relate to the peculiar nature of the country, and the condition and government of the people; the second will contain a geographical sketch of their extensive colonies; and the third and fourth, a view, founded on the foregoing, of their commerce both by sea and land.

The Hebrew and Greek writers are here again the sources from which our materials must be drawn. Had some kind chance preserved us, among the latter, the works of Dius, and Menander of Ephesus,[1] who wrote, in Tyre itself, a history of that city compiled from her own annals, how much more complete might our information have been! Of the native writers of Phœnicia, we have indeed some fragments of the celebrated work of Sanconiathon, preserved in a Greek translation among the remains of Philo of Byblus; but were these even freer from interpolations than they appear to be, they would still remain of little value to the historian, because they are the least important part of the entire works of Sanconiathon; namely, the cosmogony and theogony with which he commenced his treatise.

A writer, lately deceased, has attempted to open a new source of information respecting the geography and commerce of the Phœnicians,[2] by maintaining that the geography of Ptolemy, and the old maps of Agathodæmon, which are joined to it in the manuscripts, derive their origin from an ancient Phœnician atlas, and consequently give the most complete picture of the geography and commercial routes of that people. The principles of criticism, however, which I have prescribed to myself in the present work, have not allowed me to make an unreserved use of these, as yet unproved, discoveries. I have therefore contented myself with referring the reader to them where it appeared necessary. I have adopted this course the more readily, because, as far as they relate to Asia, the commercial routes which they lay down, although much more numerous, are, with some exceptions, on the farther side of India, the same in their general direction as those which will be found described upon my early maps of Asia, and proved from other authorities. With regard to the conjectures of the author, I have thought it most convenient to give my opinion upon them in an appendix at the end of the volume.

[1] Joseph. *Op.* p. 1042. ed. Colon. 1691. cf. Fabric. *B. Gr.* i. p. 166. The fragments of Tyrian annals, preserved in Josephus, prove that these records were purely historic, and written according to the succession of kings, in a carefully determined chronological order; and that they must not, therefore, be classed with the fabulous relations of the Egyptians and Hindoos. Besides, as upon Alexander's conquest of Tyre, the city was not destroyed, and the great temple of Hercules, in which probably they were deposited, was anxiously saved from violence, the preservation of these documents cannot be considered strange.

[2] *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*, versucht von N. H. Brehmer, M. D. Weimar, 1822. (Studies in Antiquity, by N. H. Brehmer, etc.) The first part comprises Asia, and the second, Europe: these are all that have appeared

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Internal Condition and Government of the Phœnicians.

WHO HATH TAKEN THIS COUNSEL AGAINST TYRE, THE DISTRIBUTER OF CROWNS, WHOSE MERCHANTS ARE PRINCES? ISAIAH XXIII. 8.

THE Phœnicians were a branch of the great Semetic or Aramean family of nations, which, at an epoch beyond the reach of history, occupied the extensive plains between the Mediterranean Sea and the Tigris, the most southern point of Arabia and the Caucasian mountains, and whose common descent is fully established by the use of one principal language, divided into various dialects. Much, too, in the government of the Phœnicians will appear in a clearer light by our considering them, not as a distinct people, but as composed of Syrian tribes which had settled on the coasts; and in no ancient writer are they ever found distinguished by name from them. It appears likely that they came originally from Arabia;[1] probably the native country of the Semetic tribes in general, although in other regions, according to local circumstances, they adopted a different mode of life from the one they had been accustomed to in the sandy deserts of their parent country. The migrations of rude hordes at this early period is, however, a matter of very little consequence.

Phœnicia proper, even in its most flourishing state, was one of the smallest countries of antiquity. It comprised that part of the Syrian coast extending from Tyre to Aradus, a narrow strip of land about a hundred and twenty miles in length, from north to south; and probably no where more than eighteen or twenty miles in width. This short

[1] See the inquiry in MICHAELIS *Spicileg. Geograph. Hebr. exter.* Vol. I. p. 166, etc.

line of coast, rich in bays and harbours, was covered with lofty mountains, many of which ran out into the sea and formed promontories, and whose heights, covered with forests, supplied the most valuable material in the construction of the fleets and habitations of the Phœnicians. The larger range of these mountains bore the name of Libanus, from which another branch, the Antilibanus, stretched easterly towards Syria.[2] The sea, which broke with great fury upon this rocky shore, had probably separated some of these promontories from the main land, and which, forming little islands at a small distance from the shore, are not less worthy of note than the main land itself, being every where covered with extensive colonies and flourishing cities. Thus Aradus, the most northern frontier city of Phœnicia, was built on one of these islands;[3] and opposite to it on the main land was Antaradus, which derived its name from it. About eighteen miles to the south of this stood, and stills stands, Tripolis; and at a like distance, Byblus, with the temple of Adonis; and again, further south, Berytus. Keeping along the coast, we come to Sidon at nearly the same distance; and finally, fourteen or fifteen miles further, at the extreme southern boundary of the country, was erected, upon another island, the stately Tyre, the queen of Phœnician cities. The space between these places was covered with a number of towns of less import, but equally the abode of industry, and widely celebrated for their arts and manufactures. Among these were Sarephta, Botrys, Orthosia, and others; forming, as it were, one unbroken city, extending along the whole line of coast and over the islands; and which, with the harbours and sea-ports, and the numerous fleets lying within them, must have afforded altogether a spectacle scarcely to be equalled in the world, and must have excited in the stranger who visited them, the highest idea of the opulence, the power, and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants.

Although these cities existed altogether in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, history has given us some account of the manner and time of their successive foundations. They

[2] STRABO, p. 1095.

[3] The Arvath of the Hebrews. The authorities for this and the next remark, will be found in CELLAR. *Geogr. Ant.* ii. p. 350, 374, etc.

were colonies of one another; and, like all other colonies of the ancient world, were founded either for purposes of trade, or by bodies of citizens who left their native abode in consequence of civil dissensions. The oldest of them, "the first-born son of Canaan," according to the Mosaic record,[4] was Sidon, the foundress of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians. Sidon was the parent of Tyre. In the first place, merely as a staple for her own wares; but the daughter soon waxed greater than the mother, and successfully rivalled her. In the blooming period of Phœnicia, Sidon was only the second Phœnician city in point of extent, though still rich and mighty, and secured in a great measure by her excellent harbours from ruin and decline, so long as the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians should endure.[5] Arvath was founded by another colony from Sidon, and owed its origin to a civil broil in this city, which drove the discontented party to seek a new abode.[6] Tripolis, as its name imports, was a common colony of the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus.[7]

The eldest Tyre, founded by Sidon, and situated on the main land, continued a powerful, rich, and flourishing commercial city till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian-Chaldean conqueror; against whom it had to defend itself during a siege or blockade of thirteen years;[8] but that he in reality ever took or destroyed it, as is commonly asserted, there is no historical proof.[9] During this blockade, the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge upon a neighbouring island, already furnished with numerous establishments and buildings,[10] and thus founded the island city of

[4] GEN. x. 15. cf. BOCHART et MICHAELIS ad. h. l.
[5] STRAB. p. 1097. [6] Ibid. p. 1093. [7] Ibid. p. 1094.
[8] About the year B. C. 600.
[9] See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 710. The capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar is confirmed by no Phœnician or Greek writer; it rests upon the prophecy of Ezekiel alone, c. xxvi.; but a later oracle of the same prophet, xxix. 18, shows that the attempt to subdue it failed. The total silence of historians upon this subject is expressly referred to by HIERONYMUS, *ad Ezech.* xxvi. 7, who rests the capture entirely upon the authority of the oracle; as do all later writers.
[10] It is a false assumption to say, that the island city of Tyre had its first rise about this time. The island afforded more security than the continent, and it will be presently shown, that it was a usual custom of the Phœnicians to settle upon islands. That the island city was much older is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, p. 325, for Psalmanasser had already besieged it about

Tyre, which, favoured by its strong position, soon equalled the parent city, and not only outlived the Babylonian and Persian empires, but continued to increase as the ancient Tyre declined. It was finally captured by Alexander, after an obstinate resistance; but he robbed it less of its ancient opulence and splendour by his arms, than by the foundation of Alexandria, which henceforth became the great seat of the commerce of the world, though Tyre did not altogether decline. In the midst of this city stood the temple of the principal deity of the Tyrians, the protecting god of the city, as its name, Melcarth,[11] signifies. This deity was called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules, though entirely different[12] from their god bearing the same name; hence the mythi of the two are often confounded. The worship of the Tyrian deity was introduced into the most distant parts of the world to which that people penetrated and founded settlements; he was honoured as the national god by the independent colonies of Tyre, who were wont to acknowledge his supremacy by solemn embassies.[13] The city

B. C. 730, at which time the Ancient Tyre, with the other cities, shook off her yoke: it must therefore at that time have been the chief city.
[11] Melcarth, *the city king*. For further information, see the learned work of CREUZER, *Symbolik*, ii. 211, etc., second edition.
[12] Herodotus, ii. 44. Although this author very properly notices this difference, yet the passage here quoted seems to imply, that this deity was called Hercules by the Tyrians themselves. But it was doubtless out of complaisance to the Greeks, that the Phœnician priests in addressing them thus named him; for his native appellation was, in all likelihood, very different. According to the accounts given by the Phœnician priests to Herodotus, 2300 years had already elapsed since the foundation of the city of Tyre, and that of the temple, which took place at the same time (about the year 2740 B. C.). This ancient temple, however, had long before been destroyed to give place to the new one constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. (JOSEPH. *contra Apion.*, *Op.* p. 1043.) It was this new temple, which stood upon the island Tyre, that Herodotus saw, about 550 years later: now, as we learn from the passage of Josephus, quoted from Menander, that Hiram took down the ancient temples of Melcarth and Astarte and built new ones; that he encompassed the great square of the city, (χώσας τὸν εὐρυχώρον,) and compelled the Tyrians to pay him the disputed tribute; we cannot well be mistaken in regarding him as the original founder of the island city of Tyre, and as having, in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants of the ancient Tyre, made it the capital. This is expressly confirmed by another passage in JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* viii. 3, 5, p. 259, 267, where it is said of Hiram, that he dwelt on an island. However this may have been, there is here a clear proof, that it was altogether in the spirit of antiquity to connect the foundation of cities with that of temples and sanctuaries; an observation more fully developed in my *Researches on Egypt*.
[13] An example of this is given by the Carthaginians, who sent an embassy at the moment that Tyre was besieged by Alexander. ARRIAN, ii. 24. Tem-

was protected by high walls of cut stone; and had two harbours, one on the north towards Sidon, the other on the south towards Egypt. The mouth of the latter could be closed by immense chains.[14]

Let us now inquire what was the internal government of these cities? What their relation with each other? Whether they formed one general confederation? or whether they remained entirely separate states, without any common tie? These questions demand our serious attention.

The remarks above made upon the nature of the country readily explain why the Phœnicians could never become a conquering nation, and the founders of a great monarchy, such as that of the Chaldeans, the Persians, and others. They must have been well satisfied, if they could protect their little territory from the invasions of such powerful Asiatic conquerors; and being, from the earliest times downwards, a people dwelling in cities,[15] they could have had no idea of taking the long marauding expeditions common to nomad nations.

In order to obtain a correct idea of the political state of Phœnicia, it is necessary to have a general notion of the rise and progress of civil government among the Syrian tribes. As far as the light of history carries us back, we every where find a number of single cities, with the territory around them, under a monarchical form of government; the sovereign power being placed in the hands of kings or princes. Examples certainly are to be met with, where some of these cities and their monarchs obtained a decided preponderance, (Damascus is at once an instance,) and assumed to themselves a degree of authority. This, however, was a kind of forced alliance, which extended no further than the exaction of tribute and subsidies in times of war, without depriving the subjected cities of their government and rulers.[16] Syria, while independent and left to itself, never became organized into one state, or one monarchy.

ples of the Tyrian Hercules were found in Gades, and upon the island of Thasos. HEROD. l. c.

[14] ARRIAN, ii. 24.

[15] They appear as such in the early times of Moses and Joshua, upon the invasion of the Israelites.

[16] Proofs of it may be found in the Jewish accounts of the kings of Damascus, and their wars: Compare I KINGS, xx. 1, etc.

Here then we trace the ground-work of the Phœnician government. This country, like Syria, never became one state; but, from the earliest period down to the Persian monarchy, was always divided into a number of separate cities, each with its little territory around it. Some writers have stated positively the precise extent of the dominions of each city. Thus Antaradus, and the territory about it, formed part of the domain of Aradus, to which it lay opposite;[17] thus Sarephta came within the dominion of Sidon;[18] etc.

Allied cities, however, were certainly frequent in Phœnicia; indeed it seems very probable, that at certain times, all the cities of Phœnicia formed one confederation, at the head of which stood originally Sidon, and afterwards Tyre. Even as early as the Mosaic period, alliances among these cities were common;[19] the necessity of their common defence from foreign attack, which separately they were too weak to withstand, must naturally have led to this system. Neither were these confederations confined to Phœnicia alone; they prevailed also in the countries colonized by the Phœnicians; and Carthage in Africa, as well as Gades in Spain, stood at the head of the settlements in these districts, without, however, obtaining a complete authority over them.[20] A common religion, the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, the national and colonial deity, formed likewise a bond of union for all these cities, both of the mother country and the colonies, and strengthened and preserved the connexion between them.

It is the nature, however, of all such confederations, to be liable to frequent changes; they vary indeed according to the political interests, and even the power and views of the separate states. Many changes of this kind must have arisen in this quarter, by the foundation and growing prosperity of the inland colonies; and many modifications must have taken place as these acquired sufficient strength to assume a kind of independence of the parent states. In the present case, in which we shall confine our observations to the flourishing period of Tyre,—that is, the period from Solomon to Cyrus, or at least Nebuchadnezzar,—it will be

[17] STRABO, p. 1093. ARRIAN, ii. 13.

[18] I KINGS, xvii. 9, 10.

[19] JOSHUA, ii. 1—5.

[20] See *Researches on the Carthaginians.*

sufficient to show that Tyre, in the sense just stated, was always the dominant city of Phœnicia.

This may be inferred, in the first place, from the description given of Tyre by the prophet Ezekiel. Sidon and Arvath were at this time her allies, and supplied their contingents of soldiers and sailors.[21] This being proved of the largest and most distant city of Phœnicia, no doubt can be well entertained respecting the smaller and nearer.

Besides, the subjects and allies of Tyre, and their revolts against the capital, are more than once expressly spoken of in history. The most striking proof of this is preserved in Josephus, from the works of Menander. For when king Salmanasser undertook his expedition into Western Asia and against Phœnicia, the allied cities, Sidon, Old Tyre, Acre, and many others, revolted against the Tyrians, and submitted to the king of Assyria. They went so far indeed as to fit out a fleet against them, which was defeated by the Tyrians, who thus secured themselves from further danger.[22]

By comparing these fragments of Phœnician history and its government with the accounts that are left us respecting the state of Carthage, we obtain something more than bare historical conjecture, as we find a striking similarity between the government of the mother country and the colonies. What Tyre was towards Sidon, Arvath, Tripolis, etc., Carthage was towards Utica, Leptis, Adrumetum, and other cities. It not only seems quite natural, that in cities inhabited by one people, and so frequently called upon to struggle against their common and powerful enemies, alliances should be formed, and by alliances a kind of authority be conceded to the mightiest; but it is also consonant with the whole tenor of ancient history, that colonies should adopt the government of the mother state.

It may be concluded then from these facts, that the Phœnician cities formed together one confederation: at the head of which, in the period of their greatest splendour and perfect independence, stood Tyre. At the time of their subjection to Assyria and Persia, the bond that connected

[21] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 8, 11.

[22] JOSEPH. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14. *Op.* p. 306. This also explains the resistance which Tyre always made against the most famous conquerors, even Alexander himself, when the other Phœnician cities voluntarily submitted. The latter were oppressed while Tyre ruled.

them necessarily became loosened, the other cities paid their tribute and furnished their contingents to Persia instead of to Tyre; the latter, however, still preserved its rank, and was always considered the chief city of the land.

The second question, namely, *What was the internal government of the Phœnician cities?* is equally difficult and obscure.

However desirable it may be to trace out accurately the gradual rise and progress of civic government in these, the earliest commercial cities, want of information limits us to a few general observations.

First, then, there can be no doubt but that each Phœnician city had its own proper government, and that in this respect they were perfectly independent of each other. They always appear so, as the following pages will evince, upon every occasion, and in every period of their history; being never spoken of but as separate states.

Secondly, It seems equally certain, that the chief authority was placed in the hands of kings, and certainly of hereditary kings, although political parties many times fomented revolutions by which new families were raised to the throne. This is especially shown by the history of Tyre; a catalogue of whose kings is extant in Josephus, from the time of Hiram, the contemporary of David, till the siege of the city by Nebuchadnezzar.[23] Even under the dominion of the Persians, the royal dignity was preserved; though the monarchs were now only tributary princes, obliged to furnish money and ships to the Persians, and to attend them, when required, in their military expeditions. The kings of Tyre appear in this state in the expedition of the Persians against Athens,[24] and even as late as the overthrow of Persia and the capture of Tyre by Alexander.[25] As Tyre had its proper kings, so also had the other Phœnician cities, Sidon, Aradus, and Byblus.[26] These are mentioned in various periods, and even as late as the Macedonian conquest.

Thirdly, Notwithstanding the existence of the royal

[23] JOSEPHUS *contra Apion.* i. *Op.* p. 1043.

[24] HERODOTUS, viii. 67. The kings of Sidon and Tyre formed part of Xerxes' council of war; the former taking precedence of the latter, at the command of Xerxes. Was this merely personal? or according to the rank of the cities, among whom Sidon, as the parent city, stood at the head?

[25] ARRIAN, ii. 24.

[26] Ibid. ii. 20.

dignity, the government was certainly not despotic; nay, the monarchical power was so strictly limited as to render it almost republican. It was indeed well-nigh impossible that despotism could have endured for so many centuries in commercial states, which can only thrive in the atmosphere of political liberty. A large maritime commerce requires a spirit of enterprise and resolute activity altogether incompatible with despotic government. Even the repeated political changes which took place in all these cities, and more particularly in Tyre; as well as the continual departure of colonies and their settlement in distant parts of the world; are circumstances which not only could not have been brought forth by despotism, but are the legitimate offspring of free nations. Many particulars which warrant this conclusion may still be found in Phœnician history, notwithstanding the general scantiness of its information.

Next to the kings stood the Phœnician magistrates.[27] These conjointly sent ambassadors.[28] Indeed, at certain periods, a general congress of the great Phœnician cities was wont to be held, when the kings in council with the synedrims, deliberated upon the common affairs of the confederacy.[29] Tripolis was the place destined for the common assembly of the three principal cities.

Besides this, there is no question but the authority of the monarchs was very essentially limited by religion. The priests in these states formed a numerous and powerful class, and seem to have stood next in rank to the kings. Sicharbas, or Sichæus, the chief priest of the principal temple, was the husband of Dido, and brother-in-law to king Pygmalion. His persecution and death by the latter, gave rise to those serious commotions which ended in the emigration of that numerous colony which founded the city of Carthage. The political influence of the Phœnician priests of Baal among the Jews, which caused a revolution in the

[27] ARRIAN, ii. 24, who calls them τοὺς ἐν τέλει. [28] ARRIAN, ii. 15.

[29] DIOD. ii. p. 113. As when a council was held respecting the revolt from the Persians. Even the very circumstance that some of the Tyrian kings, as for example Pygmalion, were named tyrants, seems to prove that they should not all be considered such. There is mention, too, of a time when the kingly dignity was entirely banished from Tyre, and its place supplied by that of suffetes. This was after the ineffectual siege of Nebuchadnezzar. JOSEPH. *Op.* 1046.

state, is sufficiently well known.[30] Among a people like the Phœnicians, where every thing so much depended on sanctuaries and religion, the priesthood could scarcely fail to have a large share in the government, though we are not in a situation to determine precisely its extent.

The prophet Ezekiel, in his prophecy against the king of Tyre, gives us a somewhat deep insight into the power of the prince of that city. He pictures him as a powerful prince, living in great splendour; but still as the prince of a commercial city, which by its trade filled his treasury. As a prince encouraging and protecting commerce by his wisdom and policy; but which, in the end, degenerating to craft and injustice, he is threatened with the punishment of his misdeeds. "With thy wisdom and with thy understanding," he cries out, "hast thou gotten thee riches; with gold and silver hast thou filled thy treasury by means of the greatness of thy commerce. Full of wisdom sealedst thou great sums; thou dwelt in a garden of God, ornamented from thine infancy with precious stones, clothed with fine garments. But traffic has enriched thee with ill-gotten wealth, and thou hast sinned."[31] From this remarkable passage it may at least be gathered, that the revenue of the Tyrian kings, and without doubt that of the princes of the other cities also, was derived from commerce; but whether from the customs, or, which seems more probable, from a monopoly of some of the branches of trade, or from both, cannot be decided.

These few observations contain the sum of what information is left us concerning the internal government of these mighty cities; and even of these few, some are only conjectures. We are rather better instructed respecting their foreign relations and colonies, and these we shall now proceed to investigate.

[30] How numerous they were appears from 1 KINGS, xviii. 22.

[31] EZEKIEL, xxviii. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16. Conf. MICHAELIS's *Translation and Remarks*. Among the precious stones (verse 13) nine sorts are mentioned by name, as the onyx, carbuncle, topaz, diamond, emerald, etc.; a proof of the high pitch to which the luxury of the great of Tyre was carried in this particular.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Colonies and Foreign Possessions of the Phœnicians.

ARISE, O THOU DAUGHTER OF SIDON, TAKE THY FLIGHT TO THE ISLES OF CHITTIM. ISAIAH xxiii. 12.

ONE of the most interesting spectacles which history affords us, is the spread of nations by peaceable colonization. Despotic empires, which are only enlarged by conquest, exhibit to us no picture of this kind: the forcible transplanting of nations, a custom common to them, could never become the foundation of flourishing colonies, attended, as they at all times are, by oppression, and often by the dispersion of the captives carried away. If we look into these colonies, they will generally be found of a military cast, and intended rather, as in the Macedonian, Roman, and Russian monarchies, to guard the provinces of the empire, than for the cultivation of the land. Commercial nations, on the contrary, especially when under the auspices of civil liberty, extend their navigation to distant regions;—Phœnicians and Greeks, not less than the British and Dutch, soon discover the necessity for foreign settlements; and notwithstanding all the abuses to which they are liable, abuses which the historian cannot mistake, it is still undeniable, that not only their own civilization, but, in a great measure, the civilization of the whole human race, depend very much upon these peaceful means of advancement. The continual intercourse with their colonies enlivens and extends the knowledge of the mother states; and besides this, it infallibly promotes the development of political ideas, and what is founded upon it, the perfecting of civil government. The portion of the people separated from the parent country undergo some change in every new settlement, as the difference in the nature of the country, and favourable or unfavourable circumstances necessarily give a new direction to the mind. In such cases, where society in a manner sets out anew, many improvements are easily and necessarily made, which could scarcely be adopted where every thing is become fixed and settled; and though it generally happens that colonies copy, in the first place, the government of the mother state, yet the difference of their foreign relations, and the enlarged sphere of action which their necessities open to them, soon lead them to different views. It is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty nearly in all ages has set forth: Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had attained their highest degree of splendour; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was to form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its Zaleucus or Charondas. In this way, indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded. And thus, amid the rise and fall of empires, the advances of man in civilization, in all its multitudinous forms, is perpetuated and secured. Tyre and Sidon yielded to their fate, but they had the happiness before their fall, to see flourishing around them, in their hundreds of colonies, a numerous progeny. And though Europe should again experience the dreadful misfortune to sink under the yoke of despotism or anarchy, into the gloomy horrors of barbarism, Providence has provided for its re-birth, by scattering the seeds of its civilization over every part of the globe; exhibiting in our days the astonishing spectacle, never before displayed, of ripened civilization in one part, while in others it is yet in blossom, or only pushing forth its earliest buds.

To counterbalance these great benefits, the system of colonization has in every age been attended with disadvantages equally striking. It leads to thirst of conquest and commercial jealousy; and, unfortunately, has it not too often been the fate of nations founding colonies, to sicken of this double malady, and perish under its influence.

Thirst of conquest seems above all to be opposed to the interests of commercial states. Friendship and peace with the nations with whom they have dealings, would appear the most likely means of keeping their ports open, and of ob-

taining commodities with which to freight their vessels. But unfortunately it has never been thus; in ancient as in modern times, subjection has been the cry of the strongest, and with this upon their lips, the Carthaginians subjugated Spain; the Spaniards, America; and the British, India.

It cannot be denied, but that, in numerous instances, the blind desire of aggrandizement, or even plunder, has been the object of these conquests; but quite as often, perhaps oftener, this desire of conquest sprung out of the peaceable system of spreading the human race by colonies. In trading with distant countries, and especially with rude, uncivilized nations, these kind of settlements are indispensable to the carrying on a secure and regular commerce; but even these are almost sure to give rise to disputes, by the aggressions of one party or the other; little bickerings grow into violent disputes; these lead to open war, which only ends with the subjugation of the natives, or the destruction of the colonies.

The extent to which commercial jealousy was carried at a very early period, is shown in my Researches upon the Commerce of the Carthaginians; the Carthaginians inherited it from their ancestors, who, even in the time of Herodotus, threw all the mystery they could over their distant navigation. This rivalry led to wars whenever powerful competitors started up, such as the Carthaginians found in the Greeks. The Phœnicians, on the contrary, had the good fortune to enjoy the sea trade of the Mediterranean for centuries, without any powerful competitor. As the Greeks of Asia Minor began to acquire importance, these ancient merchants seemed rather inclined to shun, than contend with them; and they came less frequently in contact, as their principal maritime commerce lay in different regions.

So far therefore as we may judge from the information before us, the Phœnicians appear to have been less entangled in commercial wars than their descendants the Carthaginians, or the British and Dutch of modern times. Yet, that they did not keep entirely clear of war and conquest, though their circumscribed territory, fortunately for them, rendered it impossible for them to think of making large conquests;—that they had the will, though not the means, may be gleaned from numerous particulars scattered in their history. For though the extent of their population did not

allow of their raising large armies from among themselves, they very early adopted the system of carrying on their wars by means of hired troops: a system to which all commercial states have had, and always must have, recourse in their continental wars,—and one which their colonists, the Carthaginians, carried on to a much wider extent. It is not merely the relatively small number of idle and useless men, nor the facility of procuring the means of subsistence, which prevents the formation of powerful armies in such states; we must also take into account the little consideration in which soldiers are held in countries where the merchant is every thing, and especially in republics, where the hired soldier is regarded as the paid servant of the citizens.

In much the same manner, therefore, that Carthage hired troops from almost every part of Africa and Europe, did Tyre hire them from the countries of Minor and Upper Asia. The other Phœnician states also furnished their contingents, both of land and marine forces. From these states were taken the garrison of Tyre itself, to which was confided the care and security of the city. "They of Persia, of Lydia, and of Lycia were thy warriors; they hanged their shields and helmet in thee; they of Arvad were in thine army about thy walls, and kept watch before thy gates; they hanged their shields upon thy towers, and have thus made thee illustrious."[1] It is probable, however, that foreign mercenaries were only employed upon extraordinary occasions, when these states were engaged in foreign wars.

It has already been remarked, that the situation of Phœnicia rendered it impossible for its inhabitants to extend their territory in Asia by conquest; but a wide range was open to them in the neighbouring isles of the Mediterranean; and of all these none seems to have had greater attractions for them than the nearest and largest—the isle of Cyprus.[2] It is not only certain that the Tyrians established themselves in this island, but also that they made it one of their provinces; for the Cyprians rebelled against Tyre with its other subjects, when Salmanasser invaded Syria. The city of Cittium was the principal settlement of the Tyrians

[1] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 10, 11.

[2] JOSEPH. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14; cf. MICHAEL. *Spicil.* i. p. 106.

upon this island, which they named after this city,[3] as they did also the smaller islands of the Archipelago and the coasts; they still however had colonies in the other cities of the island.[4] Even afterwards, when Tyre had lost all dominion over her, Cyprus and Tyre stood in the closest alliance; and this is particularly visible in the time of Alexander, who regarded the subjugation of Cyprus, with its nine cities and their nine monarchs or chiefs, as a natural and inevitable consequence of the capture of Tyre.[5]

It is even more difficult to point out the exact relations which the Phœnicians maintained with their other colonies than it is with Cyprus. Nevertheless the fragments of their history, considered together, afford us several particulars, strikingly characteristic of the genius and policy of that people.

First. The system of extending themselves by colonization was very clearly a natural consequence of their trade, which absolutely required such settlements. But besides this, their history proves that they considered it as the surest and most convenient method of preventing disturbances and revolutions at home, which would naturally result from the disproportionate increase of population in so small, and yet so commercial a country.[6] An overgrown population is commonly the curse of large trading cities; and it is this evil in particular which renders violent revolutions so dreadful; hence its increase is necessarily dangerous, and should be guarded against. The republican states of the ancient world soon became acquainted with this evil; and the most natural remedy which presented itself to them, was to lessen

[3] There can be no doubt that כִּתִּים (Kittim) is identical with Cittium; and that it signified not only the whole island, but also the neighbouring islands and coasts, is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* i. 7. *Op.* p. 13. We learn further from CICERO, *De Fin.* iv. 20, that Cittium was a Phœnician, and not a Greek colony. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 721, etc.

[4] The authorities will be found collected in BOCHART, p. 370, etc. cf. STRABO, p. 1003. Vestiges of the Phœnician settlements upon this island still exist; one, for example, in the Phœnician epitaph discovered by M. V. HAMMER, *Topograph. Ansichten in der Levante*, p. 154.

[5] ARRIAN, ii. 17.

[6] It will be seen in the part of this work relating to the Carthaginians, that this was likewise a prevailing maxim among that people; and when the great resemblance of the colonial system of the two nations is considered, no doubt can be entertained of the Carthaginians having inherited it from the Phœnicians. But this reason is expressly stated as the cause of the foundation of Utica. JUSTIN. xviii. 4.

the number of the people by colonization. The following up of this system, and the want of foreign settlements for the purposes of trade, would at once satisfactorily account for the astonishing spread of this nation by colonies, even if their history did not show that internal commotions, notwithstanding this precaution, were the occasion of new emigrations, by forcing the weaker and discontented party to leave their country and seek a foreign abode; an example of which occurs in the history of the foundation of Carthage.

Secondly. The direction of Phœnician colonization, was from east to west along the shores of the Mediterranean. Their sea trade, from the situation of their country, could proceed in no other; and we are led by the remains of early traditions, which have been preserved from the ancient history of this people, to conclude, that this was the route pursued. For what else was that Tyrian Hercules, of whose expedition to Iberia, to make war upon the son of Chrysaor, the rich-in-gold, we have an account, if not the tutelary god, first of the mother city, then of the colonies also; and thus generally the *symbol* of the Phœnician race? And the history of his expeditions along the coasts of the Mediterranean, what is it, if not an allegorical relation of the outspread of the people by trade and navigation, and of the general civilization which resulted therefrom?

All these traditions are handed down to us through Greek poets and mythologists, and have been changed by them in various ways, and even confounded with others, in order to fit in and form part of their epic poems and narrations. But notwithstanding this, the pure mythos seems to have been preserved to us almost in its original shape by Diodorus.[7]

[7] The passage of Diodorus will be found in his works, i. p. 262, etc. The expedition of Hercules into Spain is there given as the tenth of his labours; the whole narrative of Diodorus, however, if not immediately taken from Timæus, is evidently borrowed from a Greek epic poet, who has transferred the Phœnician tradition of the Tyrian Hercules to the Greek deity of the same name, with only such alterations as were necessary to the plot of his poem. This opinion obtains no small confirmation from what DIODORUS, *Op.* i. p. 344, relates of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, among whom a tradition prevailed, that Hercules had conquered the country of Geryon on account of its treasures in silver and gold; they therefore forbade the introduction of these metals into their islands, that they might not excite the cupidity of conquerors. They therefore explained the mythos in this way, being themselves of Phœnician origin.

The attempt to clear up and explain every particular of this fable would be doing violence to the manes of remote antiquity. Some of the principal features of this allegory I shall, nevertheless, venture to expose, fearless of incurring this reproach.

Hercules is said to have undertaken his expedition with a numerous fleet, which assembled at Crete; an island forming, as will presently be seen, one of the principal links of the Phœnician chain of colonies. Its object was Spain, the country abounding in gold, and where Chrysaor, the father of Geryon, reigned. Hercules passed through Africa, where he introduced agriculture, and built the great city of Hecatompylos.[8] He thus came to the strait, which he crossed over to Gades. Spain submitted to him, and he carried away the oxen of Geryon as booty; taking his way back through Gaul, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The principal features of this allegory seem scarcely to require an explanation. It is only among a maritime people that this mythos could have been formed, as a fleet is fitted out for the undertaking. That this took place at Crete, the most convenient island, shows that the party did not extend their views toward the western Mediterranean, until they had well established their dominion over the eastern islands. Neither did they undertake these expeditions for the mere purpose of destruction and conquest. They carried civilization with them; they instructed the barbarians in the art of agriculture, and accustomed them to fixed dwellings. And where did this take place?—Precisely in those countries which were colonized by the Phœnicians; that is, in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But the express object of this expedition was, that very land which was the main source of Phœnician wealth, and the principal seat of its trade; namely, the southern and western parts of Spain. Thus the traditions, as they have been handed down to us by the poets, are in accordance with the historical facts. The Phœnicians gradually spread themselves round the coasts of the Mediterranean. They came at last to the pillars of Hercules, and even went beyond them. But in every part their

[8] Hecatompylos was a large city in the interior of the Carthaginian dominions, which was afterwards conquered by them. DIODOR. i. p. 265.

colonies were confined to the sea coast, and hence it may fairly be concluded, that they owed their foundation to commerce.

Thirdly. These colonial cities were spread in a very unequal manner along the coasts of the Mediterranean, being in some districts crowded and numerous, while in other parts there were but few or none. Like the English and Dutch, the Phœnicians had their colonial dominions, which of course were precisely those which they made the principal seats of their trade. To these more especially belonged the territory of Carthage, on the northern coast of Africa, and the southern and western parts of Spain. Their settlements were more rare on the great islands of the western Mediterranean, Sicily and Sardinia, which they seem to have regarded only as stations for their more distant navigation, and which therefore were the same to them in their voyages to Gades and the pillars of Hercules, as is the Cape of Good Hope to our modern navigators in their way to India.

Fourthly. Commercial jealousy, though they avoided as much as possible all collision, arose out of the colonial system of the Phœnicians. The Greeks were the first nation with whom they came in contact; and this must have happened as soon as that people became powerful on the Mediterranean. Yet a comparison of the situation of the Greek and Phœnician colonies would almost lead one to conclude, that a tacit agreement had existed between the two nations, to keep as much as possible out of each other's way.

They ceded voluntarily, as it were, to the Greeks many countries which in high antiquity they seem to have colonized. They left to them the coasts of Asia Minor and the Black Sea; they abandoned to them Southern Italy and the greatest part of the Sicilian coast; and they scarcely interfered with them on the shores of Gaul. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that they would suffer no Greek settlement in *their* colonial dominions, where in general they would not endure foreigners. The stories respecting their sacrificing strangers to their gods, seem, supposing them fables, to have been imagined and spread abroad, for the purpose of keeping foreigners from their settlements.

Fifthly. It seems natural to suppose that a close con-

nexion must always have been kept up between colonies, indebted to commerce for their origin with the parent state; indeed a kind of dependence upon the latter. But the great and difficult art of keeping their colonies in subjection, so well understood by their descendants, the Carthaginians, seems never to have been known in an equal degree by the Phœnicians. Their colonies, favoured by their fortunate situation, grew beyond their management, and soon became independent, if they were not so from the first. It requires but little reflection to account for this. The Phœnicians, like many of the commercial nations who have come after them, extended their dominion beyond what their power would suffice to maintain in authority. To this it may be added, that Tyre was not situated like Carthage in the centre of her colonies; consequently, though she might have been able to raise armies equally numerous, yet she could not so easily make them effective. Carthage, almost without effort, could transport her armies to Sicily and Sardinia; Britain in the present day can send out forces to India; but if Tyre had made the attempt to carry an Asiatic army to Spain, it is probable she would have failed. If we except therefore the neighbouring island of Cyprus and others, and a few of the most important at a greater distance, especially the settlements containing mines worked by the natives, it will be found, that the relations of Tyre with her colonies were limited to the ties of commerce, and the obligations imposed by their mutual piety: the latter were never neglected; the former were most carefully preserved; and religion furnished a strong band, which knit the whole together. This band was the common worship of the national gods by common feasts and sacrifices, at which ambassadors, sent expressly by the different cities, joined and assisted. Was not this policy, though generated, as perhaps it was, by circumstances, the wisest, best, and most rational, which the Phœnicians, in their situation, could follow? They gave up nothing by so doing, but what after a great expense of blood and treasure they would have been compelled to relinquish. The ports of their colonies were open to them; and they enjoyed for centuries all the valuable blessings which a peaceable and undisturbed commerce is wont to bestow.

Sixthly. The period at which the Phœnician colonies were founded can only be determined in a general manner. That of the building of Carthage is still uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt, that the establishment of some of the settlements, beyond the sea, took place in the deepest antiquity. Should even the early foundation of Tartessus and Gades be doubted, there can be no question respecting the migration of Cadmus to Bœotia, and the building of Thebes; facts which prove, that 1500 years before the Christian era, Phœnician colonies had crossed the seas. The foundation of most of them, however, certainly took place in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, during which the trade and navigation of Tyre made such wonderful advances; that is, from the reign of David to that of Cyrus, 1000—550, B. C. During this time, according to the best evidence of antiquity, Utica, Carthage, Leptis,[9] etc., were founded; a statement which is further confirmed by the fact, that the greater part of the Phœnician colonies are expressly called colonies of Tyre. Now this city did not acquire much celebrity till about this time, nor till after the period of Homer, who seems not to have been acquainted with it, though he often speaks of Sidon.

I shall now leave these general preliminary observations, and entering rather more into particulars, take a closer view of the Phœnician colonies.[10] It is only by this that an adequate idea of the importance of this nation in the history of the world can be obtained; it will also pave the way to the inquiry respecting their commerce. I shall not here follow the example of Bochart, who has founded his opinions chiefly upon etymologies; but shall take for my guide only the positive evidence which history furnishes.

The islands of the Mediterranean nearest to Phœnicia, as well Cyprus and Crete, as the smaller ones of the Archipelago, the Sporides and the Cyclades; and again, those towards the north, as far as the Hellespont, almost without exception were colonized by Phœnicians. The cities in the isle of Cyprus, according to the testimony of one of the most

[9] See the proofs in Bochart, p. 373, etc.

[10] In order that he may understand properly the following survey, I must beg of the reader to have continually before him a map of the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries; D'Anville's, if possible.

credible writers, were nearly all of Phœnician origin;[11] it has already been remarked, that the whole island seems to have been reduced to a Phœnician province; and it must have been of the highest importance to that nation, from its supplying them in abundance with all the materials for ship-building. Traces of the Phœnicians in Crete are preserved in the mythology of the island; here also the worship of Hercules was naturalized; and the fable of Europa, of which it was the scene, was certainly of Phœnician origin.[12] The cities of the isle of Rhodes, Jalyssus, Camirus, and Lindus,[13] (Rhodes itself was not built till a later period,) followed the Phœnician worship; and the vestiges of it in the lesser islands of the Archipelago will be found carefully collected in Bochart.[14] This nation also had a considerable establishment in the island of Thasos, on the Thracian coast. They found out in one of their voyages of discovery, that the mountains of this island abounded in gold; this magnet soon attracted them, and they here founded mines—works of which Herodotus saw the shafts and galleries.[15]

Traces also of the Phœnicians are found on the west, and even on the northern coast of Asia Minor. They are said to have founded the cities of Pronectus and Bithynium on the Black Sea and the Propontis;[16] and in the mountains of Pisidia and Caria still dwelt a nation, or rather the remnant of a nation, the Solymes, whose language betrays their Phœnician descent.[17]

The Phœnicians, however, were driven out of all these countries and islands, as the Carian race, and still more so, the Hellenic, spreading out of Greece, filled with their colonies not only the islands, but also the coast of Asia Minor. There is no account of the Phœnicians engaging in any hostilities with the Greeks for the possession of these countries, probably because the principal direction of their sea

[11] Diod. ii. p. 114.

[12] Apollod. iii. 1. If, as Hoeck has rendered probable, (*Creta*, p. 83, etc.,) Europa, in the most ancient Phœnician mythos, is to be understood, not as signifying a part of the world, but the Phœnician deity Astarte, whose worship was spread with the Phœnician colonies, this will evidently confirm the interpretation given above of the mythos of the expedition of Hercules.

[13] Diod. i. p. 377.

[14] Bochart, p. 406, etc.

[15] Herod. ii. 44, et vi. 47.

[16] Steph. de urb. h. v.

[17] *Γλῶσσαν μὲν φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες.* Joseph. *in Apion.* i. *ex Choerilo Tragico*, p. 1047.

trade lay in other regions, which they considered more productive and more important. Perhaps, indeed, it was their expulsion from these islands which turned their attention to those in the western Mediterranean.

They could have no colonies on the Egyptian coast, because it was a fundamental maxim of the Egyptians to suffer no vessels, either of their own or of foreigners, to enter the mouths of the Nile. To make up for this, however, they had a large settlement in the capital of Egypt itself; one entire quarter of Memphis being inhabited by Phœnicians:[18] a very evident proof that they carried on, by the inhabitants of that quarter of the world, a part in the primitive caravan trade of Eastern Africa.

Perhaps the same cause which led them to retire from Asia Minor kept them out of Italy;[19] for however extraordinary it may appear, not the least trace is here to be found of any Phœnician settlement. Probably it was the Etruscans, rather than the Greeks, who prevented their establishing themselves in this country. On the other hand, they endeavoured with all their might to keep their footing in Sicily, the only place in which they came in direct contact with the Greeks, as declared rivals.

There is one difficulty which attends all modern researches respecting the colonies of the Phœnicians in Sicily, and other parts of the western Mediterranean; and that is, to distinguish between the proper Phœnicians and the Carthaginians, as the Greek writers very frequently designate the latter by the same name. But notwithstanding the mistrust to which this must always give rise, there are decisive proofs that the proper Phœnicians had established settlements in Sicily long before the rise of the Carthaginian power. "Long before the Greeks emigrated into Sicily," says Thucydides,[20] "the Phœnicians had occupied the coasts of that island, and the smaller ones in its neighbourhood; but when the Greeks began to frequent it, they retired to Motya, Soloes, and Panormus." Diodorus's account of the

[18] Herod. ii. 112.

[19] How much the Carthaginians desired to establish themselves on the Italian coasts, and what efforts were made to prevent it, is shown in the old commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome, which are given in the appendix to the African nations.

[20] Thucyd. vi. 2.

colonies which the proper Phœnicians successively founded,[21] in proportion as their navigation and commerce increased, in Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighbouring islands, is still more conclusive.

When the Carthaginians began to wax great, and to appropriate to themselves the navigation of the western Mediterranean, they usually trod in the footsteps of the parent state, and inherited, as it were, their possessions and establishments, by sending new colonists into the old places which had fallen into decay. It may, therefore, very safely be affirmed, that just those very cities which became the most celebrated of Sicily, (as for example, Motya, Soloes, and Panormus, together with the mountain city of Eryx, where the worship of Astarte, or Venus Erycina, continued a lasting monument of the Phœnicians,[22]) were also among the most ancient Phœnician settlements.

Equally certain, but just as vague, are the accounts respecting their colonies in Sardinia. It was principally for the sake of their intercourse with Spain, that they were so desirous of securing here, as well as in Sicily, stations for their ships to touch at in their long voyages.[23] To the dominion of Sardinia, however, which their successors the Carthaginians obtained, they never, so far as we know, made the least pretension. It was enough for them to maintain themselves in the island; and they could not, like the Carthaginians, transport over numerous armies to subdue the inhabitants.

The Balearic islands lay just in their way, and could not remain unknown. Indeed, according to a direct statement of Diodorus, they were first occupied by the Phœnicians, one hundred and fifty years after the building of Carthage.[24] We know not upon what data this chronological statement is grounded; and it is impossible to determine from the words of this author, whether he is speaking of the proper Phœnicians or of the Carthaginians; but the first seems certainly the more probable, as well from the connexion in which the passage stands, as from the respective situations of Tyre and Carthage at the time mentioned; Tyre being then by far the greater and more powerful trading city of

[21] Diod. i. p. 358.
[22] Polyb. i. 55. Diod. i. p. 326.
[23] Diod. i. p. 358.
[24] Ibid. i. p. 343.

the two, and was still in full possession of a maritime commerce with Spain.

We thus reach this most important peninsula; one of the chief colonial countries of the Phœnicians; the great object of their navigation; the principal seat of their commerce; and not a whit less important to them than Peru has been to modern Spain. The description of their trade with this rich province I shall reserve for the next section, and limit myself here to merely such geographical and historical observations as I think may be fairly deduced from the various accounts which have been handed down to us from antiquity.

First. There is, upon the whole, scarcely the least doubt respecting the part of Spain occupied by the principal settlements of the Phœnicians. All, or certainly the most part, were situated in the southern part of the present Andalusia, on both sides of the strait, from the mouths of the Anas, (Guadiana,) at both sides of the Guadalquiver, to the frontiers of Granada, and even Murcia. The aborigines dwelling in this district were the Turdetani; but this native tribe had so much intermingled with the Phœnicians, as to give rise along the coast to a mixed race, who were called the Bastuli.[25]

Secondly. It seems certain then that it is in this district that must be sought the celebrated Tartessus, Carteia, Gades, as well as the pillars of Hercules; and here there is but little difficulty till we come to fix the particular situation of each. The embellishments of the poets, who made this distant region the scene of many of their fables, have so confused and distorted historical facts, that at last even the very historians themselves knew not upon what to rely. Respecting even the pillars of Hercules, the greatest diversity of opinions has been held; some have sought for them in the Atlantic Ocean near Gades; others at Gibraltar; and others elsewhere:[26] scarcely a doubt, however, can now be entertained, but that the rocks of Calpe and Abyla, upon which Gibraltar and Ceuta now stand, gave rise to this appellation, and to the long string of fables which refer to them. The inquiry respecting Tartessus is beset with much greater difficulties: a river Tartessus, an island Tartessus, a

[25] See Cellarius, i. p. 65. Mannert, i. §. 275.
[26] Cellar. i. p. 72. Mannert, i. §. 290.

place Tartessus, are spoken of, and have been sought for sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; and, lastly, we hear of a district Tartessus. This great diversity seems alone sufficient to instruct us respecting the idea we should attach to this name. As in ancient geography, all names applied to the furthermost countries of the earth are vague and uncertain; such is the case with this, and it would therefore be useless to endeavour to determine the exact spot where Tartessus formerly stood. Among the oriental nations, who had heard nothing more from the mysterious Phœnicians than the name of this distant country, it was considered, in a general manner, as the furthermost place towards the west, without any one being able to give more accurate information respecting it; but in the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, by Tartessus was evidently understood, the whole of southern Spain, which had been subjected to their authority. It was consequently a very indefinite term, probably much the same as that of the West Indies among the moderns; and thus perhaps we have a river, an island, and a territory of this name, because that country comprised all these.[27] Now when the river Tartessus is spoken of, we understand it to be the Bætis, or Guadalquiver, which, by flowing into the sea in two streams, forms an island, where, from the usual commercial policy of the Phœnicians, it is highly probable that their first settlement was made; and it is for this reason that Strabo has placed here the city of Tartessus.[28] But as they extended their dominion, the name extended also; and thus arose a district of Tartessus, which increased to a considerable size. The name Tartessus was also applied to nearly all the colonial cities in the neighbourhood.[29] It seems therefore a fruitless hypothesis of Bochart's to adopt three Tartessuses; and still less can I adopt the opinion of a modern writer, who places Tartessus where Seville, the ancient Hispalis, now stands;[30] though I will not undertake to deny that Hispalis never bore the name of Tartessus. If there ever was a city Tartessus, it was certainly *one* of the most ancient, probably

[27] STEPH. de urb. s. v. Ταρτησσὸς, et ibi interpret.
[28] STRAB. p. 221. He remarks soon after, that some had confounded it with Carteia.
[29] CELLAR. i. p. 69.
[30] MANNERT, i. §. 295.

the most ancient of the Phœnician colonies; and it is scarcely conceivable that they should have founded this so deep in the country, and so far from the coast.

Next to Tartessus, the island city of Gades, or Gadeix, is most deserving attention. It was a ruling maxim of the Phœnicians, as well as of the Carthaginians, to choose islands at a short distance from the continent for their settlements; these proving the most secure staples for their wares. This custom they observed in Spain. At a very small distance from the coast, and beyond the pillars of Hercules, were situated two small islands in the Atlantic Ocean.[31] The largest of these was about nine miles in circumference, and from its situation and state left them nothing to wish for. Here, on the most remote point of the known world, beyond which all was viewless, except the immeasurable waste of ocean, did they fix their abode, and built upon the two islands one city, which became one of the most remarkable of the world; and which, favoured by its happy situation, has continued such, notwithstanding all the political and commercial revolutions that have taken place, up to the present day. This enterprise, so justly celebrated in their annals, was also sung by the poets; who make the islands of Gades and Erythea, where reigned the triple-bodied Geryon, the furthest point of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. To him indeed was dedicated the renowned temple, built at the northern extremity of the largest island, and which, even in the time of the Romans, was regarded as one of the most venerable monuments of antiquity.[32]

A third city, equally remarkable, and whose name alone betrays its Phœnician origin, was Carteia. It would be difficult to determine accurately its site; it may be regarded however as certain, that it stood in the neighbourhood of the present Gibraltar, probably near to Algiziras.[33] Its situation, too, led it to be called Calpe; at least there seems many reasons for believing, that the city so frequently mentioned under this name was no other than Carteia.

Of the remaining cities, Malaca and Hispalis, the present Malaga and Seville, best deserve notice. The first derives

[31] STRAB. p. 257. The smaller island usually bore the name of Erythea. Pliny assures us that the ancient Gades was built upon this small island.
[32] DIOD. i. p. 345. STRAB. l. c.
[33] MANNERT. i. §. 287.

its name from the excellent salt fish which it exported in large quantities;[34] the other was built on the Guadalquiver, at the point to which the tide ran up, and where it was navigable for ships of considerable burthen.[35]

These were the principal places; but besides these, the country was every where strewed over with Phœnician villages, and altogether, as it were, Phœnicianised. According to Strabo, there were here above two hundred places said to be of Phœnician origin;[36] and though even many may have been Carthaginian, yet they could only be few compared to the whole.

Thirdly. When it is remembered, that, even in the time of Homer, tin and amber were well-known articles of Phœnician commerce, there can be no doubt that the settlements of the Phœnicians reach up beyond this period. It is impossible to fix accurately the time of its foundation. The name Tarshish, or Tartessus, mentioned in the Mosaic records, among the tribes descended from Noah and dispersed after the flood, cannot with any direct certainty be referred to Spain; there is, however, a very remarkable historical fact preserved respecting the foundation of Gades, which any one acquainted with the usual manner of proceeding among the Phœnicians must consider, from its situation, to have been one of their first settlements. "Gades, it is said, was founded at the same time with Utica; the foundation of Utica took place 270 years before that of Carthage."[37] According to this statement, the foundation of Gades must be placed at about 1100 years before the Christian era, or 100 years after the Trojan war. Exactly the same account is found in Pomponius Mela; and although these statements only bring us to some where *about* the date, they must be regarded as of great advantage; because they very clearly prove, that the most lively intercourse with Spain existed in the most flourishing period of Tyre, and of Phœnicia in general.

[34] Strab. p. 236; cf. Bochart, p. 683.
[35] Strab. p. 209. [36] Ibid. p. 207.
[37] Velleius Paterculus (i. 2) expressly says, that Gades was founded nearly at the same time as Utica; and adds, that it was about the time of the reign of Codrus, viz. about 1100 B. C. Aristotle has recorded the date of the foundation of Utica in his work, *De Mirabil.* c. 146; and also adds, that it was thus stated in the Phœnician annals: ἐν ταῖς Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις. The statement will be found in Diodorus, i. p. 358.

Fourthly. The relation in which the parent country and the colonies stood towards each other, is here also unfortunately buried in such deep obscurity, that very little can be said positively upon this highly interesting object. Only a few dark traces are left; but these, when carefully investigated, seem to give us the clue to several important facts. Thus it appears that the Phœnicians at first came merely as merchants,[38] and made no attempt to plant settlements, till, after a closer acquaintance with the natives, they found it necessary for the enlargement and better security of their trade. Whether these colonies from the beginning were dependent upon Tyre is uncertain; their nature, so far as their object was the working of the mines, seems to decide in the affirmative. How, unless this had been the case, would the Tyrians have been able to turn them to such good account, that they should be represented as the principal source of their opulence;—how have kept strangers away? The numerous emigrations that were constantly taking place, (much the same as in the last centuries poured from Spain into the new world,) as well as the intermixture with the natives, seem to lead to the same conclusion. A passage, too, in the prophet Isaiah,[39] tends to show that their dominion, like that of all other mining colonies, was not very mild. However this may have been, it is quite certain that the Phœnician colonies in Spain, if not independent from the first, became so at a very early period: for when the Phocæan Greeks first voyaged to Phœnician Spain, which happened in the period of Cyrus, about 556, they found Tartessus existing as a free state, with its own king, who bore himself so civilly towards the Greeks as

[38] Diodor. i. p. 358.
[39] See chap. xxiii. 10. This obscure passage is thus translated by Gesenius:

"Pass like the Nile through thy land, O daughter of Tarshish;
No girdle longer obstructs thee."

Thus the prophet, while he is foretelling the downfal of Tyre, cries out to the Tartessians, Move now at liberty in your emancipated country, for your chains are broken! The exegetical commentator may decide, whether, in this comparison with the Nile, the expression *daughter of Tarshish* alludes to the Tartessian people, or may not also be referred to the river Tartessus, the Guadalquiver, which it is said shall as freely flow through the free-become country of Tartessus, as the Nile through Egypt. The sense is the same, the metaphor alone being changed. Gesenius, *Comment.* i. 732, refers the words to the people.

plainly to show, that he was not unaccustomed to the visits of strangers.[40] This prince, whose reign is said to have extended to eighty years, was named Arganthonius; and this account of him, given by Herodotus, has been repeated by numerous other writers. There can therefore be no doubt, but that the territory of the Phœnicians upon the main land of the Spanish peninsula, fell under the dominion of a monarch perfectly independent. But the case was otherwise with regard to Gades. This state appears to have had a republican government, and to have been the chief of the neighbouring small colonies on the coast, much the same as Carthage was in Africa;[41] with this city it soon entered into a friendly alliance, which continued to the time of the Roman wars, when its willing submission to the Romans purchased it the rights of municipality.

The columns of Hercules formed the boundaries of the world, as known to the ancients. The countries without these, and beyond Gades, were enveloped in the thickest obscurity, which the Phœnicians endeavoured to increase by a mysterious secrecy. Only very doubtful information, therefore, can be expected respecting their farther settlements upon the shores of the ocean. We hear nothing beyond this point of great and flourishing colonies, such as Gades; though the very extensive range of their navigation must have rendered more distant settlements necessary. Strabo speaks of no less than three hundred cities, said to have been founded by Tyre on the western coast of Africa, but which afterwards fell a prey to the rude Gætuli and Libyans.[42] However exaggerated this number may be, it would not render the fact itself improbable, if it did not seem to be opposed by the circumstance of Hanno's having described the coast in his Voyage, as a land in which no earlier settlements had been made.[43] The date of Hanno's voyage, however, is itself uncertain; and it may very well have happened, that these earlier settled colonies were destroyed before it took place. Who, a hundred years hence, would be able to find any traces of the present colonies of

[40] HEROD. i. 163.
[41] See *Carthaginians*, chap. i.
[42] STRAB. p. 1182.
[43] A translation of HANNO's *Voyage* will be found in the Appendix to the *African nations*, vol. i. 492, of the English edition.

Great Britain on the coasts of Australia, if it should be their lot to be subjugated and destroyed by its savage natives?

Another tradition was spread abroad by numerous writers of antiquity respecting a large island beyond the pillars of Hercules, which was taken possession of by the Phœnicians.[44] Although this tradition probably refers to Madeira, as is shown in my Researches upon Carthage, yet it still seems doubtful, whether the proper Phœnicians ever reached that island; and whether this fact must not rather be understood of their successors the Carthaginians, who, it is well known, founded a colony there. The statements of Diodorus, however, are too precise to allow of our depriving the Phœnicians of this glory. The whole body of traditions respecting the fortunate isles beyond the pillars of Hercules, which the poets and philosophers have so metamorphosed and adorned, would have become of themselves fluctuating and uncertain, even though the Phœnicians had not designedly cast over them a veil of mystery; a practice which they also followed with regard to their settlements on the European coasts, of which they would let nothing transpire, although the wares they brought from them prevented the fact of their visiting them from remaining altogether a secret.[45] It would indeed be entirely at variance with their general custom, and with their whole system of commercial policy, if they had not in various places of the northern coasts of Spain, and especially in the Casiterides, (Scilly islands,) established settlements; although no definite account of them had been preserved. Let no warm imagination, however, refer any of these traditions to a discovery of America. The Phœnicians might very well circumnavigate Africa and penetrate to the Eastern Sea; but to sail across the Atlantic to America was beyond them; for their navigation, even in its most flourishing state, like that of all other nations of antiquity and the middle ages, was confined to the coasts. Had indeed any accident driven a single ship to that distant shore, it would have been impossible to have turned the discovery to any advantage.

Let us now return through the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean Sea, and here we shall find another wide

[44] DIOD. i. p. 344.
[45] HEROD. iii. 115.

range of Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa, in after times the territory of Carthage. As a more extensive inquiry respecting the government and state of this country is detailed in another portion of this work, I shall confine myself here to a few general observations, which seem necessary to give the reader a general idea of the great extent of the Phœnician colonial system.

The colonies of this nation were not spread over the whole northern coast of Africa; but were settled mostly about the central part, which attracted them by its situation and great fertility, and afterwards formed the proper territory of Carthage, or the present Tunis. The settlements they formed here were so many staples, as well for their more distant trade to the west, as for their traffic with the interior of Africa;[46] and the great prosperity to which these places attained, is the clearest proof of the wise foresight with which they were chosen. All this strip of coast was covered with a chain of colonial cities, of which Utica, whose foundation, as has already been observed, was contemporary with that of Gades, was, according to all existing accounts, the most ancient. Next to Utica came Carthage; and then, in a southern direction, Adrumetum, Tysdrus, Great and Little Leptis, and some others less considerable, which, in the end, became not exactly subject, but rather allies of Carthage, and so formed together a federative state, which took the same form as that of the parent country. The relation in which these cities stood towards the latter, before the predominance of the Carthaginians, could scarcely have been the same in all, and probably differed from the beginning; as some, Utica and others, were evidently founded as staples for trade, while others owed their origin to political troubles, by the emigration of the dissatisfied party. From their later relations with Carthage, it is very clear, that within a short period each had formed a little independent state, with its own proper government within itself, and its own little territory around it, without any further connexion with the mother state than a mere friendly alliance.

It has already been remarked, that the principal direction

[46] Diod. i. 358.

in which the Phœnician race extended itself by colonization, was towards the west; because, from their situation, their sea trade could take no other. But notwithstanding this, so soon as their land trade through Asia had reached the coasts of the Indian Ocean, the want of settlements there must naturally have been felt. Traces of them, though certainly in part only doubtful traces, are found both on the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. The names of two islands in the midst of the Persian, Tyrus, or Tylos, and Aradus, bear striking marks of Phœnician origin; and in these have lately been discovered vestiges of Phœnician workmanship and buildings. I hope to identify these places in the following pages with the Baharein isles; but as this inquiry cannot well be carried on without taking a larger range, and spreading over the whole of the Persian Gulf, I shall reserve it for the chapter on the Babylonians, where it will be more in place.

It would be strange if the Phœnicians had not likewise made some attempt to navigate the Arabian Gulf, which lay nearer to them than the Persian. But the access to this was closed to them by another commercial and extensive nation, the Idumeans or Edomites, with whom the Jews stood in no friendly relation,[47] and who themselves possessed two seaports, Eloth and Ezion Geber, on the northern coast of the same Gulf. When, however, the boundaries of the Jewish empire under David had been so extended by the subjugation of the Edomites, as to take in these two places, the Phœnicians did not let the opportunity escape of opening the way to them for themselves by treaty;[48] and the navigation which they, in common with Solomon, carried on upon the Red Sea, drew so many of them to the above-named cities, that they may be fairly regarded as their colonies.

But, besides this, it seems that the Phœnicians fitted out ships from the western bay of the Arabian Gulf, the present Suez and the Heroopolis of antiquity. Theophrastus, in speaking of the frankincense trade of Arabia Felix, to which we shall presently return, mentions the merchants who carried on this trade in their ships, from the city of Heroopolis,

[47] Gesenius Commentar zu Jesaias, i. 904, etc. [48] 1 Kings, ix. 26, 27.

and the bay named after it, with the land of the Sabeans.[49] This navigation, too, was certainly ancient, even in his times. Who then could have carried it on except the Phœnicians?

Thus, then, this remarkable people spread themselves, not by fire and sword, and sanguinary conquests, but by peaceable and slower efforts, yet equally certain. No overthrown cities and desolated countries, such as marked the military expeditions of the Medes and Assyrians, denoted their progress; but a long series of flourishing colonies, agriculture and the arts of peace among the previously rude barbarians, pointed out the victorious career of the Tyrian Hercules.[50]

[49] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ix. 4. [50] Diod. i. p. 264.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER III.

Navigation and Sea Trade of the Phœnicians.

WHO ARE THOSE THAT FLY LIKE A CLOUD,
AND LIKE DOVES TO THEIR HOLES?
THEY ARE VESSELS FROM SPAIN, WHO BRING THY SONS FROM AFAR;
THEIR GOLD AND THEIR SILVER WITH THEM.
ISAIAH, lx. 8, 9.

It requires no great sagacity to develope the causes by which the Phœnicians became a commercial and sea-faring people. They were in a manner constrained to it by their situation; for the commodities of interior Asia becoming accumulated in vast quantities upon their coasts, seemed to demand a further transport.[1] It would, nevertheless, be an error to assume this as the first and only impulse to their navigation, which most likely had the same origin here that it generally had among commercial nations: it sprung from piracy. The seeming advantages which this affords are too near and too striking to be overlooked by uncivilized nations; while the benefits to be derived from a peaceable and regular commerce, are too distant to come at first within the scope of their ideas. It was thus, that the piratical excursions of the Normans gave the first impulse to the navigation of the western countries of Europe. But among nations who are not, like the African nest of pirates, held back by despotism and other unfavourable circumstances, good gradually grows out from this original evil. A trifling advance too in civilization soon teaches mankind how greatly the benefits of trade surpass those of plunder; and as the latter diminishes, the former increases.

This is exactly the state in which the navigation of the

[1] See above, p. 25.

Phœnicians is first presented to our notice, in the time of Homer; the earliest period at which we catch an authentic glance at it from any definite accounts.

The Phœnicians at this period visited the Greek islands and the coasts of the continents, as robbers, or merchants, according as circumstances offered. They came with trinkets, beads, and baubles, which they sold at a high price to the inexperienced and unwary Greeks; and they thus gained opportunities of kidnapping their boys and girls, whom they turned to good account in the Asiatic slave markets, or who were redeemed at heavy ransoms by their parents and countrymen. A most faithful and lively picture of the state of society in these respects is drawn by the Greek bard himself, in the narrative which he makes Eumæus relate of his birth and early adventures.[2]

This kind of intercourse, however, could not last beyond the infancy of Grecian civilization. As this advanced, and that people grew formidable upon the seas, and Athenian and Ionian squadrons covered the Mediterranean, it must of itself have assumed another shape, as piracy would no longer be tolerated. But notwithstanding this, the connexion between Phœnicia and Greece, in the flourishing period of the latter, seems not to have continued so strong as might naturally have been expected. There is no trace of an active intercourse between Tyre and Athens, or Corinth; there is no vestige of commercial treaties, such as frequently were closed between Carthage and Rome.[3] Commercial jealousy, common to both nations, in some measure accounts for this phenomenon.—How much less has the intercourse between England and France always been, than it might have been, considering the situation and magnitude of the two kingdoms!—I trust, however, that the following observations will be deemed satisfactory upon this subject.

First. The principal source of trade among all great seafaring nations must ever be directed towards their colonies. It is only there that mutual exchange of commodities can be effected upon an extensive scale; all other sales are by retail, or in small quantities. The truth, which the experience of the greatest maritime states of modern times confirms beyond a doubt, was felt both by Phœnicians and Greeks; hence the chief commerce of both nations was confined to their colonies.

[2] See Odyss. xv. 402, etc. Herodotus also gives the same account at the beginning of his history.

[3] Aristot. Polit. iii. 9.

Secondly. The Greeks could the more easily abstain from purchasing of the Phœnicians, as they could import nearly all the wares they required from their own colonies in Asia Minor, which maintained the same intercourse with the countries of inner Asia, as Tyre and Sidon; and obtained and exported in a great degree the same Asiatic merchandise.

Thirdly. During the time of their greatest splendour, that is, from the commencement of the Persian wars, the Greeks were not only the rivals of the Phœnicians, but their declared political enemies. The hatred of the Phœnicians towards the Greeks is shown in nothing clearer, than in their ready willingness to lend their fleets to the Persians; and in the active share they took in the Persian expeditions against the whole of Greece, or against the separate states. How then can it be expected, that under such circumstances a very lively or regular commerce could have existed between them?

The Phœnicians, however, still possessed the advantage of furnishing the Greeks with certain articles of the most costly description, in great demand, which they could not obtain from their own colonies, and the Phœnicians alone could supply. To these belong especially, perfumes and spices, which they imported from Arabia, and which were absolutely necessary to the Greeks in their sacrifices to the gods. They also supplied them with the manufactures of Tyre; its purple garments, its rich apparel, its jewels, trinkets, and other ornaments, which could be obtained no where else of such fine workmanship, or so decidedly in accordance with the prevailing fashion.

The same causes which limited the commerce of the Phœnicians with Greece, tended also to diminish it with its colonies on the coast of Asia Minor and in Sicily. History has preserved us no express information upon this particular; but to the causes already cited, there remains to be added the fact, that in proportion as the trade of the Phœnicians decreased in the Western Mediterranean, that of the

Carthaginians increased, till at length they possessed it almost exclusively.

It is therefore the commerce of the Phœnicians with their own colonial countries, and more particularly with Spain, that especially demands our attention. Even their establishments upon the great islands of the Mediterranean were only regarded, as I have already observed, as stations for these distant voyages. We will return to these Capes of Good Hope, when we have made ourselves acquainted with that country which formed the great object of their navigation. "Spanish ships were the great work of thy trade; thou wast a perfect city, and honoured upon the seas."[4]

A general view of Phœnician navigation leads us at once to remark, that their commercial policy proceeded upon the same principle, which obtains in all commercial states in their infancy; namely, to regard the representative of the value of things as more important than the things themselves; and consequently to prefer the possession of countries producing gold and silver to all others. The working of mines therefore was the business to which they most sedulously applied; and no fear, no labour, seems too great for them to overcome, if gold or silver mines were the object that called forth their enterprising spirit. Here that profit seemed to be made at once, which in other cases they could only hope to make by repeated barter of their wares. Here seemed to be opened at once the sources of wealth! Animated by these expectations, they penetrated the Arabian Desert, and braved the dangers of the Red Sea, till they reached Happy Arabia and the Æthiopian coasts. The same object led them through the pillars of Hercules and to the western limits of the world.

Spain, who in modern days has been compelled to fetch her treasures from the other side the Atlantic, was herself the Peru of antiquity. She was the richest country in the world for silver; she abounded in gold[5] and the less precious metals.[6] The most productive mines of silver were found in the districts which have been described above, and

[4] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 25. Compare this with the very interesting passage in Isaiah, lx. 8, 9; in which the prophet gives a fine picture of the future happiness of Jerusalem by comparing it with Tyre, to whose commerce he promises that city shall succeed.

[5] STRAB. p. 216.

[6] Especially tin. STRAB. p. 219.

which were comprised by the Phœnicians under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. The prodigious quantity of the precious metals which they found here upon their first arrival so excited their astonishment, and the representation they made was so strongly impressed upon the mind of the nation, that the traditions preserved respecting them seem very remarkably to suit the pictures given by the Spanish discoverers of Peru. When the first Phœnicians visited Spain, it is said they found silver there in such abundance, that they not only freighted their ships with it to the water's edge, but made their common utensils, anchors not excepted, of this metal. Thus laden, they returned back to their native country, which lost no time in taking possession of this ancient Peru, and founding colonies there, whose name and situation we have already described.[7]

When the Phœnicians first settled here, artificial mine works were quite unnecessary. The silver ore lay exposed to view, and they had only to make a slight incision to obtain it in abundance.[8] The inhabitants themselves were so little acquainted with its value, that their commonest implements were composed of this metal. The demands of the Phœnicians, and their avidity to possess it, first taught them its worth; and it is probable that the arrival and settlement among them of these strangers, who could supply them with so many useful articles, in exchange for that upon which they set such little store, was to them a source of gratification. But when the stock they had in hand was exhausted, and the insatiable foreigners saw it necessary to open mines, the lot of the poor Iberians became truly pitiable. That the Spanish mines were worked by slaves is clear from Diodorus, who describes their wretched fate; and even though his statement may refer to the time of the Romans, there can be but little doubt that the same practice had long previously existed. Whether the natives were compelled to this labour we know not positively; but they scarcely could have escaped it altogether, though the extensive traffic of the Phœnicians in slaves would have rendered it easy for them to introduce sufficient hands

[7] See ARISTOT. *de Mirabil.* cxlvii. et ibi BECKM.

[8] STRABO, l. c., and compare the chief passages with DIOD. i. p. 358, etc., my authority for the following remarks.

from abroad. Even if only employed as free labourers, their lot was sufficiently hard. That however the mines in Spain were not worked merely by digging, is clear from Diodorus, whose relation of itself proves that shafts were opened, and the subterraneous water forced out by machines; even if the interesting allusion to mine works in the book of Job should not be admitted as referring to the Phœnicians.[9]

The mine works of the genuine Phœnicians seem to have been confined to the present Andalusia. According to Strabo, the oldest were situated upon the mountain in which the Bætis or Guadalquiver takes its rise, upon the south part of the Sierra Morena, which, on the borders of Andalusia and Murcia, bore the name of Sierra Segura.[10] They did not extend beyond this previous to the time of the Carthaginians, who entered upon the conquest of Spain with much more energy and power.

For the rest, silver was certainly the principal, but could scarcely be the only object obtained. Gold, lead, and iron were discovered; and besides these, tin mines were opened by the Phœnicians on the northern coast of Spain, beyond Lusitania. All these metals are spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel as the produce of the Spanish mines. "Spain (Tarshish) traded with thee, because of the multitude of thy goods; silver, iron, tin, and lead, it gave thee in exchange for thy wares."[11]

That, in addition to the mines, the Phœnicians were attracted to Spain by the great fertility of the southern part of the country, is proved by the direct testimony of ancient writers.[12] Spain was regarded as the only country that was at once rich in metals, in corn, in wine, in oil, wax, fine wool,[13] and fruits, which, under its mild and benign sky, attain to the highest perfection. Their superabundance naturally suggested the invention of pickles and preserves.

[9] Job, xxviii. 1—13, with the remarks of Michaelis.

[10] Near Castillon: the mountain was called the silver mountain, Strab. p. 221. Consequently the metals might be transported down the Bætis to the coast and seaports.

[11] Ezekiel, xxvii. 12; and for what relates to the tin, Strab. p. 219.

[12] Strab. and Diodor. ii. cc., who are my authorities for the following statements.

[13] So excellent, according to Strab. p. 213, even thus early was the Spanish fleece, that a talent was given for a ram of this breed.

The trade in salt fish has already been mentioned as a branch of the earliest commerce of Spain.[14]

The commerce of the Phœnicians in their Spanish settlements was carried on in the same manner as they usually carried it on elsewhere; the only method indeed by which it can be carried on among uncivilized nations—namely, by barter. It is not only so described in the passage above quoted from the prophet Ezekiel, but the same is confirmed by Diodorus. They brought, on their side, Tyrian wares—probably linen, the usual clothing of Spain; perhaps, also, trinkets and toys, and such articles of finery as are eagerly coveted by barbarians. In exchange for these they obtained the above-mentioned natural productions; and silver, not as money, but as merchandise, and upon which their profit must have been doubled, if the conjecture, not destitute of probability, be true, that they bartered it in the southern countries for gold.[15]

But besides these direct advantages which the Phœnicians drew from their Spanish colonies, they were likewise of important service in the extension of their commerce upon the Atlantic Ocean. Gades was not merely the secure staple for the treasures and produce of Spain; but was likewise the starting point for that more distant navigation and commerce, over which the Phœnicians have cast a veil of secrecy, that all our endeavours cannot completely remove. It is known that from this port their vessels were fitted out for the tin islands, and the amber coasts; but where these are to be sought can only be conjectured, because it was evidently so much their advantage to keep away all rivals, especially from the amber trade, whose high price, equal to that of gold, must have been greatly reduced by competition. All that can be said upon this subject with any degree of certainty, will be found in the chapter upon the navigation of the Carthaginians, whose ships also visited these regions. It is there fully proved that the British and

[11] Strab. p. 213.

[15] According to Agatharchides; cf. Bochart, p. 139. Silver in Arabia Felix was tenfold the price of gold, which was there in great abundance. Should the correctness of this statement be disputed, it will nevertheless be certain, that the relative value of the precious metals must have been very different and in favour of silver there, to what it was in other parts of the world.

Cassiteridean isles were the seat of the tin trade; but that nothing is known beyond probable conjecture respecting the native country of amber. It is still however probable, that the ships of the Phœnicians stretched as far as the Baltic Sea and the coast of Prussia. Nothing can be argued against it from the difficulties of the navigation. The Phœnicians held no voyage to be impossible, which the state of the maritime art at that time would allow, and that was only coasting; and it lay in the very spirit of that people to penetrate along this coast by repeated attempts, as far as it was possible for man to reach.[16]

Respecting the navigation of the Phœnicians in the Atlantic Sea there is still more uncertainty. The dark traditions of islands which they there visited certainly render it probable that they stretched out from Gades to Madeira and the Canary Islands; but of regular voyages to the gold coast beyond the Senegal, such as performed by their colonists the Carthaginians, there is not a shadow of proof. Of their great voyage of discovery round Africa I shall speak presently; in the mean time, let us return by the Pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean, and take a glance at their commerce with Sicily and Carthage.

It would appear from Diodorus as if their settlements in both these countries were founded with no other object, than for the convenience of their intercourse with Spain; and so far as Sicily alone is concerned he seems to be right.[17] In the long voyage from their native shores to that distant country, a harbour, to which they might run in, in case of storms or other accidents, was indispensably necessary. And although they established here a trade by barter with the natives, and thus managed to obtain the rich produce of the island for themselves; it is probable that the Greeks, who were always extending their possessions, soon deprived them of all, except the original object of their settlement.

[16] Several well-informed men have objected to me, that the navigation through the Bay of Biscay must have presented an insurmountable difficulty, in consequence of the currents which prevail there. The same obstacles, however, are found on the north-west coast of Africa, and were overcome. Although the navigation of the Phœnicians was a coasting navigation, yet it must not be understood to have confined them always to the shore, and to have prevented them at all times from daring the open sea. If this had been the case, how could they have performed their voyages across the Mediterranean?

[17] Diod. i. p. 358.

The case was different, however, with regard to Africa. If we merely look at the long line of commercial establishments formed upon this coast, it will be difficult to believe them all intended solely for the preservation of a communion with Spain. It is not denied but that such may have been the origin of the earliest settlements, as for example that of Utica; but when these cities began to flourish,[18] and drew to themselves the trade of inner Africa, there can be no doubt but the Phœnicians took a part in it, and obtained the commodities of this quarter of the globe, though in the first instance only at second hand. Unfortunately we have not the least positive information respecting the commerce with these African colonies; yet if the nature of things alone should not establish its existence, it is sufficiently done by the strict friendly alliance which Carthage always maintained with Tyre. Mindful of their Phœnician origin, the Carthaginians sent sacred embassies upon certain occasions to the temple of the Tyrian Hercules. Such were found in that city when it was captured by Alexander;[19] and during its siege the Tyrians sent part of their treasures, together with their wives and little ones, to Carthage, where they found a secure place of refuge.[20] So close and constant a connexion as this between two trading nations necessarily presupposes a long previous intercourse, which can therefore require no further proof.

Having thus shown the direction and extent of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians towards the west, let us now bend our course eastwards, and trace their progress upon the two great south-western gulfs of Asia, the Arabian and Persian. In these, it has already been stated, they had partly settled, and thus gained secure harbours from which to set forth on their still more distant enterprises.

It must, however, be at once perceived, that their navigation here could not have a like undisturbed continuance with that of the Mediterranean. As the proper dominions of the Phœnicians never stretched so far as to either of these gulfs, it depended upon their political relations how far they could make use of the harbours they possessed there. For even though the way might be open to their

[18] Diod. l. c. [19] Arrian, ii. 24. [20] Diod. ii. p. 190.

caravans, the dominant nations of inner Asia might not be always willing to allow foreign colonies on their coasts.

Their navigation upon the Arabian Gulf arose out of their connexion with the Jews, and the extension of the dominions of the latter under David. Upon no portion of the ancient history of navigation and commerce has there been so much written, as upon the trade to Ophir; and, as is usually the case, where we have much that is probable and but little certain, upon nothing has less been concluded.

Respecting the date of this navigation and its starting point, history leaves us in no doubt. It certainly took place under Solomon, from the ports of Eloth, and Ezion-geber.[21] These places were situated on the two points where the Ælanitic gulf of the Arabian Sea ends. They had previously belonged to the Idumeans, or Edomites, a people who had probably carried on this same navigation from time immemorial;[22] and fell into the hands of the Jewish conqueror, with that nation itself. The Phœnicians did not let this opportunity pass by, but founded, in connexion with their allies, the Jews, a maritime commerce of advantage to both parties, as the Jews were scarcely in a situation to carry it on alone. Uncertainty, however, prevails when we inquire the situation of the place to which their voyages were directed: the celebrated Ophir, which some would find in Ceylon, others in Happy Arabia, and a celebrated traveller, with an extraordinary show of learning, on the eastern coast of Africa.[23] Like, however, the name of all other very distant places, and regions of antiquity—like Thule, Tartes-

[21] See 1 KINGS, ix. 26; 2 CHRON. viii. 10, 21.

[22] Many historians and commentators have laid it down as certain, that the Idumeans were a maritime people, on the sole ground of their possessing these two seaports; but though such a possession may give rise to conjecture, it can never become a positive proof. In the oracles pronounced so many times against the Idumeans by the prophets, (ISAIAH, xxxiv. and lxiii., and EZEKIEL, xxv. 20, etc.,) no allusion is made to their maritime commerce; though no doubt is left as to their having taken a share in the land trade; since Petra, its principal mart, (of which more anon,) was in their territory; and Bozrah, their capital, is represented as a splendid city doomed to be laid waste: ISAIAH, xxxiv. 6—13. Their relations with the Hebrews, almost invariably hostile, have been historically developed by GESENIUS, *Comment. ad Isaiam*, xxxiv.

[23] See BOCHART, p. 769; MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* ii. p. 184; and BRUCE'S TRAVELS, i. p. 143. What most confirms the truth of the explanation given in the text is, that Bochart and others who wish to fix the name of Ophir to one particular spot, have been obliged to admit several places of the same name.

sus, and others, we may safely infer that Ophir denotes no particular spot, but only a certain region or part of the world, such as the East and West Indies in modern geography. Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south, lying on the African, Arabian, and Indian coasts, as far as at that time known. From these the Phœnicians had already obtained vast treasures by caravans; but they now opened a maritime communication with them, in order to lighten the expense of transport, and to procure their merchandise at the best hand. The name of Ophir was common even in the time of Moses, and was then applied to those southern countries only known by common report. It was therefore now spoken of as a well-known name and country; and it may be fairly presumed, that when the Phœnicians entered upon this new line of trade, they only took possession of a previously well-established system; since it was a regular, settled navigation, and not a voyage of discovery. From its taking three years to perform, it would appear to have been directed to a distant region; but if we consider the half-yearly monsoons, and that the vessels visited the coasts of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the Malabar coast of India; and also that the expression, *in the third year*,[24] may admit of an interpretation that would much abridge the total duration, the distance will not appear so great. The commodities which they imported were ivory, precious stones, ebony, and gold, to which may be added apes and peacocks; all satisfactorily proving that they visited the countries just mentioned; especially Ethiopia, and probably India.[25]

[24] 2 CHRON. ix. 21. According to Michaelis's translation. As the periodical winds of the Arabian Gulf vary from those of the Indian Sea, and the same southerly wind only continues to blow for three months, viz. from January to April, a vessel coasting along the shore of India, of Ethiopia, and Arabia, and which would naturally touch and trade at several places, could not return the same year it set out. If, for example, it left Œlana in the month of October one year, it would be unable to return with the south wind into the Gulf before the spring of the third year from its departure. Thus the year of its return would be the third in number, although its absence in reality would be but eighteen months. SALT, (*Travels to Abyssinia*, p. 103,) in contradicting the statements of Bruce, says, that the Arabians perform this voyage in one year; but he does not mark the date of their departure from Œlana, nor reckon the time spent at the intermediate stations, which seems to be the essential point.

[25] Compare HERODOT. iii. 114, where these very Ethiopian wares will be found mentioned.

We learn from the Jewish annals that the advantages of this navigation were immense. But admitting that their representations are not over-coloured, it will still be highly incorrect to suppose that it was to this trade alone, or even in an eminent degree, that Tyre was indebted for her power and opulence. From what is said in the sacred writings, it would seem that this trade was very limited. It certainly formed only a lesser branch of the great Phœnician commerce, whose merchants procured the same merchandise by another, perhaps more profitable way; besides, no diminution is observable in the splendour of Tyre upon the interruption of this navigation, when the Jews were driven from these two seaports, which probably took place during the civil wars which arose upon the death of Solomon, when the Edomites revolted.[26]

The case was different with their navigation in the Persian Gulf. For though the exact point to which they traded from the Arabian Sea is uncertain, there can be no doubt but from this point they had a communication with the Indian coasts. As the investigation of this matter, however, demands a previous description of the Persian Gulf, and as the Phœnicians only shared this trade with the Babylonians and Chaldæans, the inquiry will be more in place in the following section, devoted to the Babylonians, where it will be set forth in as clear a light as possible.

The voyages of the Phœnicians thus far had a fixed and regular course; but besides these, they were in the habit of fitting out expeditions for the purpose of discovery, which often led the way to an enlargement of their commerce; though they sometimes had no result beyond the extension of their geographical knowledge. Chance has preserved us some particulars respecting a few of these enterprises, through their having been fortunately quoted by Herodotus; but how much more may have been undertaken, and successfully performed, by a people who, no doubt, like Great Britain and Portugal, had its Cooke and its Vasco de Gama!

In one of these voyages towards the Hellespont, which they undertook at a very early period, to explore Europe, they discovered the isle of Thasos, opposite the Thracian

[26] See Gesenius and others. The attempt made to re-establish this maritime intercourse under Jehoshaphat was unsuccessful.

coast, and were amply repaid for their pains by its productive gold mines, which they worked with wonderful labour and skill, as we learn from Herodotus, who saw them, till they were driven from the island by the Greeks.[27]

The same writer has given us an account of a still more wonderful voyage which this people undertook and successfully performed; this was nothing less than the circumnavigation of Africa. I shall here place before the reader the remarkable narrative, as given by the historian himself.[28]

"That Africa is clearly surrounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia, Neco, king of the Egyptians, was the first we know of to demonstrate. That prince, having finished his excavations for the canal leading out of the Nile into the Arabian Gulf, despatched certain natives of Phœnicia on shipboard, with orders to sail back through the Pillars of Hercules into the north (Mediterranean) sea, and so to return into Egypt. The Phœnicians, consequently, having departed out of the Erythræan sea, proceeded on their voyage in the southern sea: when it was autumn they would push ashore, and sowing the land, whatever might be the part of Libya they had reached, await there till the harvest time: having reaped their corn, they continued their voyage; thus, after the lapse of two years, and passing through the Pillars of Hercules in the third, they came back into Egypt, and stated, what is not credible to me, but may be so, perhaps, to others, namely, that in their circumnavigation of Libya, they had the sun on the right hand (that is, on the north)."

Such is the account of this bold and successful voyage, as given by the father of history. We see here that the Phœnicians undertook the circumnavigation of Africa from the side opposite to that from which the Portuguese set forth; that is, they started from the Arabian Gulf and returned through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean. They landed several times in order to sow and to reap; a procedure by no means surprising, if it be borne in mind how soon, in the warm climates of Africa, the harvest follows the seed time,—in three months at most; and as their vessels would need repair, the crew rest, and the sick attention and

[27] Herod. ii. 44; cf. vi. 47.

[28] Herod. iv. 42.

fresh provisions, they would sometimes be absolutely obliged to lay to and land for several weeks; hence there will be nothing strange in their sowing and reaping. The most interesting part of the narration, however, is the observation at the end, by which the writer, against his will, as it were, confirms the truth of the statement, by the recital of what appeared to him a fable; namely, that the mariners reported upon their return, that in the course of their voyage they had seen the sun in the north. Such we know must have been the case if they passed the equator; and who does not feel how impossible it was for them to have imagined this fact?

Notwithstanding this, modern writers of high character have formally denied the whole narrative of Herodotus, and brought forward various objections against it.[29] Herodotus's account, they say, is founded upon a mere tradition;—it is unexplained why a king of Egypt should have formed such a plan as this;—the time occupied by the voyage is too short;—the difficulties of the navigation along a dangerous coast too great;—and, finally, it is inconceivable that the discovery should not have led to more important results. Now it seems, in my opinion, always unreasonable to contradict positive historical testimony, on account of mere pretended improbabilities; and more especially when it is so strongly supported by internal evidence, as in the present instance. The objections, however, here brought forward are easily removed. For, in the first place, it is a mere assumption to say, that Herodotus's narrative is founded merely upon tradition. He does not, it is true, name his authority, but he speaks of the fact so positively as to imply a certainty, that in his eyes it had sufficient weight. Still less will it seem strange, that Neco, king of Egypt, should have planned this enterprise, when the character of that prince is taken into consideration. He had already built fleets on the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and had endeavoured to unite them by means of a canal, which would make Africa an island.[30] He had penetrated into Asia as a conqueror, to

[29] MANNERT, *Geographie der Griechen und Romer*, i. 20, etc., and GOSSELIN, *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, i. 149. Herodotus's statement, on the other hand, has found a most able defender in RENNEL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 682, etc.

[30] HEROD. ii. 158, 159.

the banks of the Euphrates.[31] Can it then excite surprise that he should conceive the idea of discovering the form and size of Africa?

The last objection, that this discovery must have led to greater consequences, falls at once to the ground, if we consider the history of Phœnicia immediately after it took place. The desolating expeditions of the Babylonian conquerors—indeed the protracted siege of Tyre itself by Nebuchadnezzar, followed closely after. A period in which the Phœnicians were constrained by the loss of their independence, to forego the idea of new voyages of discovery, even if they had had the power and inclination to undertake them.

The greatest objection, perhaps, is that presented by the difficulties of the navigation, and the shortness of the time in which the voyage is said to have been performed. It amounts, however, as I think, to nothing; for are we in a situation to judge, even with any tolerable degree of accuracy, of the perfection to which Phœnician navigation had been carried, or of its various resources? The following observations, however, I trust, will completely clear away this objection.

First. It has already been remarked in the introduction, that those nations which are accustomed to coasting navigation are generally much better acquainted with its peculiar dangers than even the great seafaring nations, whose vessels keep to the high seas. How well exercised in it then must the Phœnicians have been, who navigated from Tyre round Europe to Britain, and probably into the midst of the Baltic Sea!

Secondly. It is incorrect to assume that they had to navigate a coast wholly unknown. The eastern coast of Africa they had visited from the time of Solomon; their voyages to Ophir prove that they had a regular maritime communication with this quarter; and who can determine to what extent it was carried on, or how far they had penetrated along this coast? Indeed, even the above-mentioned seed-times and harvests presuppose an acquaintance with the climate of those hot regions, without which they never could have conceived such an idea; it affords therefore, instead of

[31] He lost the great battle at Circesium, or Carchemis, which established the Babylonian empire. See JEREM. xlvi. 2, etc.

an objection, rather a proof of the truth of Herodotus's narrative.[32]

Finally. It has been clearly ascertained by recent investigations, that the difficulties of the circumnavigation of Africa are not nearly so great in starting from the Arabian Sea as from the Mediterranean. All here combined to facilitate the progress of the expedition; not only the regular winds which prevail in those regions, but also the currents, which are perhaps in this case of still more importance. It is principally upon these that coasting navigation depends; and both these, and the winds, were favourable to the Phœnicians from the time they cleared the Arabian Gulf, till they reached the coast of Guinea, the longest and most difficult part of their voyage.[33]

But leaving these distant voyages of discovery out of the question, the extent to which this enterprising people carried their regular navigation is truly wonderful. Though voyages across the open seas have been the consequence of our acquaintance with the new world beyond the Atlantic; yet their hardy and adventurous spirit led them to find a substitute for it in stretching from coast to coast into the most distant regions. The long series of centuries during which they were exclusively the masters of the seas, gave them sufficient time to make this gradual progress, which perhaps was the more regular and certain in proportion to the time it occupied. The Phœnicians carried the nautical art to the highest point of perfection at that time required, or of which it was then capable; and gave a much wider scope to their enterprises and discoveries than either the Venetians or Genoese during the middle ages. Their numerous fleets were scattered over the Indian and Atlantic Ocean, and the Tyrian pennant waved at the same time on the coasts of Britain and on the shores of Ceylon.

[32] However great my belief in Herodotus's narrative, I cannot agree with Michaelis in supposing that this discovery gave rise to the establishment of a regular navigation to Gades and Tarshish, round Africa, of which there is not the least proof. See MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* i. p. 98, etc.

[33] These particulars are fully detailed, for the first time, in RENNEL'S *Geography of Herodotus*. In this likewise will be found an important map of Africa, in which the winds and currents are noted down.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER IV.

Manufactures and Land Trade of the Phœnicians.

A MULTITUDE OF CAMELS SHALL COVER THEE,
DROMEDARIES FROM MIDIAN AND EPHAH!
FROM SHEBA WILL THEY COME,
AND BRING THEE GOLD AND FRANKINCENSE.
ISAIAH, lx. 6.

THE merchandise exported by the Phœnicians consisted partly of the produce of their own industry and skill; but in a much greater extent of the wares which they received, or imported themselves, from the countries of Asia with which they maintained an intercourse. The raw materials, which their art and labour fashioned, must have been drawn from abroad, as their own little territory could have supplied but a very small portion of what was necessary to satisfy the demands of their numerous and large customers scattered all over the world. It is very evident, therefore, from these facts, that the Phœnicians must have enjoyed an extensive commerce by land, although no express information respecting it has been handed down to us. This trade, however, as well as that of the Carthaginians, has been but very little noticed, and would, perhaps, have escaped investigation altogether, if it had not in a manner been forced upon the attention of the expositors of the Old Testament, who could not, without comment, well pass by the constant allusions made to this traffic in the prophecies of Ezekiel.

The whole of the twenty-seventh chapter of that prophet refers to this subject. This portion of the sacred writings, so valuable for the history of national intercourse, contains, for example, a geographical view of commerce, so precise, that one might almost imagine the prophet had a map of the world before him. It relates in a particular manner to

the land trade of Tyre, now threatened with ruin by the military expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar. The difficulties which occur with regard to the geographical names have been satisfactorily removed, or at least as far as possible, by Bochart and Michaelis. Without these contemporary documents the extent of Tyrian commerce might have been conceived, but it could not have been proved; for the statements of the Greek writers upon this subject are extremely short and meagre. The sketch, however, of the Hebrew poet affords us an interesting picture of the great international commerce of inner Asia, which enlarges our narrow ideas of ancient trade, by showing us that it connected nearly all the countries of the known world.

Previous to the investigation of this branch of foreign commerce of the Phœnicians, let us take a glance at the productions of their own skill and industry, which were, even in the remotest antiquity, so generally celebrated, that the remembrance of them has been preserved to the present day.

Among the inventions of the Phœnicians, their dyes indisputably hold the highest rank. The beautifully coloured garments of Sidon were celebrated in the Homeric period;[1] and no one can be ignorant that the Tyrian purple formed one of the most general and principal articles of luxury in antiquity. All that I have been able to collect upon this important subject is comprised in the following general observations.[2]

In the first place, it is altogether incorrect to consider this purple as one particular colour. The expression seemed rather to have signified among the ancients, the whole class of dyes manufactured from an animal substance; namely, the juice of shell-fish. It thus formed a distinct species of dye, differing from the second, the vegetable dye, which was composed of various vegetables *(colores herbacei*[3]*)*.

[1] See *Iliad* vi. 291. *Od.* xv. 424.

[2] The best works upon this material have been written by the Italians. The chief work is AMATI *de Restitutione purpurarum*, third edition, Cesena, 1784. To this is appended a Treatise by CAPELLI, *de antiqua et nupera Purpura*, with notes. An excellent addition to these two works is contained in DON MICHAELE ROSA *Dissertazione delle porpore e delle materie vestiarie presso gli antichi*, 1768.

[3] AMATI, p. l.

Now the first species comprised not merely one, but a great number and variety of colours; not only purple, but also light and dark purple, and almost every shade between.[4]

Secondly. There were two species of testaceous animals made use of for this dye; one, *buccinum*, found in cliffs and rocks; the other, *purpura* or *pelagia*, (the proper *purple-shell*,) was taken by fishing in the sea. The shells of both were spiral; but that of one was round; and that of the other, pointed; both being said to be as many years old as they had circles round.[5] They were both found in such great quantities, that, according to Pliny's expression, they covered, as it were, the shore; and not merely on the Phœnician coast, but the whole of the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic. In the Mediterranean, the countries most celebrated for them were the shores of the Peloponnesus and Sicily; and in the Atlantic, the coast of Britain. There is an essential difference, however, in the quality of the colour, which of course must proceed from physical causes. Thus the shells of the Atlantic are said to have the darkest juice; those on the Italian and Sicilian coasts, a violet, or purple; and those on the Phœnician, and in general on the southern coast, a scarlet, or crimson.[6] The juice of the whole animal was not made use of; but a substance, called the flower, was pressed from a white vein or vessel in the neck, and the remaining part thrown away as useless.[7]

Thirdly. It is evident that this dye was only by slow degrees brought to perfection, and acquired its great celebrity. Still the Phœnicians are expressly indicated as the first who brought it into use; for the Tyrian Hercules is mentioned as the inventor; and the circumstance of their dwelling where these shells were found in such vast quantities naturally led them to make the discovery. Purple dyes, however, were by no means exclusively confined to the Phœnicians;[8] but by their great industry and skill, and from the excellent quality of the shells on their shore, they were enabled to bring it to a higher degree of perfection, and to

[4] AMATI, l. c., enumerates nine simple purple colours from white to black, and five mixed. The first are black, grey, *(lividus,)* violet, red, dark blue, light blue, yellow, reddish, and white.

[5] See AMATI, p. xxvii.

[6] AMATI, p. xxvi.

[7] The principal authority is PLIN. ix. 36; cf. AMATI, p. xxx.

[8] AMATI, p. xxxv.

maintain the superiority. Scarlet and violet purples, in particular, were no where dyed so well as in Tyre; garments of this colour, therefore, were in the greatest request among the great, and the prevailing fashion in the higher ranks of society. This furnishes us at once with a reason for the unbounded extent to which this branch of industry was carried by the Phœnicians.

Finally. Although all kinds of stuffs among the ancients, both cotton and linen, and in later times silk, were dyed purple, yet was this colour made use of in a more especial manner for woollens. The neighbouring nomads, as I shall presently show, supplied these of an excellent quality and fineness to the Phœnicians, who were thereby enabled to produce garments of a higher value, both in the superiority of the material and the colour.[9]

The dyeing was performed at all times *in the wool*, and was usually repeated *(purpuræ dibaphæ)*. By this was sometimes obtained the bright scarlet, and sometimes the violet tint; indeed, various sorts of purple were produced, and various processes followed.[10] Beauty, delicacy, and durability, were the great excellencies for which purple raiment was generally esteemed; but besides this, the Phœnicians also understood the art of throwing a peculiar lustre into this colour, by making other tints play over it, and producing what we call a shot colour, which seems to have made it wonderfully attractive.[11] Gaudy and glaring colours have in all ages most excited the attention of the vulgar and uncivilized; it is not therefore surprising that they had most admirers in the time of the Phœnicians.

Dyeing cannot exist without weaving. And it follows, that as the dyeing among the Phœnicians was done in the wool, the stuffs which they exported must have been the product of their own industry. The principal manufac-

[9] AMATI, p. xlvi.

[10] It will be easily perceived, that neither the superior beauty nor the variety of the colours depended merely upon the natural properties of the material; but principally upon the skill displayed in the preparation and mixing. Thus to obtain a dark red, the wool was first dipped in the juice of the *purpura*, and then, after being combed, in that of the *buccinum*. To obtain a violet this process was reversed. Peculiar dexterity and care, however, were required in the preparations, in order to obtain the exact tint required. See AMATI, p. xxxv. etc.

[11] AMATI, p. xlii.

tories of this sort were, in earlier times, at Sidon: Homer repeatedly praises its raiment.[12] At a later period, however, they were common in the other Phœnician cities, and especially in Tyre. It is much to be regretted, that history, which so celebrates the garments and woollens of this city, has preserved us no direct information respecting them.

Another product of Phœnician skill was glass; of this they were the inventors, and long enjoyed the exclusive manufactory.[13] The sand, or *vitrum*, used for this purpose, was found in the southern districts of this country, near the little river *Belus*, which rose at the foot of Mount Carmel, out of the lake *Cendeva* (probably Megiddo[14]). The glass manufactories continued, according to Pliny, during a long succession of centuries; their principal seats were at Sidon and the neighbouring Sarephta.[15] From the small number of glass houses, the use of glass would seem to have been much less general in antiquity than among us. While the mildness of the climate in all southern countries, as well as all over the East, rendered any other stoppage of the windows unnecessary, except that of curtains or blinds, goblets of the precious metals or stones were preferred as drinking vessels. This, however, seems in some measure to have been made up for by the early introduction of a singular kind of luxury in the stately edifices of these countries; that of covering the ceilings and walls of the apartments with glass.[16] The various significations, however, in which the Greek expression ὕαλος is made use of, and which properly means any transparent material, as crystal, various kinds of stones, and the like, render it impossible to determine with certainty whether glass itself or some other transparent substance is spoken of.

Under this head of Phœnician industry, too, may be ranged ornaments of dress, implements, utensils, baubles,

[12] *Il.* vi. 29. *Od.* xv. 424.

[13] Upon this subject we have two treatises: HAMBERGER, *Vitri Historia ex antiquitate eruta;* and MICHAELIS, *Historia vitri apud Hebræos*, both in the *Commentariis Soc. Goett.* t. iv. p. 1754 A.

[14] See MICHAELIS, l. c. p. 310.

[15] The chief authority is PLIN. xxxvi. 26; cf. HAMBERGER, l. c. p. 488.

[16] MICHAELIS, l. c. That this taste still prevails in Asia will be seen in MORIER, i. 218. So long as glass was only manufactured by the Phœnicians, it was accounted a precious commodity, and consequently might very well be esteemed an article of luxury.

and gewgaws, which they produced. The nature of their trade, which for a long time was confined to a traffic by barter with rude, uncultivated nations, among whom such commodities have always a quick and certain sale, must at a very early period have turned their attention to this branch of industry. A skilfully wrought chain of amber and gold was brought by Phœnician ships into Greece, according to Homer;[17] artificial works in ivory, supplied by their trade with India and Ethiopia, are mentioned by Ezekiel;[18] and how many other branches of their skill and industry may the lack of information have consigned to forgetfulness?[19] Chance has preserved us but little, yet this little is sufficient to prove that much must have existed among a rich, proud, and luxurious people.

Let us now turn to the foreign commerce which the Phœnicians carried on with the nations of the interior of Asia.

We shall have a better view of this land trade of the Phœnicians, if we divide it into three branches, according to its three principal directions. The first of these comprises the southern trade, or the Arabian-East-Indian, and the Egyptian; the second, the eastern, or the Assyrian-Babylonian; and the third, that of the north, or the Armenian-Caucasian. The statements of the prophets supply the groundwork of this investigation; the scattered accounts, however, to be found in other writers, and especially the Greek, will frequently throw an additional light upon the subject.

It is evident, from the various particulars mentioned by the Hebrew poets, as well as by profane writers, that the first of these three branches of commerce was the most important. We call it the Arabian-East-Indian, not because

[17] Odyss. xv. 459.

[18] Ezek. xxvii. 6.

[19] If we may assume that the ornaments worn by Jewish ladies were of Phœnician manufacture, which can scarcely be doubted, then the passage in Isaiah, iii. 18—23, will give us a more accurate view of them. "In that day will the Lord take away the ornaments of feet-buckles, and the cauls, and the little moons; the earrings, and the little chains; (query bracelets?) and the veils; the frontlets, and the feet-chains, and the girdles, and the smelling bottles, and the amulets; the rings for the fingers, and the nose-rings; the holiday clothes, and the petticoats, and the mantles, and the pockets; the mirrors, and the shifts, and the turbans, and the flowers." (Gesenius's *Translation*.) In the following verse are mentioned the artificial hair arrangements, "the well-curled locks."

we here assume it as proved that the Phœnicians themselves journeyed over Arabia to India; but because they procured in Arabia the merchandise of the East Indies, for which it was at that time the great market. With regard to Arabia itself, however, they kept up an intercourse with every part of it, as well its eastern coast as that bordering on the Arabian Sea. It is necessary, therefore, to make a few preliminary remarks upon the state and peculiarities of this extensive country, without which the reader would scarcely be able to form a correct estimate of the extent and importance of Phœnician commerce.

Arabia is one of the largest countries of the world, its superficial extent being more than three times as much as that of Germany. Its physical peculiarities distinguish it in a striking manner from the rest of Asia; and seem in a manner to point it out as a continuation of Africa, from which it is only divided by a gulf. Its natural features are not only generally the same, but change under the same parallels of latitude. The regions between 30° and 28° N. L., over which in Africa the great sandy desert spreads itself, find their exact counterpart in Arabia; and were it not for the existence of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, the whole of this immense portion of the globe, from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf, would be one uninterrupted desert of sand, in which not the least difference would be visible in the African and Asiatic or Arabian portions. In Africa, again, the region of fertility recommences under the twentieth parallel in the countries about the Niger; the same also takes place in Arabia. This change is expressed in the very name of the southern part of this peninsula, which is called the Happy Arabia. From this similarity of country, the trade of Arabia necessarily assumed the same form as that of Africa. Those, for example, who were desirous of opening a communication with this rich country, had first to cross the desert; and as this could only be done by large companies or caravans, it follows that the land trade with Arabia in ancient times, as well as since, could only be carried on by caravans.

Now although the desert itself was not without its produce, it is the southern fertile districts that more particularly merit the attention of the historian. It bore the name of

Yemen (the country to the right, in opposition to Syria); a name which, like that of Arabia Felix, given to it by the Greeks, but unknown in the country itself, sometimes signified the whole of the southern part of this peninsula between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and at others, only the district on the south-west, washed by the Indian Sea. Even in the latter acceptation of the word, Yemen is about equal in size to France; and well deserves its name of Happy, contrasted with the desert. It derives it, indeed, not so much from a positive uniform fertility, as from its comparative, occasioned by the many little mountain-streams which it contains, and which, in this hilly region, every where spring forth, without increasing to large rivers.

In a commercial point of view, Yemen was important in two respects: first, on account of its own productions; and, secondly, as the great staple of Indian and Ethiopian merchandise. It has always been, as well as the opposite coast of Ethiopia, from the earliest times, the principal country for spices and perfumes, and especially frankincense; whose great importance in ancient commerce has been spoken of upon several occasions. The various kinds of perfumes imported from this country by the Phœnicians in the time of Herodotus, are accurately described by that writer.[20] "To the south," he observes, "is Arabia, the most distant of inhabited countries. In this land grow frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanon. The frankincense is collected from trees, in which are found a number of small winged serpents, which they are obliged to drive away by burning gum-styrax. Cassia grows in a shallow lake, infested by numerous winged insects, like bats; from these the inhabitants protect themselves by covering the whole body and eyes with skins. Finally, the ledanon is found like filth sticking to the beards of he-goats: this perfume, however, is used in several ointments, and is that which in general the Arabians burn."[21] How these legends are to be interpreted, and how far they are founded upon historical

[20] HEROD. iii. 107—112.

[21] Distrusting my own experience, I have given the decisions of natural historians respecting these plants, as furnished me by a scholar well skilled in the botany of the ancients. Σμύρνη is *myrrh.* cf. DIOSCOR. i. 77. THEOPHR. ix. 45. Κάσια is *laurus casia L.* cf. DIOSC. i. 12. THEOPH. ix. 45. But λάδανον is *cistus creticus L.* DIOSC. i. 128. cf. TOURNEFORT, i. p. 29.

truth, I shall not venture to determine. It may perhaps be doubtful, whether the small flying serpents were any thing more than musquitoes; or the winged insects, similar to bats, any thing more than the winged lizards so common in that country.[22] The statement respecting the ledanon explains itself, in assuming that it exudes from a shrub upon which the goats are fond of browsing.[23] The frankincense is less a native of Arabia itself than the opposite coast of Zuila in Africa, as our investigations respecting that country will prove.

Besides these spices, gold and precious stones are expressly enumerated among the natural productions of Happy Arabia. Gold mines, it is true, are no longer to be found there, but the assurances of antiquity respecting them are so general and explicit, that it is impossible reasonably to doubt that Yemen once abounded in gold.[24] Why indeed should not the mountains of Arabia yield this metal, which was so plentiful in those just opposite, in Ethiopia? The minute acquaintance which Job (supposed to have been an Arabian) displays of mining affairs, renders this highly probable.[25] Golden ore was also washed down by the mountain streams, and cleared from the sand by washing.[26] With regard to precious stones, they were found in the mountains of the province of Hadramaut;[27] such at least as were considered precious by the ancients; namely, onyxes, rubies, agates, etc.

But in addition to these native productions of Happy Arabia, other wares are mentioned as Arabian, certainly not the proper produce of this country, but either Ethiopian or Indian. To the former belongs cinnamon, or cannella; and to the latter, ivory and ebony. Cinnamon is certainly enu-

[22] Draco volans L. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zu Jesaias*, i. 496.

[23] [The ledanon is a production of the ledum, a species of cistus; it is a sort of gummy exudation, collected now-a-days in the Levant, by rubbing the branches with a piece of leather, to which the viscous matter sticks: it is afterwards scraped off, rolled into balls, and dried. I have seen goats browsing on the leaves, in the interior parts of the island of Ceos, and have no doubt that what Herodotus states respecting the ancient mode of collecting this drug may be true. The ledum is cultivated in our gardens, under the name of the gum cistus (cistus ladaniferus, *Linn.*); the viscidity of the foliage is not so great as in the plants that grow on the coast of Asia Minor, although it is sufficient to produce a very disagreeable clamminess on the fingers of those that handle it. *Note to the passage in* LAURENT'S *Herodotus.* TR.]

[24] MICHAELIS, *Spicileg.* ii. p. 190. BOCHART, p. 139, 140.

[25] JOB, xxviii. 1—12.

[26] STRAB. p. 777.

[27] The *Chatramotite* of the Greeks.

merated by Herodotus among the productions of Arabia; but the fabulous account which he repeats upon the authority of the Phœnicians, shows very plainly, that they made a mystery of its real native country.[28] Where cinnamon grows, or what country produces it, they cannot say; excepting that some, not improbably, affirm, that it grows in those regions where Bacchus was brought up.[29] A large kind of fowl is said to bear these plants, which we, after the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, to their nests,[30] from which it is procured by a stratagem, which he goes on to describe. Theophrastus,[31] also, who distinguishes the various kinds of cinnamon according to its quality, has a story about serpents, that rendered its collection dangerous, which shows how widely these tales of the Phœnicians were spread. Later historians, as Diodorus and Strabo,[32] mention cinnamon, it is true, among the other productions of Arabia; but it may be easily seen that they confounded the merchandise imported with the produce of the country. Besides these, cardamomum, nard, and other spices, used in odoriferous waters and unguents, are expressly enumerated by Theophrastus as coming from India.[33]

Having settled the principal articles of trade, the very important question arises, what districts and places of Arabia Felix were the chief seats of this commerce? It is a great advantage to history, that the prophet has left us so many accurate particulars upon this subject. The places mentioned by him render it quite certain that the Phœnicians made choice, in an especial manner, of the two districts of Hadramaut and Sedscar, the richest and most fruitful of Yemen. "Wadan and Javan brought thee from Sanaa sword-blades, cassia, and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and of Raema traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and gold, brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, Saba, traded with thee."[34] Some of these places, as Aden, Canna, Haran, all celebrated

[28] HEROD. l. c.

[29] That is, in India.

[30] I shall show in the next section, on the trade of the Babylonians, that this is an ancient tradition of Ceylon.

[31] THEOPH. Hist. Plant. ix. 5.

[32] DIOD. i. p. 161. STRAB. p. 1124.

[33] THEOPH. ix. 7.

[34] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 19—24, according to Michaelis's translation, whose remarks I must beg the reader to compare with what follows.

seaports on the Indian Sea, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained their names unchanged to the present day: the site of others, as Waden, on the straits of Babelmandel, rest only on probable conjecture. These accurate statements of the prophet at all events prove what a special knowledge the inhabitants of Palestine had of Happy Arabia, and how great and active the intercourse with that country must have been.

Similar statements are found in Theophrastus; and likewise some remarkable particulars respecting the frankincense and spices there cultivated. "Frankincense, myrrh, and cassia," he observes, "grow in the Arabian districts of Saba and Adramotitis (Hadramaut); frankincense and myrrh on the sides or at the foot of mountains, and in the neighbouring islands. The trees which produce them grow sometimes wild, though occasionally cultivated; that of the frankincense being somewhat taller than the myrrh. The land belongs to the Sabeans, who regard the property as sacred, so that no one watches his trees. The harvested frankincense and myrrh was carried to a temple of the sun, the most holy among this nation, (always given to the idolatry of star-worship,) and guarded by armed Arabians. Each proprietor here set out his heap, placing upon it a ticket, on which was inscribed the quantity and price. Then came the merchant and deposited near each lot the price marked; after him followed the priest, who took one-third of this price for the deity, and left the remainder for the proprietor. The frankincense from the young trees is whitest, but least odoriferous; that of the more aged, yellow, but of stronger scent."[35]

The frankincense trade then was carried on under the protection of a sanctuary; it was also a kind of dumb trade, as is at this time the coffee trade in the same regions. "The frankincense grown on the main land was the most agreeable, but that of the neighbouring isles emitted the most powerful odour." Among these islands without doubt must be comprised the opposite Ethiopian peninsula of Zuila, now inhabited by the Samilis, who still, as I have shown in another place, possess the frankincense trade.

[35] THEOPHRAST. Hist. Plant. ix. 4.

The commerce of the Phœnicians, however, was not confined merely to southern Arabia, but stretched along the eastern coast on the Persian Gulf:—"The sons of Daden carry on thy trade, and to large countries went thy merchandise; with horn, ivory, and ebony, did they requite thee for thy wares."[36] Daden is one of the Baharein islands on the Persian Gulf, as will be fully shown in the chapter on the commerce of the Babylonians; and on this island Phœnician settlements it is said have been discovered in the vicinity of the trading city, Gerra. But if these words of the prophet prove an intercourse between Phœnicia and the Persian Gulf, they also prove not less indisputably the connexion in which the Phœnicians stood with India. The *large* countries to which the Phœnician trade extended beyond Daden could be no other than India; if this is not sufficiently proved by the situation, it is beyond a doubt by the commodities mentioned. Ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Daden from India, as there were no elephants in Arabia; and by the horn is probably meant the tusk of the narval, (or sea unicorn,) which is a native of the Indian sea.[37]

Having settled the principal directions which the Phœnician-Arabian commerce took, it is now important that we should discover who were the intermediate agents by whom it was transacted, and the way and manner by which it was carried on.

It has already been shown, that from the nature of the country this could only have been done by caravans. Let us now investigate by whom these were formed, from what point they started, and what route they travelled.

I have in another place observed, that the greater part of the caravans were usually formed by nomad tribes of herdsmen, who, from their mode of life, were much better adapted to it than the inhabitants of towns.[38] These remarks apply here, and are at once confirmed by the picture drawn by the prophet of the Tyrian land trade, in which we always see represented the nations *coming* and *bringing* their wares to the Tyrians; but never the latter going forth to fetch them. Tyre was, in this respect, much in the same situation as Carthage. She had in her neighbourhood numerous nomad nations, which she employed to transact her business. The Syrian and Arabian deserts were occupied by tribes of this description, who wandered about with their flocks and herds, and, living in their tents, acknowledged no authority but that of their sheiks and emirs. These formed the caravans, by letting or selling their numerous camels, with their guides and drivers, to the merchants. "Arabians, and all the emirs of the Kedarians, traded with thee and brought thee dromedaries."[39] It seems, too, very naturally to follow, that from mere carriers these men would soon become dealers; and hence it is no way extraordinary to find among these nations certain tribes very opulent. Among the Arabian tribes, none appear to have cultivated the caravan trade earlier, or with more advantage, than the Midianites, who wandered on the northern boundaries of that country, and consequently in the neighbourhood of Phœnicia. It was to a caravan of Midianite merchants, which, laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, was journeying from Arabia into Egypt, that Joseph was sold.[40] The spoil which the Israelites took from this nation in gold was so prodigious as to excite our wonder; it was indeed so common among them, that not only their own ornaments, but even the collars of their camels were made of this precious metal.[41]

But besides the Midianites there was another nation of northern Arabia, not less remarkable in the history of commerce, and which is also mentioned by the prophet, as one of the chief nations from whom the Phœnicians obtained the merchandise of the south: these were the Idumeans, or Edomites. "Edom also managed thy trade and thy great affairs; emeralds, purple, broidered work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones, she gave thee for the wares, which thou deliveredst to her."[42] The Edomites, however, were certainly not nomads. They had, as we have already noticed, cities, as, for example, the seaports of Eloth and Eziongeber, (now Acaba,) and others deeper in the land, as Bussra and Petra. The wares enumerated by the prophet seem to

[36] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 15. [37] MICHAELIS, l. c.
[38] See *General Introduction*, (p. xci.,) *African Nations*, vol. i.

[39] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 21. Kedar, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Happy Arabia, always appears rich in cattle, and as trading with them. ISAIAH, xx. 16, with the commentary of Gesenius.
[40] GENESIS, xxxvii. 28. [41] JUDGES, viii. 21, 26; GENESIS, xxxi. 47–53.
[42] EZEK. xxvi. 16.

be mostly Indian and Arabian; to these belong the precious stones, pearls, and purple, by which we must here understand that of India.[43] These, therefore, the Edomites bought of the caravans, and brought them to Tyre and the other Phœnician cities. The cotton and broidered work might probably have come from Egypt.

All these nomad tribes roving about northern Arabia were comprised by the Greeks under the name of Nabathian Arabs, which, though then applied to the inhabitants of the north of Arabia in general, properly belongs only to those of the important district of Hedjas. Diodorus, who describes very elegantly their manner of life, does not forget their caravan trade to Yemen. "No small number of them," he says,[44] "follow the business of carrying to the Mediterranean frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which they purchase of persons who bring them from Happy Arabia." According to this account, it appears that they did not travel to Yemen themselves, but obtained their goods of the caravans which came from that country, in order to carry them still further. Both systems, however, might very well have existed together; for the merchant changes the conductor of his wares upon the route, accordingly as he may find opportunity or have occasion. It is nevertheless plain, from the description of the prophet, that caravans were formed in Arabia itself to journey into Phœnicia; for he expressly asserts, that merchants from Javan and Wadan had brought the wares of Yemen to Tyre.[45]

We find the same things to have happened in Arabia that obtained in the Carthaginian dominions and Egypt: the great markets for the merchandise which the caravans exported were on the borders of the desert. Thus, in the territory of Edom, in a situation fixed by nature herself, Petra grew into opulence, and gave its name to the whole of North-west Arabia.[46] Here became accumulated, in great abundance and

[43] See MICHAELIS, l. c.
[44] DIOD. ii. p. 390.
[45] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 19. Wadan and Javan, both cities of Yemen. See MICHAELIS, l. c.
[46] Now *Karak;* in JOSEPHUS, iv. 4, *Rekam;* the present Selah, 30° 20′ N. L., 36° east longitude. According to the recent maps of Syria by Paultre, it is, at the present time, a place where many caravan roads meet: care must be taken not to confound it with Moba-Carrak, to the east of the Dead Sea, to which the name of Carrak has been given improperly. In the neighbourhood is Mount Hor, a place resorted to by pilgrims, and where is shown the grave of Aaron.

in security, a great variety of wares brought from the southern regions; such, for example, as were the property of these nomad races themselves, and which they exchanged with the Phœnicians and others for articles of clothing and the necessaries of life. This place also has been visited by Burckhardt,[47] Banks, and Legh.[48] According to Diodorus, it was three hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Red Sea;[49] and it seems therefore scarcely doubtful that it must be sought some where near *Wadi Muta*, (the valley of Moses,) so celebrated for its ruins. The description given of it by Burckhardt confirms the statement of Diodorus. By cutting through the solid rocks, a way has been made into a narrow valley, through which flows little streams, while the overhanging rocks often intercept the sight of the heavens. A handful of resolute men might here maintain themselves against an army. Where this valley begins to open lay the ancient city of Petra. The ruins of buildings found here are no earlier than the time of the Romans; but temples, and numerous sepulchres hewn out of the rock, are probably of a more remote origin.[50] Even as early as the times of Alexander, Petra was the staple of the Arabians for their spice and frankincense trade. At that time a great fair was held in its neighbourhood,[51] which there is no reason to doubt had been established at a much earlier period. Demetrius Poliorcetes attempted, at the command of his father Antigonus, to fall upon the merchants here in a treacherous manner, and to plunder them of their wealth, but the attempt failed.[52]

If the foregoing remarks have shown, in a general manner, the extent and activity of Arabian commerce, they must naturally have excited a desire in the reader to know the routes by which it was carried on. Had we in this case the description of a caravan road, such as Herodotus has left us of the one through the interior of Africa, our curiosity

[47] BURCKHARDT'S Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 422, etc.
[48] Their narratives will be found appended to MAC MICHAEL'S *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.*
[49] DIOD. l. c.
[50] MAC MICHAEL, p. 228. Prudence unfortunately prevented Burckhardt from accurately examining these ruins.
[51] DIOD. l. c.
[52] Ibid.

might be easily gratified; this however fails us, and the few obscure traces of one, which may be found in Strabo, only afford us data for the settlement of some individual places. This writer mentions at least one of the intervening stations, which the caravans from Arabia Felix usually passed through, and determines the time which the journey occupied. They consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus*, Λευκὴ κώμη of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or Avara of the Arabians.[53] This place is situated on the Arabian Gulf, under 25° N. Lat., on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to central Arabia. Hence it is evident that the caravan road extended along the Arabian Gulf, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Arabia Felix. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions in the midst of their journey; while, deeper in the interior, they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy deserts. The number of days' journey agrees very well with the distance. From Mariaba to Petra is reckoned at about 1260 geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance which caravans travel in a day, amounts to seventy.

This same writer has left us also some few particulars respecting the trading routes of eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra on the Persian Gulf, who more especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut, the journey to which occupied forty days, the road stretching right across the great sandy desert in the south-east of the peninsula, and not along the coast. The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra is not less than from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from the words of the prophet, a direct intercourse between the eastern coast of the peninsula and Gerra and Phœnicia. For, he says, the merchants of Daden brought the merchandise of the Persian Gulf to Tyre,[54] whose route, consequently, must have

[53] Strab. p. 1113.

[54] Ezek. xxvii. 15.

run through the north-eastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah, who, when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption which it would cause to its commerce. "In the wilderness of Arabia ye will be benighted, O ye caravans of Daden! To the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema; bring forth bread for the fugitives! For they fly before the sword and before the fury of war."[55] The trading caravans of Daden, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribe of Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed,[56] by which therefore the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.

Thus we learn the *usual* caravan road which led from Gerra to Tyre; that it was the only one is not here asserted. There must have been a time when the interior of Arabia, of which we are now so ignorant, was well known; and this is proved by the number of places mentioned by Ptolemy.[57] Whether or not this knowledge had descended from the Phœnicians, it is impossible to determine: perhaps it will not be thought improbable. In the investigation of the commerce of Babylon, it will however be more clearly proved, that the eastern coast of Arabia did not less abound in staples for Arabian, as well as Indian merchandise, than the southern. It requires therefore scarcely any further proof, that it also contained trading routes upon which this merchandise might be transported to the shores of the Mediterranean, or at least to the marts of Arabia Petræa.

Should it appear from what has been advanced that this

[55] Isaiah, xxi. 13—15, with Gesenius's *Commentary*. These passages of the prophets are of the greater importance from the seldomness with which caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from them, and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world.

[56] 27° N. Lat.: see Gesenius's *Commentary on Isaiah*, i. 657.

[57] Many caravan roads in the interior of Arabia are marked upon the map to D. Brehmer's *Entdeckungen, etc.* I shall notice them in the appendix upon the ancient commercial routes. The starting points are the same as laid down above.

Arabia Petræa—the boundary country between the desert and the fertile regions—was the district in which the Arabian caravans were formed, and where the great staples for their wares were found, let it be allowed me, further, to add a single conjecture upon the way in which it was forwarded from this place to the great seaports of the Phœnicians; as it seems probable, that by this may be cleared up, what hitherto has been a very obscure passage in Herodotus. I mean that in which he describes the sea-coast of Phœnicia, as far as the frontiers of Egypt.[58] "From Phœnicia to the boundaries of the city Cadytis, stretch the country of the Syrians of Palestine (the Jews). From Cadytis, a city which does not seem to me to be much smaller than Sardis, as far as Jenysus, lie, on the sea-coast, the Arabian staples. The country from Jenysus to lake Sirbonis and to the Casian mountains, where Egypt begins, belong again to the Syrians. This is no small district, but three days' journey long; it is in other respects a waterless desert."

These Arabian staples on the Mediterranean are mentioned by no other writer but Herodotus; and the passage is more remarkable from his so determinately distinguishing between the Arabians, and Syrians, and Jews. But does it not seem highly probable, that the principal and particular business of these seaports, among which I include Gaza and Ascalon, was to ship the merchandise brought by the Arabian and Egyptian caravans, and to transport it along the coast to Tyre and the other large Phœnician cities? This, though only a conjecture with regard to these early times, is a certainty as regards the period of the Ptolemies; for the city of Rhinocolura, which, if it did not form one of these very cities, lay in the same neighbourhood, is expressly mentioned as a seaport, to which a great portion of the wares of Arabia were brought from Petra, in order to be shipped off for their further destination.[59]

Modern travellers, first Seetzen,[60] then Burckhardt,[61] and,

[58] HEROD. iii. 5. Cadytis I take to be Jerusalem. The expression *ἐμπόρια τοῦ Ἀραβίου*, according to the connexion, can have no other sense than that given above.

[59] STRAB. p. 1128.

[60] In extracts from his letters; *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, B. 17, 18.

[61] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by J. L. BURCKHARDT. Lond. 1822, with maps.

finally, Bankes and Buckingham,[62] have brought to light the remains of the cities east of the lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, (the ancient Decapolis and Havra,) comprised between 32°—33° N. Lat.; the magnificent ruins of Gerasa, (Dsieres,) Gadara, and Philadelphia, (Amman,) some of which are little inferior to those of Palmyra. Decayed temples, colonnades, and amphitheatres, show the former grandeur and opulence of these cities, when they were the seats of the Indian-Arabian commerce. So far, however, as these ruins have been made known to us, they belong altogether to a later period, that of the Antonines; while in those of Palmyra, among the vestiges of this, are discovered some of an earlier period: on this account the former do not come within the scope of this inquiry.

From the foregoing observations the following results may be deduced.

First. It is clear that Arabia was the great seat of the Phœnician land trade, and that with this was interwoven a connexion with the rich countries of the south, Ethiopia and India. Notwithstanding the vast deserts of sand, which protected Arabia from the attacks of foreign conquerors, the merchant's desire of gain was not damped, but surmounted every difficulty. Caravans, composed of various tribes, penetrated through its wastes in every direction, even to its southern and eastern coasts;[63] here they traded, either directly or indirectly, with the Phœnicians, whose seaports became at last the great staples of their valuable merchandise, whence it was shipped off, and spread over the West at an immense profit to these merchants.

Secondly. This commerce must have been the more lucrative, as it was, according to the very clear statement of Ezekiel, altogether carried on by barter. It is every where spoken of as an exchange of merchandise against merchandise, and even the precious metals are only considered as such. What an immense profit the Phœnician merchant must have made of his Spanish silver mines, by exchanging their produce for gold in Yemen, where this metal was so abundant! What

[62] BUCKINGHAM'S *Travels in Palestine*, 1823.

[63] See the sublime description of ISAIAH, lx. 6—9, in which the prophet represents the caravans as whole tribes, which should come to Jerusalem instead of going to Tyre.

a profit he must have had on other wares, which the Arabians in a manner were obliged to take of him, and in which he had no competitor! While, however, the Phœnician had no rival to compete with, he established, as it were, one among the Arabians, by procuring the commodities they sold from every country in which they were to be obtained, by which means he prevented the Arab merchants from fixing an arbitrary price upon their goods. If driven to it, he could do without the merchants of Saba or Aden, since he could obtain the same wares from Gerra; and had the merchants of Gerra attempted to overcharge him, they would as soon have been supplanted by those of Yemen.

Thirdly. The intercourse with Arabia must have been greatly facilitated by the similarity of the languages of the two nations. These were only dialects of one same language;[64] and though differences might occur, yet there scarcely could have been any difficulty in making each other understood. What an advantage to the Phœnician merchant, to be able, in the mutual intercourse with these distant regions, to make use of his native tongue, instead of being at the mercy of treacherous interpreters! This advantage alone would have sufficed to secure him the exclusive commerce of Arabia, even if the situation of the country had not made it almost impossible for any foreign nation to compete with him.

The commerce of the Phœnicians with Egypt must be considered as a second branch of their southern land trade. Their intercourse with this nation was one of the earliest they formed, as Herodotus expressly assures us that the exportation of Assyrian and Egyptian wares was the first business they carried on.[65] Their early acquaintance with Egypt, too, comes before us even in the patriarchal age; as every one knows from the Mosaic records. And when it is remembered that Egypt at all times enjoyed the principal land trade of Africa, as I have shown in the portion of my work relating to that country, it would indeed seem surprising if no intercourse had subsisted between two such great neighbouring commercial nations. Still more positive information, however, respecting its existence is given by Ezekiel, who, in his pic-

[64] See above, p. 45, 46. [65] Herod. i. 1.

ture of Tyrian commerce, forgets not that with Egypt, but even enumerates the wares which Tyre obtained from the banks of the Nile. "Fine cottons and embroidered work from Egypt spreadest thou over thy pavilions; dark blue and purple from the Peloponnesus were thy coverings."[66] In my Researches on the Egyptians, I have shown that weaving was one of their principal occupations, and that cotton was a native of their soil. Embroideries of cotton, and with cotton, were common in Egypt, and considered as masterpieces of art; as is proved by the linen corslet embroidered with cotton thread, which Amasis presented to Polycrates of Samos.[67] Corn, the other great product of Egypt, was only procured from that country upon extraordinary occasions; as Palestine and Syria furnished it of an excellent quality. It is proved, however, that it was fetched from thence, in cases of emergency, by the caravan journey of the sons of Jacob into Egypt.

Some particulars, too, have been preserved respecting the form and manner of the commercial intercourse between the Egyptians and Phœnicians. It was carried on by land and not by sea, for the entrance to Egypt by the latter was forbidden to foreigners previous to the reign of Amasis. The first trace of this commerce is found in the earliest tradition of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. "After the victory over Anteus, he went into Egypt, and there destroyed the tyrant Busiris, who dyed his hands in the blood of all strangers."[68] I cheerfully resign to my readers the easy and agreeable task of unveiling the sense which is enveloped under this beautiful mythos; who sees not that civilization is the thing here meant? and that Busiris, being one of the ancient kings of Thebes, this tradition refers to the Phœnician commerce with Upper Egypt, (one of the most ancient land trades of the world,) where the hundred-gated Thebes was the capital, and at the same time the principal seat of the commerce of interior Africa, as I have proved in the Researches upon the Egyptians?

With the domestic revolutions of Egypt, the seat of Phœnician trade became changed. Thebes no longer remained its chief mart, but the later capital, Memphis. Here was

[66] Ezek. xxvii. 7. [67] Herod. iii. 47.
[68] Diod. i. p. 263.

established a colony of Phœnicians; as an entire quarter of the city was inhabited by their merchants.[69] These facts are surely sufficient to prove how extensive their transactions must have been with this nation.

One of the principal articles exported by the Phœnicians to Egypt was wine, which this country did not at that time produce. Twice a year large cargoes of this were shipped from Phœnicia and Greece. The earthen vessels, in which, according to the custom of the ancient world, it was contained, were applied to an extraordinary purpose by the Persians, when they ruled in this country. They were placed as cisterns in the three days' desert, which divided Syria from Egypt, in order to make the communication easier for strangers.[70]

The second great branch of the Phœnician land trade spread towards the east. It includes their commerce with Syria and Palestine, with Babylon and Assyria, and with the countries of eastern Asia.

Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians. Their own mountainous territory was but little adapted for agriculture, while Palestine produced corn in such abundance, as to be able to supply them plentifully with this first necessary of life. "Judah and the land of Israel traded with thee; corn of Minnith, honey of raisins, oil, and balm, gave they to thee for thy wares."[71] The corn of Judea was the best known. It excelled even that of Egypt. It was not therefore merely the proximity of the country which led the Egyptians to prefer this market. The other productions, also mentioned by the prophet, are among those which the Holy Land was famous for producing of a superior quality. The strong vine, which has been native in this country from time immemorial, afforded them an abundance of delicious grapes. The oil of Palestine, as we are informed by a modern traveller, even still excels that of Provence, notwithstanding the sunken state of culture under Turkish despotism. The balm was collected in the lands about lake Genezareth; and is of the same sort as that still in high repute, under the name of balsam of Mecca.[72]

[69] HEROD. ii. 112. [70] See HEROD. iii. 5, 6.
[71] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 17. For what follows, see the remarks of Michaelis.
[72] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 6.

The fact, that Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians, explains, too, in the clearest manner, the good understanding and lasting peace that prevailed between these two nations. It is a striking feature in the Jewish history, that with all other nations around them they lived in a state of almost continual warfare; and that under David and Solomon they even became conquerors, and subdued considerable countries; and yet with their nearest neighbours, the Phœnicians, they never engaged in hostilities. But if a sense of their weakness prevented them from attacking these mighty cities, the natural policy of the Phœnicians no less, on the other hand, restrained them from any hostile attempt on a country from which they drew their subsistence: to which it may be added, that it seems to have been a maxim among them to avoid all wars and forcible extension of their dominions upon the continent of Asia.

Syria proper, also, supplied its various productions, according to the nature of the different parts of the country,—accordingly as it was adapted for agriculture, the cultivation of the vine, or merely to the nomad life and the breeding of cattle. "Damascus traded with thee on account of thy great riches, and the multitude of thy wares; and brought thee wine from Chalybon, and wool from the wilderness."[73] The wine of Chalybon, probably the modern Aleppo, was the best that Asia afforded, or at least was esteemed as such. It was the only sort which was served at the table of the Persian kings, whose custom it was, only to admit to their board the greatest delicacies that each province of their empire brought forth.[74] If it be considered that the vine at this period was naturalized neither in Africa nor in the west of Europe, the conjecture will appear more probable, that wine in general was one of the most important commodities of Phœnician sea trade, as it could only be transported on land by waggons, and not upon beasts of burden.

The wool of the wilderness was one of the wares supplied by the pastoral tribes, who wandered with their flocks as well over the Syrian as over the Arabian deserts.[75] The fleece of these sheep is the finest known; it is improved by

[73] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 18.
[74] See the chapter on the Internal Government of the Persians.
[75] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 18, 21.

the heat of the climate, the continual exposure to the open air, and the care that these people bestow upon their flocks, which constitute their only business, all of which help to render it more precious.[76] The Arabian sheep, distinguished from the European by their immense tails, were known to Herodotus, who has left us a description of them.[77] "Arabia likewise possesses two extraordinary breeds of sheep, neither of which is found elsewhere. One of these has long tails, not less than three cubits; and were they suffered to drag them behind them, they would become sore by rubbing against the ground. The shepherds therefore make small carriages, and fasten them under the tails, to each animal one. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, each full an ell in width."

Herodotus only errs in taking a mere variety for a distinct species; all the other circumstances he here mentions are known to modern naturalists and travellers. A moment's reflection upon Tyrian manufacture of woven goods and their dyes, will enable the reader at once to perceive the great importance of this branch of commerce. It converted the very wilderness, so far as they were concerned, into an opulent country, which afforded them the finest and most precious raw materials for their most important manufactures. This circumstance, too, was a means of cementing and preserving a good understanding between them and these nomad tribes; a matter of no inconsiderable consequence to the Phœnicians, as it was through them that the rich produce of the southern regions came into their hands.

The great point, however, to which the trade of the Phœnicians was directed in the east, was Babylon. That a very active commerce was carried on with this flourishing city, even before it forcibly obtained the dominion of Asia and subjected Phœnicia itself, no one can doubt, who is acquainted with the situation and manners of the two nations; and yet, however astonishing it may seem, we have less information respecting this very important branch of trade than upon almost every other. Still we have the positive testimony of Herodotus, that it was one of the most ancient.

[76] See MICHAELIS, on the Wandering Shepherds, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, B. i. s. 6.

[77] HEROD. iii. 113.

"At the beginning, they exported Egyptian and Assyrian wares (the latter comprising the Babylonian) to the Mediterranean."[78] The prophet also mentions this commerce, but, like Herodotus, only in a general manner, and without at all setting forth its nature and objects.[79] It probably happened, that it was frequently interrupted by the great revolutions of interior Asia, in which Babylon itself often necessarily participated; it must however soon have revived, when the trade of Babylon itself again began to flourish.

In proportion, however, as the silence of history upon this interesting subject is remarkable, the conjecture is strengthened, that the trading route between Babylon and Tyre lay through a long uninterrupted desert; the natural consequence of which would be, that, even supposing it not purposely concealed, this commerce would have become but little known. But even in this desert itself are found vestiges which seem to denote its course and magnitude: the ruins of Palmyra and Balbeck; probably links of the commercial chain which connected Tyre and Babylon.[80]

The magnificent remains of these two cities have only been made known within the last century, by the publication of two celebrated works, in which they are represented by engravings. Of Palmyra, indeed, it may in some measure be asserted, that it was not discovered till within this period.[81] The form of the buildings which are left, show at the first glance that they have no claim to the antiquity of Thebes and Persepolis, but belong rather to the Greek-Macedonian, and a considerable part of them even to the Roman period; it is not however less certain, that the foundation of both cities must be carried much farther back than the origin of their existing remains.

The Jewish annals ascribe the building of both cities to

[78] HEROD. i. 1.

[79] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 23. "Assur and Chilmad were also thy merchants."

[80] The first of these lay in the fruitful valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, consequently not within Phœnicia proper. Palmyra, on the contrary, was situated in the midst of the Syrian desert, three days' journey from the Euphrates, upon one of those gems of the desert, or oases, which I have described with more detail in the volumes upon Africa, 33½° N. Lat. Its abundance of palms gave it its name, though this tree of the wilderness is no longer to be found there.

[81] See the two well-known works, *Ruins of Palmyra*, and *the Ruins of Balbeck*, in the preface to which will be found collected the principal historical data for the history of both cities.

Solomon: "He built Baalath and Tadmor in the desert."[82] Baalath, the temple of the sun, is the same with Balbeck, the valley of the sun; which name has been given it because the city was built in a valley. The first name is also expressed by the Greek appellation, *Heliopolis*. Tadmor, or Thadamora, is one of the common Syrian names of Palmyra.

If it be believed, from the high antiquity of this city, that it was built just at the time when the land trade of the Phœnicians, and especially of the new island city of Tyre, was so rapidly spreading, it must be admitted that a share in this trade entered exactly into the views of Solomon their builder, as is shown from the navigation to Ophir. Their lying, too, exactly in the direction of Babylon; and the great highway of eastern commerce running, certainly at a later period, through them, and thus became the cause of their magnitude and splendour, render it at least highly probable, that they had fulfilled the same destination in earlier times. Even now, according to Seetzen, all the commercial roads from Damascus to the Euphrates run by Palmyra, where they first divide.[83] This indeed is the path prescribed by nature herself. Taking this for granted, Balbeck may be considered as the point of departure; it being the general custom of the East for caravans to assemble at some distance from the chief city. In three days they reached Emesa, (Hems,) another celebrated city of Syria, on the borders of the desert. The distance through this sea of sand then required from four to five days to bring the traveller in sight of Palmyra. From this oasis to the Euphrates again required a journey of from three to four days to bring the caravan to Thapsacus, where it usually crossed over this stream. On the opposite side, the travellers had the choice of either following the course of the river, or of passing through the steppes of Mesopotamia.[84]

Whether, however, this is now the usual route or not, the commercial intercourse between Tyre and Babylon will not be the less certain; but this is not the case with regard to the more distant countries of Asia. I shall reserve the investigation of this matter to the next book, on the trade of

[82] 1 KINGS, ix. 18. [83] *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, S. 508.
[84] This route is also marked upon PAULTRE'S *Map of Syria*, which describes both the ancient and modern caravan roads.

Babylon. I trust, I shall in that be able to make it appear that the Phœnicians, either directly or indirectly, procured the productions of the much more remote regions of the world.

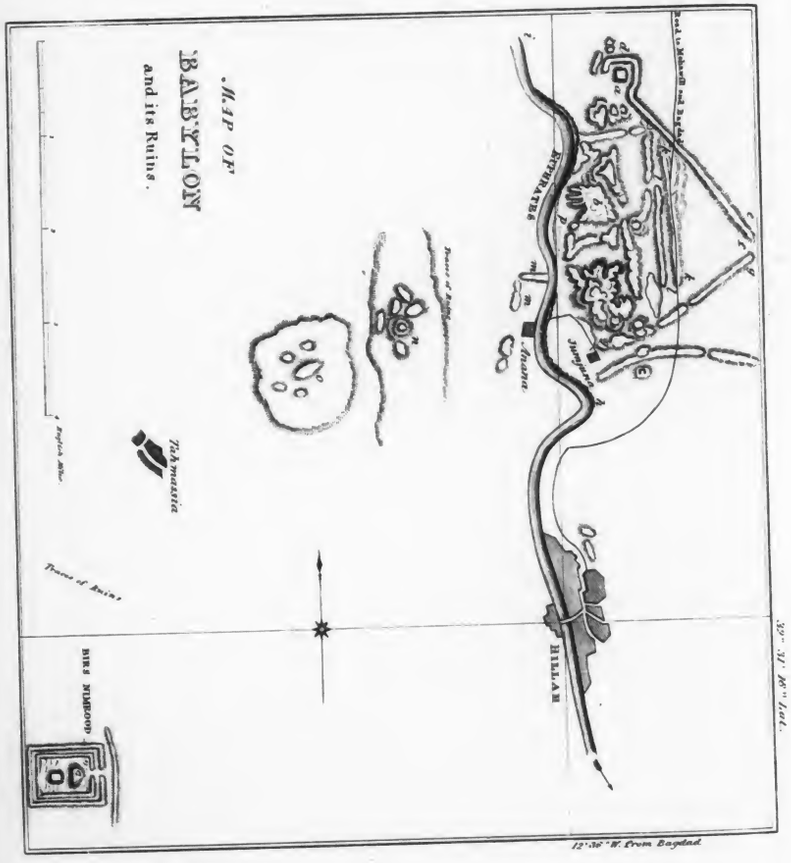
We have now only to consider the third, and least branch of Phœnician land trade, which would have remained entirely unknown had it not been casually mentioned by the prophet. No Greek writer, that I am acquainted with, has left the least information respecting it. "Tubal and Meshech traded with thee, and gave thee slaves and vessels of brass for thy wares. Togarmah gave thee horses of common and noble breeds, and mules, for thy wares."[85] The geographical difficulties to which these names give rise have been cleared away by Bochart and Michaelis.[86] There can be no doubt, that Tubal and Meshech denoted the regions lying between the Black and Caspian Seas; the abode of the Tibarenians and Mosches, and probably also the Cappadocians. With regard to Togarmah, conjecture runs very strong in favour of its being Armenia. The probability of the truth of these conjectures is much augmented by the fact, that the wares enumerated are exactly such as these regions produce. Cappadocia, together with the Caucasian districts, from the very earliest times, was the chief seat of the slave trade, and always continued so in the ancient world. The finest race of men have always been preferred; and it is very generally known, that at the present time the harems of the Turkish and Persian nobility are peopled with the most beautiful of the Georgians and Circassians. The speculating spirit of the Phœnicians soon found a way to these countries, and knew very well how to take advantage of the prevailing taste in this merchandise. Their commerce in this detestable branch of trade was very extensive. The prophets bitterly reproach them with dealing in boys and girls, even in those of their neighbours the Jews, and for selling them to the Greeks; and predict that they should be punished for this offence, and their own children sold to the Sabeans.[87]

[85] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 13, 14.
[86] BOCHART, p. 200, 207. MICHAEL. *Spicileg.* i. 44, 67.
[87] The principal authorities are the prophet JOEL, iii. 1—8, with the remarks of Michaelis, and GESENIUS *in Isaiah*, xxiii. I. 703. See also AMOS, i. 9, where the slave trade is enumerated among the transgressions of Tyre.

The mines of these regions, however, were probably a still greater attraction; and one which their whole history shows they could not withstand. The prophet mentions numerous vessels of copper: and perhaps the reader may call to mind the evidence of a later witness, Xenophon, who, in his expedition through the country of the Carduchians, was astonished at the great quantity of metal household utensils which these people possessed; and which, therefore, for many previous centuries, had been an object of Phœnician commerce. These countries abound in copper as much now as they did in antiquity. It forms the principal article of their trade with Bagdad and Basra; household utensils are commonly made of it, and scarcely any other profession is so common in those countries as that of coppersmiths.

Armenia, finally, is also recognised by its wares. It is described as a land abounding in horses; and in this respect, as well as in the distinction which the prophet makes between those of an inferior and a more esteemed breed, no country of Asia agrees so well as Armenia. In the nobler race we at once identify the Nyssean horses, the stately coursers of antiquity, no less celebrated for their colour and the splendour of their hides than for their beautiful symmetry; they were alone deemed worthy to draw the cars of the Persian monarchs.

To conclude, it is evident that this northern trade also was not carried on with money, but by barter. It was not necessary here, however, to have recourse to caravans. The way lay through inhabited and civilized countries, which might in part be traversed upon the royal highways running from Upper Asia to Sardis and the Mediterranean, which in the following pages will be accurately described.


MAP OF
BABYLON
and its Ruins.
Tower of Ruins
Birs Nimroud
Tower of Ruins
Tower of Belus
Temple
Palace
Mound
Mound
Mound

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Country and its Inhabitants.

AND THEY SAID, COME, LET US BUILD A CITY AND A TOWER, WHOSE TOP MAY REACH UNTO HEAVEN. AND THE LORD CAME DOWN TO SEE THE CITY AND THE TOWER WHICH THE CHILDREN OF MEN BUILDED. GENESIS, xi. 4, 5.

FEW countries of antiquity have so just a claim to the attention of the historian as Babylonia. However the writers of the eastern and western empires may have exaggerated the wonders of the capital, the country itself is distinguished by striking peculiarities from all others in this quarter of the globe. In no other did the cultivation of the earth by the industry and exertions of its inhabitants make such rapid progress; and in no other was industry more richly rewarded.[1] Notwithstanding the numerous revolutions it underwent, and the devastations of the barbarous conquerors who invaded it, Babylonia, unlike every other country of the earth, presented an astonishing succession of flourishing cities, which, like the Phœnix, seemed to arise from the ashes and ruins of their own destruction. In the earliest records of the human race, the name of Babylon appears as the primeval seat of political society, and the cradle of civilization.[2] And this name endured great and renowned for a long succession of ages. At last, when Babylon declined—just at the time when, according to the projects of the Macedonian conqueror, it was destined to form the capital of all Asia, and the central point of his new monarchy—Selucia sprung up and flourished near it on the Tigris: ere this city fell, it was eclipsed by Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire: when both these were destroyed by the

[1] HEROD. i. 193.

[2] GENESIS, x. 8—10.

conquering Arabs, the royal cities of Bagdad and Ormus arose in their place; and the last glimmer, as it were, of the ancient splendour of Babylon seems still to hover over the half ruined Bassora.

Under these different points of view, Babylonia appears as one of the principal countries of Asia, and the most important on the globe. But its internal condition and physical peculiarities are so striking and remarkable, that we are compelled to take a survey of them before we turn our attention to its inhabitants.

Babylonia, or Chaldea,[3] was situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the former bounding it on the west, and the latter on the east. A description of these two rivers must precede our account of this country, because it is from their peculiar properties that it derives its own.

Both these streams rise in Armenia, and, after pursuing their course from north to south, fall into the Persian Gulf.[4] But as the plain between these rivers has a considerable fall towards the east, the western river, the Euphrates, has a much higher bed than the Tigris. Its level banks are generally filled to the brink with the mighty mass of waters which roll between them, so that the least increase causes an overflow. The Tigris, on the contrary, has a much deeper channel, with bolder shores, over which it seldom or never passes, although its current is much more rapid than that of the Euphrates. At a certain period of the year, however, from the snow melting in the mountains of Armenia, this latter river, like the Nile, constantly inundates the surrounding country. To set bounds to the frequent inundations of so large a stream in a completely level country, was certainly not an easy, though an indispensable undertaking. Like the people dwelling on the banks of the Egyptian river, the Babylonians had to wrest their country from the invasions of the flood. And the efforts this required seem to have developed their genius, and to have given an impulse to the progress of civilization and the arts among them, for

[3] A distinction, it must be observed, is sometimes made between Babylonia and Chaldea; the latter comprising the south, and the former the northern division. Usually, however, and certainly more correctly, they were considered as synonymous, the Chaldeans having taken possession of the whole country.

[4] See ARRIAN, vii. 7, for the following particulars.

which they were scarcely less celebrated than the Egyptians.

In the warm and dry climate of Babylon, it was not sufficient merely to restrain the floods, there was likewise the proper irrigation of the soil to be cared for.

It is in this twofold point of view that we must consider the arrangements made by the inhabitants to subjugate this river: a labour certainly lightened by the dikes, canals, lakes, and marshes, which nature itself had formed, though all these required the assistance and improvement of art.

The whole of Babylonia was intersected by a variety of large and small canals; some running right across the country from one river to the other, and answering the double purpose of a communication between them, and the irrigation of the soil; while others were formed solely for the latter object.[5] These canals began above Babylonia proper, in Mesopotamia; four of the largest, running from the Tigris to the Euphrates, being found north of the Median wall, about two miles and a half apart, and sufficiently broad and deep to be navigable for ships of burden. One of them was made use of by Artaxerxes as a line of defence when his brother Cyrus marched against him.

There seems but little doubt, that these canals were designed, like the Median wall, to prevent the inroads of the nomad hordes. Supposing that the Medes had effected a passage over this wall, and penetrated into Babylonia proper, they would still have found themselves arrested by two great canals, extending from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and from which a multitude of smaller ones branched off, for the purpose of irrigation. These latter, which seem, however, not to have reached to the Euphrates, were nevertheless so deep and broad, that Xenophon, at the head of the ten thousand, could only pass them by means of bridges; and even then had just cause to fear, lest he should be surrounded. Still nearer Babylon was situated the grand or royal canal, running from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and of sufficient breadth and depth to be navigable for merchant vessels.[6] It is impossible to determine

[5] HEROD. i. 193, may be consulted for what follows, and more especially XENOPH. *Anab.* i.

[6] HEROD. l. c.

the number of these canals; for, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the whole land was intersected by them, from their being every where indispensable for the watering of the soil. He relates as a curious fact, that the Euphrates, which had formerly flowed to the sea in almost a direct line, had been rendered so serpentine in its windings by the number of canals dug above Babylon, that in its passage to the city it passed three times the Assyrian village of Ardericca, and certainly on three different days.[7]

It is evident from this passage of Herodotus, that Ardericca lay above Babylon; and that the great aim of this laborious undertaking was to defend the country from the incursions of the Medes, and to facilitate the navigation of the vessels in their descent from the higher countries. Hence it seems highly probable that these alterations were made in the districts where the bed of the Euphrates is full of rocks and sandbanks;[8] and that they formed an immense series of sluices and floodgates, making the river navigable, but at the same time so lengthening it, both by the time occupied in going through the numerous locks, and by the numerous windings of the canal, as to make it a three days' voyage to pass the village of Ardericca. But all that seems extraordinary in passing by the same place three times vanishes, if it be considered that the canal was cut in this zigzag manner, to diminish the fall occasioned by the steepness of the land. Thus the two outer branches of the canal, in passing to and fro, touched the two extreme points of the village, while the centre also passed by it, which fully explains the length of the voyage; while the time it occupied may be accounted for, by the delay occasioned in passing the great number of locks. This, to be sure, is no more than a conjecture, but it seems a more probable one, than that which makes the length of the canal alone require a navigation of three days' duration.[9]

[7] HEROD. i. 185.

[8] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, 239.

[9] See a treatise by BREIGER, *Descriptio Asiæ Herodoti*, an essay which gained the prize in the university of Gottingen in 1793. The name of Ardericca has led to the conjecture, that it is the present Akkerkuf, above Bagdad, where yet is found a large ruin of bricks, in the Babylonian style of building, which Ker Porter has minutely described. PORTER'S *Travels*, ii. 277. Akkerkuf however lies on the Tigris, not the Euphrates, as Ardericca did; a difficulty which would not be got over, though it should be granted, that a triple canal here ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Besides canals, the Babylonians had recourse to dams, for the regulating the power of the current. Some of these were so ancient, that their first erection is ascribed to Semiramis, to whom it has been customary to attribute most of the great works of Asia, whose authors are unknown.[10] But according to Herodotus, queen Nitocris raised on both sides of the river new embankments of an extraordinary height and thickness, for which purpose the earth was made use of that had been dug up in the formation of an artificial lake; while in the interior of the city were built quays or banks of stone, such as are found in most of the capitals of Europe, situated upon large rivers or the sea-shore.

Though the construction of these dams and canals seems to have required almost incredible labour, yet what is told us of the lakes of Babylon is still more extraordinary, and, on account of the discrepancies in the information, still more difficult to explain. It would be nothing uncommon for the overflowings of such mighty rivers as the Euphrates and Tigris to have formed lakes in various districts; and, unless we take for granted there were a great number of such lakes in Babylon, a conjecture which a cursory examination of the ancient writers tends to confirm, it will be impossible to reconcile their various statements. The enterprising spirit of the inhabitants, however, combined with their industry and skill, soon discovered the means of rendering these lakes useful, as they did also, in part, the canals, by turning into them the overplus waters of the Euphrates; and to effect this, they had only to perfect the work began by nature, by the making of deep excavations, and the formation of sluices. The first of these lakes, which is described by Herodotus, and attributed to Nitocris, was at a considerable distance from the capital in the northern part of Babylonia. It was at least fifty miles in circumference, and lay at a small distance from the river. The earth dug out of this lake served for the embankments of the river, but the lake itself was faced by a stone and mortar enclosure. An undertaking such as this would appear colossal, even though it were but an extension of the work of nature, and confined to the enlarging the lake, already formed by the over-

[10] HEROD. i. 184.

flowings of the river, and giving it a solid boundary; and this appears from Herodotus to be precisely what took place. They dug down, he says, till they came to stagnant water. Into this lake, which usually resembled a morass, they could introduce the waters of the Euphrates by means of a canal; and it was by doing this that Cyrus conquered Babylon, when he forced his way into the city by the bed of this river.

This lake must not be confounded with the lakes or swamps formed by the Euphrates near ancient Babylon. The western quarter of the capital was entirely surrounded by these, which formed a natural barrier, and serving instead of wall and ramparts, rendered Babylon on this side inaccessible.[11] Alexander, who, in order to nullify a disastrous prophecy, was desirous of making his entry into his future capital on this side, was obliged to renounce his wish, in spite of all his exertions, and to take the common way.[12] The necessity to which the Babylonians were driven of building large quays in the interior of the city, is a proof that these lakes had been formed by the natural operation of the river, before its current had been restrained. It was probably these that led Alexander to conceive the design of forming a harbour near Babylon, which should be worthy the capital of his empire, and capable of containing a thousand large ships.[13]

There was another third great work of the same kind, wholly different from the lakes above mentioned, about forty-five miles below Babylon, and about one hundred and thirty from the mouth of the Euphrates. In this district the lands on the west of the river were low and marshy, covered with water, and stretching so far into the deserts of Arabia, that they were said to communicate with the sea.[14] These marshes were considerably lower than the bed of the river, and seem to have been destined by nature as a reservoir for its drainings. The water of the main stream was

[11] ARRIAN, vii. 17. An excellent map of ancient Babylonia will be found in RENNEL'S *Geography to Herodotus*, in which, with some slight variations, are noted the canals, lakes, etc. of the country.

[12] According to KER PORTER, who himself saw them, (*Travels*, ii. p. 389,) these numerous lakes and swamps still exist. He also confirms the remark, that they rendered access to the city on this side impossible.

[13] ARRIAN, vii. 19. [14] For what follows, see ARRIAN, vii. 21.

conducted into this morass, by means of a large canal of the breadth of a considerable river. It was called Pallacopas. Lest, however, the river should lose itself altogether in this morass, recourse was had to dams and sluices. One of the Babylonian satraps had effected this work at the cost of immense labour; ten thousand men having been employed upon it three months. It was nevertheless but of short duration, owing to the insurmountable difficulties which the nature of the soil presented; for as the lands about here afforded nothing but a fat, muddy soil, the embankments soon yielded to the action of the waters, and were washed away. In consequence of this, Alexander stopped up the ancient opening, and built at about five miles distance, in a strong soil, a new canal reaching to the Pallacopas. These works were the more interesting to him, because his design was to render these lakes navigable, and to penetrate with his ships into Arabia; that country being the only one of which it may be said he required the conquest, in order to complete the interior communication of his empire, without which it could not be perfectly consolidated, nor acquire the consistence which this great prince wished to give it, by the promotion of commerce and navigation, and the various arts of peace.

By these contrivances to subdue the Euphrates, that object was not only effected, but another consequence ensued, perhaps neither foreseen nor desired: the Euphrates was drained of the greatest portion of its waters before it reached the sea.[15] Instead of increasing in its descent, it diminished; several of its channels lost themselves in the sand; and its proper mouth became so shallow that it seems never to have been navigable. It is nevertheless proved, that it always retained its own mouth in the time of the Persians, and did not lose itself altogether in the Tigris, as it now does, sixty miles above the sea.[16] The great mass of its waters, however, threw itself into that river, which, increasing in proportion as the Euphrates diminished, could no longer find room for its waters within its accustomed channel, but, as it

[15] ARRIAN, viii. 18.

[16] This junction now takes place at Corna. The superior impetuosity of the Tigris is here evident; for the tide in the Euphrates runs up above twenty miles beyond Corna, while it is stopped by the Tigris, whose current it cannot overpower. *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, i. 135.

approached the sea, flowed over its banks and formed large lakes, equal to those formed by the Euphrates in the higher regions.

The country enclosed by these two rivers was one vast, uninterrupted level, indebted to them for its fertility. This level was every where intersected by canals, which gradually decreased in size till they became mere ditches. On their banks were innumerable machines for raising the water and spreading it over the soil.[17] The heat and almost constant dryness of the climate rendered this continual irrigation necessary; but the labour of man was here, as in Egypt, rewarded by such a luxuriant crop, that historians, fearful of being suspected of exaggeration, have been afraid to state the full truth. "Of all the countries that I am acquainted with," says Herodotus,[18] "Babylonia is by far the most fruitful in corn. The soil is so particularly adapted for it, that it never produces less than two hundred-fold, and in seasons remarkably favourable, it sometimes amounts to three hundred. The ear of the wheat, as well as the barley, is four digits broad. But the immense height to which the cenchrus and sesasum stalks[19] grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited this country should disbelieve my report." This fertility with regard to corn, however, was counterbalanced by a dearth of wood. The fig tree, olive, and vine, were not found there at all;[20] and their place was but poorly supplied by an abundance of date or palm trees, with which Babylonia was completely covered. These even still grow in large quantities on the banks of the Euphrates, but neither in the plains nor on the Tigris. The fruit of the palm was not only used as food, but converted into wine and honey.[21] The process observed in the culture of this fruit

[17] HEROD. i. 185.

[18] Ibid. i. 193.

[19] Cenchrus is *Panicum Miliaceum;* cf. THEOPH. viii. 3. *Sesamum* is generally considered to be the *Sesamum Orientale*, L., but is most likely the *Sesamum Indicum;* cf. PLIN. xviii. 10. "Sesamum ab Indis venit, ex eo et oleum faciant." DIOSC. ii. 124, describes the oil manufactured from it by the Egyptians; cf. ALPIN *de Plantis Ægyptica*, c. 32, and FORSKAL. *in Flora Arabica*, p. 113.

[20] HEROD. l. c. Compare with what he says, XENOPH. *Anab.* ii.

[21] This is also the case at present: see OTTER, Voyage ii. p. 63, where will be found some information upon the artificial culture of dates. The honey must be considered as nothing more than palm sugar made of the fresh sap

is described by Herodotus; they bind the fruit of the male tree on the female, by which means the insect that is produced in the former, entering the fruit, brings it to maturity.[22] Of all other lofty trees, Babylonia was entirely destitute. Thus, even when its agriculture had attained its highest perfection, the country never entirely lost its primitive character of a land of steppes. The cypress, though some, was but a poor substitute for all other kinds of wood,[23] the want of which must have been severely felt, and had a vast influence upon the navigation and architecture of the Babylonians.

Like the generality of steppe regions, Babylonia was as destitute of stone as of wood. The free-stone made use of by the inhabitants in their buildings must therefore have been brought down the Euphrates, from the northern countries, whose quarries supplied them with millstones.[24] Nature, however, made up for the want of these important building materials in a remarkable manner. The vicinity of Babylon furnished an inexhaustible supply of superior clay, which, dried in the sun or burnt in kilns, became so firm and durable, that the remains of ancient walls which have been thrown down for centuries, have withstood the effect of the atmosphere to the present day,[25] and still retain the inscriptions with which they were impressed—a species of that arrow-headed character, which has lately so much excited the attention of the learned. Nature also even provided for the mortar. Eight days' journey above Babylon was the small river Is, and near to it a place of the same name, where was found a plentiful supply of naphtha, or bitumen, which well supplied the place of lime. No doubt seems to prevail respecting this being the modern Hit, where the pits or wells whence this material was obtained, still smoke and boil up, as though a river would break forth;[26] and

of the palm, and still in common use among the Arabians. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1819, vol. i. p. 138.

[22] HEROD. l. c. He and ARISTOTLE both call this insect ψήν; see *Hist. Anim.* v. 32. It belongs to the *Cynips Psenes*. PLINY, xv. 19, very indefinitely calls it *Culex*.

[23] XENOPH. l. c.

[24] Near a place called Corsote, beyond the Median wall. XENOPHON. *Op.* p. 256.

[25] HEROD. i. 179; cf. NIEBUHR'S *Voyage*, ii. 288.

[26] TITH'S *Travels to Ormus*, in *Harris's Collection of Voyages*, p. 207.

where, according to Herbelot, a tradition still exists, that it was of this bitumen that Babylon was formerly built.[27] It was used instead of cement; and layers of rushes or reeds were likewise placed between every thirtieth row of bricks as a binding material. This process, described by Herodotus, is verified by the ruins of Babylon, and according to the statements of a modern traveller, the layers of rushes and palm leaves are still so fresh, that one would suppose, from their appearance, that scarcely a year had elapsed since they were first placed together.[28]

Such was the character of this remarkable country. If nature on one side had done much towards assisting the labours of the inhabitants, she had on the other thrown incredible obstacles in their way. The perception of the first urged them to overcome the latter. It was precisely this struggle which developed the power of human genius among them, in a manner in which it has taken place no where else. Yet all this, perhaps, would have been in vain, without the still greater advantage derived from the favourable position of the country. In consequence of this, Babylon became the principal state of Western Asia; nature herself seeming to have formed it for the great seat of the international commerce of Asia.[29] Situated between the Indus and the Mediterranean, it was the natural staple of such precious wares of the East as were esteemed in the West. Its proximity to the Persian Gulf, the great highway of trade, which nature seems to have prepared for the admission of the seafaring nations of the Indian Seas into the midst of Asia, must be reckoned as another advantage, especially when taken in connexion with its vicinity to the two great rivers, the continuation, as it were, of this great highway, and opening a communication with the nations dwelling on the Euxine and the Caspian. Thus favoured by nature, this country necessarily became the central point, where the merchants of nearly all the nations of the civilized world assembled; and such we are informed by history it remained, so long as the international commerce of Asia flourished. Neither the devastating sword of conquering nations, nor the heavy yoke of Asiatic despotism, could tarnish, though for a time they might dim its splendour. It was only when the Europeans found a new path to India across the ocean, and converted the great commerce of the world from a land trade to a sea trade, that the royal city on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates began to decline. Then, deprived of its commerce, it fell a victim to the two-fold oppression of anarchy and despotism, and sunk to its original state—a stinking morass, and a barren steppe.

[27] HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient. s. v. Hit.* It must not however be supposed that these were the only sources whence naphtha might be procured. It is found rather plentiful near the Tigris; so much so, that it is an amusement of the sailors upon that river to set fire to the bitumen which floats on its surface.

[28] HEROD. and NIEBUHR, ll. cc. Traces of these are visible on a Babylonian brick in the museum of Gottingen.

[29] See above, *Persians*, p. 24.

The investigation of the commerce of Babylon will form the subject of the following chapter; but previously to entering upon it, let us take a glance at the people who took up their abode on this spot: who, in short, were the Babylonians?

In order to answer this question, we must, in the first place, distinguish the ancient inhabitants, who dwelt here before the invasion of the Chaldeans, from the latter race, who, about the year 630 before Christ, became the dominant people of Babylon.

We know enough of the ancient Babylonians to conclude, that they belonged to the Semetic family of nations; their language, which is very incorrectly called Chaldean, (as the rude Chaldeans only changed their barbarous speech for that of the cultivated Babylonians,) being an Aramean dialect, differing but slightly from the proper Syriac. Whether the inhabitants of Babylon came from India, or were tribes from the peninsula of Arabia, as their language renders probable, is of the less consequence to the historian, as in a country which became a principal seat of commerce, a very mixed race of people must necessarily have arisen. It is, on the other hand, of importance to know, that the Babylonians had, in the most remote antiquity, advanced not only to fixed habitations, but also to a certain degree of civilization.

The most ancient tradition that refers to Babylon, represents them as a nation possessing fixed abodes and political institutions.[30] Every one is familiar with the accounts

[30] GENES. xi. 1—7.

which the Mosaic records give us of the *first empire* founded by Nimrod, and of the celebrated building of which Jehovah prevented the completion. There is, perhaps, no where else to be found a narrative so venerable for its antiquity, or so important in the history of civilization; in which we have at once preserved the first traces of primeval international commerce, the first political associations, and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings!

For a long time after this early appearance, Babylon vanishes, as it were, from the scene of history. The Jewish annalists had no opportunity to mention her, as the Babylonians had no connexion with them; and with regard to what the later Greek writers, Herodotus and Ctesias, tell us, their statements are so mixed up with fabulous reports, which they picked up in the country itself, that they are incapable of being reduced to any chronological arrangement. The historical mythology of the Babylonians seems to rest almost exclusively upon the names of Semiramis, Ninus, and Belus, which, however embellished and interwoven with *astronomical ideas*, still render it in the highest degree probable, that great conquerors had arisen in this part of Asia long before the origin of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, and had founded two empires, of which nothing more has been preserved than the remembrance, in the general name of *Assyrian monarchy*.

I will leave to others the collection and arrangement of these fragments of the primitive history of Babylon,[31] and confine myself to that epoch in which this city played so great and mighty a part in the drama of the world.

This brilliant epoch begins in the latter part of the seventh century before our era, about 630 years before Christ, or nearly seventy years before the rise of the Persian monarchy.

A revolution then took place in Asia, similar to that which Cyrus afterwards effected. A nomad people, under

[31] See GATTERER'S *Weltgeschichte*, p. 151, etc. It is evident from a passage in the Armenian version of EUSEBIUS'S *Chronicle*, quoted and illustrated by Gesenius, the learned commentator upon Isaiah, that Babylonia, even in the time of Hezekiah, 728—700, B. C., was dependent upon the Assyrian empire, notwithstanding that Merodach-baladan is mentioned, (Isaiah, xxxix. 1,) as at that time king of Babylon. It appears that the monarch here spoken of had only rebelled, and now implored the assistance of Hezekiah. He was slain six months after this by Elibus, another usurper, who was taken prisoner by Sanherib the Assyrian ruler.

the name of Chaldean,[32] descending from the mountains of Taurus and Caucasus, overwhelmed southern Asia, and made themselves masters of the Syrian and Babylonian plains. Babylonia, which they captured, became the chief seat of their empire, and their king Nebuchadnezzar, by subduing Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean, earned his title to be ranked among the most famous of Asiatic conquerors. The great victory which he gained at Cercesium, on the banks of the Euphrates, over Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, established his power. He destroyed Jerusalem, besieged Tyre and the other cities of Phœnicia, and probably overran Egypt itself. Thus was founded the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, which, about half a century later, was in its turn overthrown by Cyrus.

This was not then the period of the foundation and growth of Babylon, but it was that of its grandeur and power. It may seem extraordinary that Herodotus does not mention Nebuchadnezzar; but if he omits the name, he agrees in chronology with the statements of the Hebrew writers; for his queen Nitocris,[33] to whom he ascribes the great works in and about Babylon, must have been contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably his wife.[34]

By admitting these data, already sufficiently proved by

[32] The question what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents. From eastern analogy, it seems most probable that the כשדים of the Hebrews, which is translated Chaldeans, was a general name among the Semetic nations for the *northern barbarians*, as Turani was among the inhabitants of Iran. At all events, it is certain, that the conquering Chaldeans forced their way from the north, since their separate hordes had already wandered in the steppes of Mesopotamia for a hundred years, and had in part settled there. The reader, however, is particularly referred to GESENIUS on Isaiah, xxiii. 13, where the fragments of the earlier history of this people will be found collected. This learned commentator seeks the original seat of the Chaldeans in the mountains of Curdistan, now inhabited by the Curds, probably their successors; and conjectures that they were brought from their native regions by the Assyrians as mercenaries, after which they settled in the plains till they started forth as conquerors. Every one acquainted with Asiatic history will at once see, that there is nothing in the opinion that their name was a general appellation, but what may very well agree with this notion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that would make them Scythians, refutes itself. *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. sic.* ii. 77, etc.

[33] HEROD. i. 183.

[34] HERODOTUS, i. 188, calls the king Labynetus, against whom Cyrus waged war, her son. It is extraordinary how the name of Nebuchadnezzar could remain unknown to this historian, when, according to JOSEPHUS, *Op.* p. 350, it was well known to Megasthenes and other Greek writers. I shall hereafter find an opportunity of saying a few words upon this subject.

the critical researches of early writers, we begin to see a little more clearly through the obscurity which still envelops the foundation and aggrandisement of Babylon; and the statements of Herodotus, which were long considered unworthy of credit, become intelligible. The same wonders which he relates of Babylon are related by other writers, who, like him, speak as eye-witnesses of other great cities of Asia. We ought not to doubt of what appears extraordinary, because it does not, judging from our own experience, seem probable; for this does not enable us to decide what may be possible under another climate and other circumstances. Do not the pyramids of Egypt, the great wall of China, and the rock-temples of Elephantis, stand as it were in mockery of that criticism which would arrogate to itself the privilege of fixing boundaries to the capabilities of the united strength of congregated nations!

It is one of the peculiarities of the great despotic empires which Asia has always contained, that they can with amazing facility concentrate their power upon one single point; and thus, in consequence of the immense assemblage of various tribes from distant countries, and the almost incredible population which the ease of procuring subsistence accumulates in certain fruitful regions, many vast undertakings are practicable there, which could not be executed in Europe.

It must also be borne in mind, that the great cities of Asia were constituted in a manner wholly different to those of Europe. They generally grew out of the settlements of nomad conquerors, who fixed their abode in a subjugated country, and changed their old mode of life for one more settled and peaceful.

The encampment of a chieftain, near the walls of some already existing capital, was speedily converted into a new city, which eclipsed the splendour of the old one. The vanquished people were employed in its erection; the plan of the camp, which it followed in every particular, insured its symmetry, and enables us to account for its square form, and the straight lines in which its streets extended, and intersected each other at right angles.

Such was the general origin of these vast capital cities, and the process of their foundation. Where a plentiful

supply of building materials could be found at a convenient distance; a clay that the sun could dry, or the fire burn into bricks; and sources of bitumen that rendered mortar unnecessary; our surprise must be lessened at the erection of edifices and monuments such as Europe cannot equal.

These favourite residences of victorious monarchs, where luxury and delight took up their abode, insensibly became the central points of the commerce of their states. Long trains of caravans were directed towards them, and the produce of the provinces here became accumulated. That this was the case with Babylon will be shown in the following chapter.

The extent of these cities forms but little guide to the European in estimating their population. The compact close streets of Europe form a striking contrast to the scattered mansions of the East, surrounded with their extensive courts and gardens, occupying more than an even portion of the whole area. An equal space therefore was far from containing an equal number of men, as in the cities of Europe. How well these remarks apply to Babylon will be seen from the express testimony of the ancients. "The buildings of this city," says Quintus Curtius,[35] "do not reach to the walls, but are at the distance of an acre *(jugerum)* from them. Neither is the whole city covered with houses, but only ninety furlongs *(stadia)*; nor do the houses stand in rows by each other, but the intervals which separate them are sown and cultivated, that they may furnish subsistence in case of siege."[36]

Such was the origin and state of the mighty Babylon, whose majesty and splendour was so celebrated in antiquity. Much of its glory was due to the Chaldeans, whose monarchs, having achieved by their swords the sovereignty of Asia, made it their habitation. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built!" was the proud exclamation of its king Nebuchadnezzar.[37]—Still more expressive is the testimony of the prophet: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; that

[35] CURTIUS, v. 12. Without doubt from the accounts of one who accompanied Alexander. Should not therefore Herodotus's account of the high houses and straight streets be limited to one part of the city?

[36] *Per nonaginta stadia habitatur.* He estimates the whole extent at three hundred and sixty-eight stadia.

[37] DAN. iv. 27.

nation which a little time since was not. The Assyrian subdued it, and gave it to the inhabitants of the desert! they transformed the wandering hordes of nations into settled abodes; and built up the palaces of the land."[38]

Ancient Babylon, from the character and arrangement of its buildings, was prevented from leaving monuments to posterity worthy of comparison with those of Persepolis; but its heaps, or rather mountains of rubbish still interest the attention of the philosopher and historian. The most ancient of ancient ruins, the very traditions of whose origin reach back to the earliest dawn of history! A living witness, as it were, of the truth of the first records of our sacred books. However changed during the lapse of thousands of years, that first building began by the nations has not altogether vanished from the earth!

It was again, in this case, reserved for the present age to throw a clearer light upon this great object, by exploring the site of ancient Babylon, the only means by which it could be effected.

Notwithstanding the labours of so many early travellers, and among others of Niebuhr, who first led the way, various obstacles prevented any one of them from making an accurate examination of the monuments of Babylon; and the most important, or at least the largest, were precisely those which still remained enveloped in almost total obscurity. Recent English travellers, among whom Sir Ker Porter holds the first rank, raised at length the veil which had so long covered these venerable remains of the primeval world.[39]

According to Herodotus, the only ancient writer who, as an eye-witness, has left a description of ancient Babylon,[40]

[38] Isaiah, xxiii. 13. Michaelis's translation.

[39] Rich, the British resident at Bagdad, in 1811 repeatedly visited Babylon, accompanied by his friend Belino, a German. The fruits of their researches were a first and second *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, Lond. 1818. Seven years later, Porter, likewise accompanied by Belino, visited and explored the site of the ancient city; and his exact, and detailed, and very interesting descriptions are given in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Babylonia*, etc. vol. ii. p. 293—390, with views and plans. I would, once for all, remark, that they are to be regarded as the authority for the following statements where no other is quoted. The accompanying plan, by the assistance of my friend, Professor Otfr. Müller, has been reduced from plates 73, 74, of Porter. There is also an Essay on ancient Babylon, by Captain Frederick, in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Lond. 1823; those who have seen Porter may dispense with this.

[40] Herod. 178—181. The particulars mentioned by Diod. i. p. 121, etc., evidently borrowed from Ctesias, who undoubtedly visited Babylon, contain numerous events not to be found in Herodotus; such, for example, as those relating to the hanging gardens, the double royal palace, etc. Ctesias, however, not only recounts what he saw himself, but also what he heard. Such, too, is in some measure the case with Herodotus, who certainly saw the exterior of the temple of Belus, which was still in good preservation, though he could not obtain a sight of the interior, which had been previously pillaged by Xerxes. He must likewise have seen the royal palace of Babylon, since the kings of Persia were accustomed to pass a part of the winter in that capital; but Darius had already, at its capture, thrown down the walls, or at least a part of them, (Herod. iii. 159,) and the particulars of their prodigious height and thickness rest upon a relation made to Herodotus, which he repeats as he heard it, and which the reader must modify according to his belief. We must not however judge of them from what we see around us. The Chinese wall which now exists, could not have been built in Europe; this, and the Median wall, built also of brick, which once bounded Babylonia on the north, and extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, though perhaps not so high, were certainly longer than those of Babylon. At all events it is sufficiently clear from the history of the siege of Babylon, by Darius, that the walls of this city were of an extraordinary height and solidity.

the city formed a perfect square, of which each side was one hundred and twenty stadia (twelve geographical miles) long. It was built on both banks of the Euphrates, which divided it into two parts connected by a stone bridge, with wooden planks laid over for the pathway, which might be removed at pleasure. The banks of the river were lined with bricks. In the midst of one quarter of the city stood the royal palace; in the other, the temple of Bel, in a quadrangular enclosure two stadia in circumference. In the midst of the same rises a tower composed of eight stories; the lowermost being one stadia in length and breadth; around which runs up a flight of steps with resting places. Upon the uppermost tower stands the sanctuary, in which is placed a table and couch of solid gold, but no statue. The city was surrounded by a deep and wide moat full of water, and faced with bricks; behind which was an embankment, or wall, two hundred royal cubits high, built of the earth, dug out of the moat, burnt into bricks, with doors at the top. A second wall, of almost equal strength, formed a further defence between the other and the city: the royal palace also was fortified. The streets were built in straight lines running in two directions, and cutting each other at right angles; those towards the river had gates of brass. The houses were built three and four stories high; and Babylon was the most richly adorned city that the historian had ever seen.

Setting aside for the present the two questions relative to

the position of the principal monuments, and the extent of ancient Babylon, let us take a survey of the ruins as they at present exist, according to the latest information. This will be much facilitated by the plan annexed to this volume. I hope, after this preparation, I shall be able to investigate the above two, otherwise difficult, questions, with less labour both to myself and reader.

Rich and Porter both sought the ruins of Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, near the little modern town of Hilla, 32° 31′ N. lat. Starting from Bagdad, about fifty miles further north on the Tigris, the first place Porter arrived at was Akkerkuf on the Tigris, where the Median wall formerly reached this river; thence taking a south-west direction, he crossed the plain to the Euphrates. The direct journey thence to Babylon is forty-four miles, the intervening space being a completely level, but now uncultivated plain; though the numerous canals, now dry, by which it is every where intersected, as well as the fragments of bricks and tiles with which it is every where strewed, are proofs of its former different state. Here and there an isolated caravanserai points out the usual resting place, and offers the traveller its scanty accommodation. At the last of these, near the village of Mahowill, ten miles from Hilla, begin, properly speaking, the ruins of Babylon; the rest of the way being every where covered with unburnt bricks, evidently the remains of a great, wide-spread city.

The great ruins which first strike the eye of the traveller in coming from Bagdad by the way of Mahowill, lie on the east side of the river northward of Hilla. Their first appearance is that of natural hills, but a closer examination soon clearly shows, that they are composed of bricks, and are evidently the remains of large buildings. Three of these immense mounds are found in succession from north to south, on the eastern side of the Euphrates.

In the language of the Arabians, one now bears the name of *Mukallibe*,[41] (the overturned,) the second, *El Kasr*, (the palace,) and the third, the Amram hill (the grave of a saint of that name).

The first mound, *a*, Mukallibe, is the most northern, and

[41] Pronounced by the Arabians *Mojalibe*.

the largest of the three.[42] It is formed of bricks dried in the sun. The whole forming an oblong square, the top of which presents an uneven surface, having the appearance of a platform, upon which some great buildings had formerly been erected. The interior is full of ravines and holes, now the resort of wild beasts, which renders the entrance dangerous. In an opened apartment Mr. Rich found a wooden sarcophagus, containing a skeleton, covered with nitre, whose great antiquity admitted of no doubt. This building has been erroneously taken for the ancient temple of Belus, its structure being quite opposed to the pyramidical form in which this was built. It was probably the fortress which defended this quarter of the town, in which the royal palace was situated. Nothing more can be said of it with any degree of certainty.

At two thousand two hundred and fifty feet south of this hill, is the second hill, *b*, named by the Arabs *El Kasr*, or the palace. When visited by Rich, it was nearly a square of seven hundred yards in length and breadth. But even in the seven years which intervened between this visit and that of Porter, the everlasting digging and carrying away of the bricks had been sufficient to change its shape. What then must have been its size twenty centuries before! Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter of the city. The bricks are of the finest description, hardened not in the sun but in the fire, perfectly moulded and ornamented with inscriptions. And notwithstanding they have been taken away from this place, as from a great storehouse for centuries, they appear still to be abundant. But these continued robberies have disfigured the appearance of the hill. Deep pits and ravines have been dug out, and in some places they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns and subterranean passages.

Besides these bricks, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of polished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh,

[42] Its present height, which, according to Porter, is the same it always was, is 140 feet; the northern, which is the longest side, is 542; and the south and east sides 230 feet. The four points are placed according to the opposite points of the compass.

are still found. The walls are eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters. The face of every brick on which the inscription is stamped was universally turned downwards. The upper side of each row was covered with a layer of cement; and on this, carefully prepared, the face of the succeeding row was bedded. The firmness of these masses is so great, that in spite of the bricks being the hardest of any that Porter had met with, he found they would not bear detaching. It was only after considerable labour, that he succeeded in chipping off a few pieces, although the layers of cement are not more than the twentieth part of an inch in thickness. Along the western and northern face of this great mound, are detached portions of a wall, which probably composed the piers or buttresses of the terraces, attached to the celebrated hanging gardens described by Diodorus, and which, according to Curtius, had the appearance of a forest. In the ruins which now remain, lines of long passages and square chambers may be easily traced, which commanded a view of the city. Amongst these ruins stands a solitary tree, of a species altogether strange to this country. It bears every mark of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn away, and shattered by time, while its spreading and evergreen branches are particularly beautiful, and adorned with long tress-like tendrils; probably the last descendant of those hanging gardens, which were numbered among the wonders of the world.

About two thousand four hundred feet from Kasr, is Amram hill, *c*. This great mass spreads over a vaster expanse every way than that of Kasr, and is now of a triangular form. Its longest side, on the south-west, is no less than four thousand two hundred feet; the shortest, on the north, is two thousand five hundred. The whole of this stupendous heap is broken, like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines, and long winding furrows, from the number of bricks that have been taken away; so that it now has the appearance of an ordinary heap of irregular form. It is a shapeless assemblage of bricks, mortar, and cement, where the foot of the traveller plunges at every step into dust and rubbish. Its former state or designation it is now impossible to determine.

Several lofty corresponding ridges or mounds of ramparts surround the space occupied by these different heaps; and notwithstanding their ruinous state, it is easy to discover their ancient designation; which, without doubt, was the defence of this large space, and all the establishments it contained. The outermost line of defence begins on the north-west of Mukallibe, at the point *d*, surrounds this fort, and stretches in a straight line to point *e*, in a south-east direction. Here there is an opening, *f*, where, without doubt, once stood a stately entrance; it then returns in a south-west direction, *g*, beyond the hill of Amram, which it encloses towards the river; so that it forms with this a great triangle, of which the curved line *h*—*i* (the river) forms the base, and the two lines *e* and *g* the two sides. Within this triangle run two wall lines of defence, of which one forms an angle to the other; the first near *k*; and, two hundred paces behind this, parallel to it, a second, near *l*, which, however, in the midst has a large opening.

Behind these triple lines rise the three great mounds above described, together with some smaller ones. But all that part of the river which forms the base of the triangle is defended by a wall enclosure, composed of bricks dried in the sun, and rising in some places sixty feet above the bed of the river; in this most likely were fixed the splendid gates of brass that defended the city towards the river. In Porter's plan, the length of the base of the great triangle, formed by the Euphrates, is three English miles and three quarters; the length of the northern shank, two miles and three quarters; and that of the southern, two miles and a half, reckoning from the opening near *f*, to the river.

All that has thus far been described lies on the eastern bank of the river. Let us now take a view of the western, which Porter had an opportunity of minutely exploring. The earlier opinion, which even Rennel adopted, and which, owing to the very defective information that had then been obtained, placed the temple of Bel and the royal palace on the eastern side of the river, is now completely refuted;[43]

[43] However valuable, therefore, may be the chart of the country of Babylonia by this great geographer, the ground plan of the city contained in the same sheet can be of no practical use. Rich, in his second Memoir, has examined and confuted Rennel's opinion.

and the local of this immense city obtains, by more recent investigations, an extent corresponding to what we are told of it by the ancients; though it cannot be supposed that modern research, often directed to the mere tracing of ruins, rather than to ruins themselves, should produce measurements and definitions as exact as if the whole ancient city, not only with its walls, its palaces, and temples, but likewise its houses and their offices, remained in its full extent, unchanged.

The western bank of the Euphrates certainly contains no such mounds of ruins as those lying opposite on the eastern; for scarcely any eye could discover the largest of them, (the ruins of Nimrod's fort, of which we shall presently speak,) at a greater distance than twelve miles. But notwithstanding this, the researches of Porter lead to some highly interesting results. I shall here quote that traveller's own words:[44] "We left the town of Hillah on the western bank of the Euphrates, by the gate nearest the river, which gave our march a northerly direction. In this route, having crossed four dry canals, and found for two miles beyond them the ground perfectly level, we approached the village of Anana. It is situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, almost immediately opposite the ruins of the Amram and Kasr hills, and is distant nearly three miles from Hillah. About fifty yards to the north-west of the village of Anana rises a rather considerable ridge of mounded earth, fourteen feet high, running due north for three hundred yards, then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it meets the river. All around was very low and marshy, and the mounds in question were nearly all I could see for a good way up along this bank of the stream. On the face of the ridge, terminating at the water-side, the courses of the sun-dried brick are distinctly visible; but the level of the land is now so equal with that of the river, that any more abundant traces of a corresponding embankment to that on the opposite shore must be confessed to be no longer discernible; yet the discovery of one link is sufficient for concluding that others have formerly been there to complete the chain. But why this western dike has been so much

[44] Travels, ii. 379.

more nearly totally demolished than its eastern neighbour, we cannot conjecture: the fact only is certain; and the consequence probably has been, that the want of any protection from the superflux of the river has rendered its 'besom of destruction' more completely sweeping over this level tract. Some trifling mounded hillocks however are perceivable a little to the south of the village.

"Having traversed the plain north-west for some time, in search of further mounds in that direction, I turned, disappointed, and bent my way south-west, keeping the Birs Nimrod in my eye. After riding onward about a mile, I found the little vegetation which cheered the waste gradually disappear, and the ground become perfectly sterile. All over this surface evident marks are visible of its having been formerly covered with buildings; these indications increased at every step, till, after such growing proofs for more than a mile, we came to a numerous and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds; the most considerable of which was about thirty-five feet in height; and from its elevated summit I observed that the face of the country, both to the north and the south, for upwards of a mile either way, bore the same hillocky appearance; besides being thickly scattered with those fragments of past habitations, which, in all Babylonian ruins, have so particularly marked their character. Here, doubtless, is the trace of a building of considerable consequence, *o*. The extent of its mounds and ruins-tracked ground seemed more than two miles; and having traversed that extent to the south-west, I found the hilly vestiges did not cease for a mile beyond. Here, I think it is possible, I may have found the site of the old or lesser palace.

"On quitting this first extensive heap of mounds, which, for perspicuity at least, I shall designate by the name of lesser palace, and keeping on in the same direction (south-west) we crossed a space of high grass and rank weeds for nearly a mile; we then found the plain arid again, and undulated with a multitude of mounds, but of inferior elevation to those last described; these two were attended by the usual exterior fragments of ruins, spreading in a circular form rather more than half a mile in breadth. Having duly explored this second specimen of considerable remains, we came out upon a great deal of cultivated ground, over which

we took our course for more than a mile, when we arrived at the banks of a canal, the bed of which we crossed, and half a mile more brought us to an extensive wood of date trees, in the bosom of which stands the village of Thamasia. We did not halt there, but passed on over two miles of cultivation and high grass, at which extremity a vast tract opened before us, covered with every minor vestige of former buildings; and which appearances continued the whole way to the eastern verge of the boundary around the Birs Nimrod, a distance of nearly a mile and three quarters."

Thus then we come to the most distant but largest monument which yet remains of ancient Babylonia. The Arab name of the Birs Nimrod is I think translated as exactly as possible by that of Nimrod's tower. Although Niebuhr saw it at a distance, and mentioned it in his Travels, neither he nor his predecessors had the satisfaction of exploring it.[45] This pleasure was reserved for Rich, an English resident at Bagdad, who was followed a short time after by Sir Ker Porter, to whom we are indebted for the most exact researches and details, as well as the best drawings on the subject. This huge mass of building lies about six miles south-west of Hillah. It has the appearance of an oblong hill, the base of which, according to Porter, is two thousand and eighty-two feet in circumference. Rich reckons it at two thousand two hundred and eighty-six.[46] It may easily be conceived that it is scarcely possible to fix in a positive manner the circumference of such a ruin. Its present height, reckoning to the bottom of the tower, standing on its summit, is two hundred feet; the tower itself is thirty-five. Looking at it from the west, the entire mass rises at once from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. It is composed of fine bricks, kiln-baked. From the western side two of its stories may be distinctly seen; the first is about sixty feet high, cloven in the middle by deep ravines. The tower-like looking ruin on the summit is a solid mass twenty-eight feet wide, of the most beautiful masonry; to all appearance it formed an angle of some square building, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the

[45] Niebuhr mentions (*Reise* ii. §. 290) with regret his having been prevented by apprehension of the wild tribes in the desert from closely examining it.
[46] RICH'S *Memoir*, p. 36.

eastern side. The cement which connects the bricks is so hard, that it was impossible to chip off the smallest piece; and for this reason none of the inscriptions can be copied, as they are always on the lower surface of the bricks. It is rent from the top nearly half way to the bottom; and at its foot lay several unshapen masses of fine brick-work, still bearing traces of a violent fire, which has given them a vitrified appearance, whence it has been conjectured that it has been struck by lightning. The appearance of the hill on the eastern side evidently shows that this enormous mass has been reduced more than half. Only three stories out of the eight which it formerly contained can now be discerned. The earth about the bottom of the hill is now clear, but is again surrounded by walls, which form an oblong square, enclosing numerous heaps of rubbish, probably once the dwellings of the inferior deities, or of the priests and officers of the temple. The appearance of the tower of Nimrod is sublime even in its ruins. Clouds play around its summit; its recesses are inhabited by lions, three being quietly basking on its heights when Porter approached it,[47] and, scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus the words of the prophet have been fulfilled: "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; owls shall fill their houses, ostriches shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. Jackals shall howl in their palaces, and wild hounds in their pleasant places."[48]

Previously to giving my opinion upon these monuments separately, it will be necessary to determine from history, the epochs of the rise, the aggrandisement, and embellishment of ancient Babylon. Its foundation must be carried back to the time of Nimrod, the first chieftain in those regions; when a tower, that is a sanctuary, a temple, and a city were built here by the nations.[49] Whether this temple was consecrated to some idol, Bel, or any other, we are not informed; but supposing this to have been the case, it accounts for the wrath of Jehovah, who descended to interrupt the progress of the building. Near this temple was built a city. The age, not merely of the tower, but of the oldest city of the earth, of which any vestiges yet exist, cannot be

[47] *Travels*, ii. p. 387. [48] ISAIAH, xiii. 20, 21. [49] GENES. xi. 4.

computed to a year; but, according to general chronology, it dates from some where about the second century after the flood.

The second epoch is that of Semiramis. Diodorus relates in detail all that is attributed to this queen. She made Babylon the seat of her government. She built the outer walls; erected two royal castles or palaces upon the two banks of the Euphrates, of which that upon the western side, within a triple enclosure, was by far the most magnificent. She not only built a bridge over the river, but erected quays on each bank, and dug a subterraneous tunnel under it, which connected the two royal residences. Lastly, to her is attributed the foundation of the temple of Belus.[50]

It is of little consequence whether we consider Semiramis as belonging to mythology or history. The great works attributed to her must in either case be carried back to a period previous to the Chaldean conquest; whether she founded them herself, or whether she merely obtained the credit for doing what had been accomplished by a series of the most ancient sovereigns of Babylon. According to Herodotus, who calls her husband Ninus, her reign must be placed about 1200 years before Christ.[51]

The third epoch, perfectly historical, that of the aggrandisement and embellishment of Babylon, falls in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after the Chaldean conquest, from 604 to 561 before Christ. This is placed beyond a doubt, by the contemporary accounts of the Hebrew writers. Besides this, Josephus has left us in the fragments which he has preserved of the books of Berosus, positive accounts of the works began and executed by Nebuchadnezzar.[52] "He built a three-fold wall or entrenchment round about the inner city, and another in like manner about that which

[50] Diodor. i. 121, who informs us expressly, that the palace on the western side was far the most splendid; and at the same time describes not only its dimensions, but likewise its ornaments, composed of great pictorial representations of hunting scenes, etc. The tradition of a way under the river, which Ctesias, from whom Diodorus evidently copied, certainly did not see, probably arose from subterranean caverns near the palaces, which were indispensable in this climate. What wonderful stories have not been told of subterranean passages and vaults in our cloisters and castles?

[51] Reckoning the Assyrian empire, according to his account, i. 95, to have continued 520 years.

[52] Josephus, *Arch.* x. 349, etc.

was the outer, all of burnt brick. And when he had walled the city about, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace by the side of his father's, but so that they joined. To describe their vast height and great splendour would be superfluous. In this royal seat he also erected terraces of stone, which resembled mountains, and planted it with various kinds of trees, which was called a suspended paradise; because his wife, who had been bred up in Media, was desirous of having things like her own country."

These were the epochs of the advancement and embellishments of Babylon, up to the conquest of Cyrus, by which it became a Persian city. How grievously the Babylonians felt this yoke is proved by their general revolt at the commencement of the reign of Darius, who, after the capture of Babylon, by the stratagem of Zopirus, demolished the greater part, if not the whole, of its outward walls.

Although it was the winter residence of the kings of Persia, it had already much declined when conquered by Alexander. Xerxes had despoiled the temple of Bel of its most precious ornaments and utensils; the temple itself began to wear the appearance of decline; and the canals of the environs were stagnant and poisonous. Had not death defeated the grand projects of Alexander, the venerable Babylon would have become the capital of his empire; the central point of the land and sea commerce of the world. She would probably have become the flourishing and mighty queen of nations, and the destinies of the human race might have been altogether changed. But inscrutable Providence, who disposes of all according to his will, recalled, in the midst of his career, the only man capable of giving peace to the world, as it then existed, and of securing it a durable form. His death decided the fate of Babylon. The new cities of Selucia, Ctesiphon, and others, arose in its neighbourhood; and as the materials were almost entirely fetched from its inexhaustible magazines,[53] they were built, as it were, at her expense. Thus was that ancient city laid waste and transformed into a wild, where the hunter might await his prey, where the beast might flee before his pursuer, and where he still takes up his habitation.

[53] Plin. H. N. vi. 30.

The foregoing elucidations, I conceive, justify me in making the following conclusions.

First. The accounts given by the ancients, and especially by Herodotus, respecting the extent and situation of ancient Babylon, seem to be confirmed by the investigations of the moderns quite as much as could be expected, considering the nature of its ruins. Herodotus states its length and breadth to have been one hundred and twenty stadia, or twelve geographical miles. From the most southern mound of ruins, to the northernmost one, that is to say, from the Birs Nimrod to Mukallibe, is upwards of eight miles in a straight line. Vestiges of ancient buildings, however, which are still found for upwards of three miles beyond Mohavil, prove very plainly, that the city extended towards the north beyond Mukallibe. Whether also it extended towards the south, beyond the Birs Nimrod, has not yet been determined; but if I succeed, as I hope soon to do, in showing that the Birs Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, this conjecture will be confirmed; since this temple was not situated at the end of the city, but in its interior. Thus the length of ancient Babylon, from north to south, may be estimated at twelve miles; as regards its width from west to east, we have no such positive data, because, at the extremities of the ruins in this direction, there are no great monuments. Nevertheless, from the most western heap of ruins, to the eastern point, where the opening of the great triangle, of which I have above spoken, (from *f* to *o*,) may be reckoned at five or six miles; and that the city extended beyond both these points will, in the sequel, be made very clearly to appear.

Secondly. It is not only proved from the most recent investigations, that ancient Babylon was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the course of this river has undergone no important change;[54] but it also becomes highly probable, that the western part of this city, whose existence has been doubted, was the largest. The distance from Nimrod's tower to the most northern hill, *m*, beyond the village of Anana, is very nearly six geographical miles; and that

[54] Only that in the neighbourhood of the hanging gardens, the river on the eastern side has gained upon the land, so that the ancient embankment is now at some distance from the shore, as is pointed out in the plan.

the width of this part of the city could not have been less, is sufficiently evident from the statements of Porter given above.

Thirdly. This traveller I believe to be correct in considering this western quarter of the city as the most ancient. It is said by him to be that which included not only the primeval city and tower of Nimrod, but likewise, at least the greatest portion, of the mighty works attributed to Semiramis. This explains why, with the exception of the tower of Nimrod, which thousands of years have not been able to destroy, so few great ruins are to be found in this western quarter; for not only time, but the neglect occasioned by the aggrandisement of the eastern quarter, must have hastened its decay.

Fourthly. The tower of Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, which, therefore, was in the western quarter of the city, and not in the eastern, as was formerly generally believed. This must be at once admitted, if it can be established, that the western quarter of the city was the most ancient; a fact which will receive additional support from what we shall have to say upon the eastern. It has been very clearly proved by Porter, that neither the situation nor form of a single eastern ruin, (nor Mukallibe, as Rennel believed,) will agree with the ancient temple of Bel.

The Birs Nimrod, however, corresponds with it, first in form; for of the eight stories, which it had originally, three can still be made out. It corresponds with it, secondly, in dimensions, for its length and breadth agree with what is stated by Herodotus, so far as they can be determined from a mountain-heap of ruins. It corresponds, finally, with the statement of the same historian, that this pyramid-formed sanctuary stood within a square enclosure; for the remains of such a one are still very clearly to be traced. It is impossible to carry the comparison further than this respecting a building now reduced to a heap of rubbish. Even when seen by Herodotus it had been destroyed by Xerxes, and, at least in part, lay in ruins. So immense, however, were they, that Alexander, who entertained the idea of restoring it, was obliged to abandon even the clearing away of the rubbish, upon which he employed his army, after having in

vain tried the Babylonians upon it.[55] Besides, it is no where stated, that the temple of Bel was erected in the eastern quarter of the city; but only that it stood in the midst of one quarter. Whether this is to be taken in a strict sense, or whether it means no more than that it was situated within the city, it will be impossible to determine, unless some other traveller be able to inform us, whether to the south of Nimrod's tower, as well as on the other sides, traces of the ancient city are still to be found for any considerable distance.

Fifthly. If Nimrod's tower be the ancient temple of Bel, then it must be admitted that it belongs to the oldest ruins of Babylon; or rather that it is *the* oldest. There seems nothing to oppose this fact; while all seems to speak in favour of its being the remains of that primeval building erected by the assembly of nations, whose top should reach to heaven, but whose completion was prevented by Jehovah. It may be assumed that its site was westward of the stream, because it was built by the descendants of Noah, when they were journeying from west to east. "As they now towards the east journeyed," it is said, "they found a plain in the land of Sinear, and dwelt therein."[56] It was built of the same material as that of which the ruin consists. "And spake they to one another: Let us make and burn bricks. And take bricks as stone and clay for lime."[57] There is no reason why so mighty a building should have been entirely swept from the earth, in so dry and favourable a climate, where so many smaller have been preserved. Its preservation seems in some measure accounted for, from its having been, after the adoption of the worship of the stars, the temple of the national deity; (whether, as I believe, the sun, or, as some others think, the planet Jupiter;[58]) and likewise the astrological sanctuary. It is almost needless to add, that this supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions, aggrandisement, and embellishments, which it afterwards received, and which were again, in the course of centuries, reduced to ruins. Neither can any thing be argued

[55] ARRIAN, vii. 17.
[56] GEN. xi. 2. [The English translation has it *from* the East. *Trs.*]
[57] GEN. xi. 3, 4.
[58] GESENIUS *in Isaiah*, ii. p. 395.

against its high antiquity, from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. The only question here is respecting the original foundation—the first and mightiest that the hand of man erected; and what higher confirmation can there be of the most ancient record we possess, than the existence of the most ancient monument, mentioned by its inspired author?

Sixthly. Modern investigations confirm also the particulars respecting the two royal palaces in Babylon. These ancient residences of the kings before the Chaldean dynasty, were among the great works of Semiramis, and were still existing in the time of Alexander. Here he was taken ill, and causing himself to be transported across the river, died in the Chaldean palace, on the eastern side, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak. It is true, there are no such remains of the western palace, as we have of the eastern; but the vestiges of a large edifice, near *o*, which led Porter to conjecture,[59] that the western edifice must have been here situated, are sufficient to confirm the testimony of Diodorus and others respecting the two royal palaces on the opposite sides of the river. It is to this author we are indebted for the description, borrowed from Ctesias, of the western palace. It is represented as having a triple enclosure; the first, sixty stadia; the second, forty stadia; and the innermost, the palace itself, twenty stadia. The walls were adorned with large pictorial representations of the hunting of wild beasts, similar to those which are still found of a later period, that of the Sassanides, upon the walls of the rock grottoes at Kermanshah. Though these buildings have been swept away by time, yet the conjecture of Porter, who, in the great and extensive elevations, would see the remains of these enclosures, seem in the highest degree probable.

Seventhly. The eastern quarter of the city was the later, but probably the most magnificent. It was the city of the Chaldeans, where Nabopolasser and his son Nebuchadnezzar reigned, and erected their royal dwellings. Here, on the eastern bank of the river, was situated the new eastern palace. "When Nebuchadnezzar," says Josephus,[60] quoting

[59] PORTER, ii. p. 308.
[60] See above, p. 396. I repeat the passage here at length.

from Berosus, "after the death of his father, had taken upon himself the administration of the government of the empire of his father, and directed that when the captives came they should be distributed as colonies, in the most convenient places of Babylonia. Then adorned he the temple of Bel and the rest of the temples in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in war. He also embellished the ancient city, and so guided the stream, that it might not again be turned by such that came against the city to besiege it. He surrounded it about with a triple enclosure without, and with a triple one within, which were built of burnt brick. And after he had fortified the city, and splendidly adorned the gates, he built a new palace near that of his father, of the magnitude and splendour of which it would be superfluous to speak. He added to it elevated stone terraces, which had the appearance of mountains; and then planted them with various kinds of trees; and prepared the celebrated suspended paradise; to please his consort, who, having been brought up in Media, was desirous of having scenery here like that of her native country."

This account agrees in general with what is said by the prophets of the improvements and beautifying of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; although the latter enter into no particular detail. But the statements of Josephus are in a striking manner confirmed (with the exception of what regards the outward wall, of which nothing remains) by the existing ruins, if a proper idea, corresponding with the circumstances, be first formed of the extent of this palace. It is not a mere palace that is to be understood, but a division of the eastern city; comprising not only the palace itself, as well as the suspended gardens, and many other great buildings, but also a triple line of fortification for its defence. And traces of all these may even now be pointed out with all the precision that could be expected. This new palace, as I call it, to distinguish it from the more ancient one in the western quarter, comprised the whole above-mentioned triangle, of which the Euphrates, *h*—*i*, forms the somewhat irregular base, and the lines, *d e*, and *g h*, the sides. These lines also were the outermost of the three interior entrenchments. One of these sides ended in the north, near the

fort, now called Mukallibe, which, whether merely a citadel, or destined for some other use, defended the palace on its northern side. The opening between the two sides, *f*, formed the grand entrance, or principal gateway, to the palace. The line *k* marks the second entrenchment; the line *l*, the third; between which, other openings occur. It was only through these three entrenchments that visitors could approach the interior part of the residence, in which was situated the royal palace, (El Kasr,) *b*, and near to it, along the river, the hanging gardens.

So far as we can gather from the words of Josephus, the palace was built by Nabopolasser, the father of Nebuchadnezzar; for he says, near to the palace of his father, built he a new one, which is understood to be the vast construction called the hanging gardens, *p*. This I believe to be the correct interpretation; for Josephus expressly says, Nebuchadnezzar's palace touched that of his father's. If we had not however this authority, either the northern fortress, or even the great southern mound *Amram*, near *c*, might be taken for it; for as they are merely great heaps of rubbish, nothing can be determined respecting their former designation. That the hanging gardens were founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and not by Semiramis, is confirmed by Diodorus, where he says, that a Syrian (Assyrian) king built them to please his consort. If this consort be regarded as Herodotus's Nitocris, and according to his chronology, and his calling her the mother of the last king, Labynedus, such would appear to be the case, then becomes cleared up how Nitocris came to be mentioned as having embellished Babylon by the great works she caused to be executed.

At all events, however, these hanging gardens, or paradises, must not be considered as merely gardens. They formed together a vast construction of terraces, of which Diodorus has left us the dimensions and description.[61] They rested upon immense buttresses; were supplied with water from the neighbouring river, by hydraulic machines; and contained, as is expressly stated by this historian,[62] royal

[61] I do not believe that these particulars, so accurately given, could have been taken from Ctesias. Perhaps they were borrowed from Megasthenes, who, according to Josephus, l. c., had described the works of Nebuchadnezzar.

[62] διαιτας βασιλικὰς, DIOD. i. p. 125.

habitations, as well as gardens. That the Persian expression *paradisus* comprises all these, may be seen in the inquiry upon the Persian court. With much propriety, therefore, might these spacious works be called a new residence; a summer residence, in our phraseology, (though rather a winter one, as that is the only season in which man can here live in the open air,) which stood contiguous to the palace El Kasr, built by the father. That this building could be no other than the proper palace, is evident from its situation in the centre of the inhabited quarter, as well as from the nature of its materials, which entirely consist of kiln-burnt bricks, and also from the numerous fragments of costly vessels and marble which are found here.

Should, however, after all this, any doubt remain respecting the correctness of my views, it will, I should hope, vanish, upon comparing them with the account Arrian has left us respecting the latter days of Alexander.[63] According to this, Alexander fell sick after the banquet with Medius on the west side of the river; for from his residence there he caused himself to be removed in a palanquin to the river, and then in a boat *over* the river to the paradise, or hanging gardens. Here he bathed and rested in his chamber,[64] and gave orders to his officers. The next day he caused himself to be removed to the house near the pond, where he offered the prescribed sacrifices.[65] This pond, therefore, was a reservoir, or fountain in the paradise, near which was a place of sacrifice. On the following day, as he continued to grow worse, he caused himself to be removed from the paradise into the palace.[66] This, therefore, could be no other than the neighbouring palace, El Kasr, in which he died. It is an interesting labour to trace out accurately the scenes of great events; but it rarely happens that it is rewarded with so much success and certainty as in ancient Babylon. It was from the battlements of this fortress, that Nebuchadnezzar was gazing upon that royal Babel,

[63] ARRIAN, vii. 25. From the Royal Journal, *ἐφημέριδες βασιλικαί.*

[64] *Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· κἀκεῖ αὖθις λουσάμενον, ἀναπαύεσθαι, εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὴν καμάραν.*

[65] *Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μετακομισθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα.*

[66] *διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὰ βασίλεια.*

which he had built as a witness of his power, when he was struck with the punishment of his haughty pride! Through those gates Cyrus and Alexander once triumphantly entered into Babylon! In those halls they dwelt; and here the Macedonian hero breathed his last!

Eighthly. Our observations upon the architecture of the Babylonians must be much more limited than upon that of the Persians. Of the latter, Persepolis still affords the remains of real buildings; of Babylon nothing is left but heaps of rubbish. Yet from these it is evident, that the character of the Babylonian style was totally different from that of the Persians. It here took its form from the nature of the materials, and the peculiarities of the climate.

The latter is dry and arid, and it scarcely ever rains. The summer half-year is insupportably hot, but during the winter season a most agreeable temperature prevails; so that in the latter, the inhabitants dwell in the open air, while in summer, coolness and shade being most in request, they pass the day in grottoes, or subterraneous vaults, and the nights upon the flat roofs of their dwellings. Building materials here, putting cement out of the question, are confined to one single substance, bricks, either dried in the sun, or burnt in kilns. It might consequently be naturally expected, that the greatest pains would here be taken in the manufacture and improvement of this article; and its durability alone is a sufficient test of the high degree of perfection to which the Babylonians carried it. No where, says Rich, is such masonry to be seen as is found here, especially in the royal palace El Kasr. Besides this, the Babylonians excelled all other nations in the preparation and use of their cement. It was of two kinds, lime and bitumen. The latter, according to Porter, was only used in the lower parts of their buildings, as a protection against the damp and wet;[67] lime was used for the upper parts. They were both spread in layers as thin as possible, and yet were wonderfully firm. With such materials, and in such a climate, the largest buildings might be erected with a durability in proportion to their size. And had not these monuments been destroyed by the digging up and carrying away of

[67] Travels, ii. p. 315.

these bricks for the erection of other cities, their great masses would still have remained, though the exterior might perhaps have crumbled to dust. Time has not done so much to destroy them as the hand of man.

The investigations respecting the use of this building material have proved, that the two kinds, the bricks dried in the sun, and those burnt in kilns, were not used indifferently. The sun-dried were mostly employed in the formation of the interior of the masses of large foundations; while the exterior of the buildings was faced with the more beautiful fabric, manufactured in the furnace.[68] The dimensions of these bricks, according to the report of all the English travellers, vary considerably, both in their largest surface, and their thickness, a fact which proves that the use of this material did not require the same mechanical force as the building with large blocks of stone. As these, however, might have been brought down the Euphrates, they may have been employed for the paving and facings of the terraces; but it would be rash to venture an opinion upon this circumstance.

The most essential peculiarity of this architecture, however, must have arisen from the exclusion of columns, which the material made use of would not allow. Neither shafts nor capitals, with their ornaments, could here be adopted. Pillars and pilasters stepped into their place. But while columns among other nations principally determine the character of their architecture, the case here must have been altogether different. What degree of taste and elegance might be displayed in the formation of these brick pillars, it is certainly impossible to determine, except that it seems evident, that nothing could be executed where roundness was required.[69] This naturally leads us to consider, whether the Babylonians were acquainted with the use of the arch. That the material they used would very well allow of this, is evident from our own buildings; and the account Diodorus gives of the vast substructures of the hanging gardens, seems certainly to point to this useful part of architecture; yet neither Rich[70] nor Porter[71] discovered in any portion of the existing ruins the least trace of one, not even in the subterraneous foundations of El Kasr. The case therefore seems decided as far as it possibly can be at present.

[68] Porter's *Travels*, ii. 330.

[69] [Round columns of brick covered with cement, are, however, now common in London buildings. *Trs.*]

[70] *Memoir*, p. 59.

[71] *Travels*, i. p. 122.

In what relation the plastic arts, sculpture and painting, here stood with architecture, we have no means of ascertaining. The first could scarcely flourish in a land destitute of marble and stone. It is true that we read in Diodorus, in the above-quoted descriptions, of hunting and other expeditions, which were represented on the walls of Semiramis's palace.[72] That these were a mixture of sculpture and painting, or coloured reliefs, similar to those in the Egyptian temples, is certainly evident from the manner in which Diodorus describes them; but there seems some difficulty in conceiving how these could be executed upon walls of brick. Perhaps they were cut out and filled up with colours.

Finally. One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this subject, is, that these bricks are frequently covered with inscriptions. These are found chiefly in the walls of the royal palace El Kasr, yet not here alone; they have been met with even beyond the city, in the ruins of *al Himar*, and in other places. They are composed of a very fine clay, highly burnt, and are half a foot square, and about a full inch thick. We learn from Porter, that the side with the writing on is always turned downwards; a proof of the care taken for its preservation. Hence it may be inferred, that the Babylonians made use of these bricks as a material for writing upon, as the Egyptians did papyrus, and the Indians palm-leaves. The writing was probably impressed upon the bricks by moulds before they were burnt; an approach therefore was made towards the discovery of printing, as near as their materials would admit. The characters in which the inscriptions were made, and indeed all the Babylonian wedge-shaped writing, as we learn from the investigations of Grotefend, were of one kind, derived from the second Persepolitan, but with a much greater variety of characters, though alphabetical. The language seems Babylonian, or the ancient Chaldean. Although these inscriptions have not been deciphered, and their contents consequently remain unknown; yet an important step has

[72] Diodor. i. p. 122.

already been made towards it, as their designation seems no longer doubtful. The investigations of Bellino and Grotefend show that they are frequently found impressed with seals on the narrow side, representing beasts or other objects. In one of these, Bellino recognised a lion (the arms of Babylon); and thought that in another he could discern the unicorn. Above these stand two lines of inscription; in the upper the same form is always repeated, but in the lower one the words vary. This circumstance led them to conclude, that they were the signature of witnesses; the first line being an equivalent to *I witness*, the under one the name of the witness, accompanied with that of his father. This naturally led to the notion, that these bricks were documents, either of public or private transactions; and that the places in which they are found should be regarded as archives.[73] It must not however be concluded from this, that all the bricks of this kind with inscriptions upon them are documents; and it would be equally precipitate, if not unreasonable, to assert, that the buildings in which they are found are public or royal, or even belonging to the Chaldean dynasty. Grotefend, by comparing these inscriptions with those of Persepolis, found upon one of the bricks the name of Darius; and who can help wishing this scholar courage and opportunity to persevere in his investigations of the monuments of Babylon and Persepolis, till he shall have developed them in their full extent; especially as it is found that the correctness of his interpretation of the latter has even received an additional proof from the attempts made to refute them.[74]

I think I can scarcely offer a better confirmation of the accounts the ancients have given of Babylon, whose ruins I am now quitting, than by contrasting them with a similar description, given by a writer of the middle ages, who may be called the Herodotus of his times, and whose credibility has never been questioned.

"Near Cambalu," (that is, Pekin in China,) says Marco Polo, "Kublai-Khan, the successor of Ginghis-Khan, caused

[73] See GROTEFEND'S *Dissertation* in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, B. vi., and the Memoir presented to the Society of this place (Gottingen). *Gott. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1819, §. 1950, etc.

[74] See the postscript to Appendix, ii.

a new city to be erected, called Taidu. This city was twenty-four miles in circumference. No side is longer than another, but each six miles. This city is encompassed with a wall ten paces wide at the bottom, but narrower above. All the streets are built in exact lines; so that a person standing at one gate of the wall can see the opposite. The sections also for the dwellings are square. In every part are large palaces surrounded with spacious courts and gardens; so that the whole city is divided into squares similar to a draft-board. The wall has twelve gates, three on each side; and at each gate is a large and splendid palace, with wide roomy halls, in which are the arms of the guards. About the city are spacious suburbs, or open places, extending for three or four miles, and joining one another. In these are great caravanserais, where the merchants abide, who arrive from different countries; each nation having its own separate one. In these suburbs too dwell the public women, to the number of 25,000, who give themselves up for money. In this great city, Cambalu, the grand Khan was wont to reside the three winter months of every year."

Will not the reader almost imagine this to be another description of ancient Babylon, with its old and new city, with its walls, its gates, its straight and regular streets, and its splendid palaces? Nor can the extent of this city be much less. Herodotus's Babylon was 408 stadia (48 miles) in circumference;[75] twice that of the city built by Kublai Khan. But in the dimensions of the latter there is neither reckoned the ancient city, near to which it was founded; nor the royal residence, which, according to Marco Polo, was of still greater extent; nor the extensive suburbs and caravanserais: so that what this traveller saw could not be less altogether than ancient Babylon; and the father of history requires no further confirmation.

Respecting the government of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, some few particulars have been preserved, principally by the prophet Daniel. It appears, on the whole, to have been much the same as that of the Persian empire, which has already been investigated. A ruler with despotic power; a court, in which eunuchs held the highest offices;

[75] HEROD. i. 178.

an empire, divided into satrapies, governed by rulers, among whom a regular gradation of rank and title was found, and where the civil and military were often, though not always, separated; collectors of tribute in the provinces; higher and inferior judges.[76] We find also a priest-caste, or priesthood, comprised under the names of Magians and Chaldeans; and which, principally by astrology and soothsaying, had a considerable influence upon the government. In what relation to society did this class stand? And how came the term Chaldeans, which originally belonged to a people, to become the name of the priesthood? These are questions which have been often agitated, but from want of sufficient information can never be satisfactorily answered.

Although Babylon did not become a mighty empire till after the Chaldean conquest; yet every thing leads us to suppose, that it had long before been the seat of science and civilization, though principally confined to the order of priests. Unless this had been the case, how could those great works, more especially the mighty canals and lakes, ascribed to their earlier rulers, without which the city could not have existed, or the land have been cultivated, have been executed? There is no doubt that astronomy, or rather astrology, formed a great branch of their learning; and whatever opinion may be formed of the degree of perfection to which they had carried these sciences, it seems an indisputable fact, that at the time of Alexander's conquest, astronomical observations existed, and were imparted to him, which are affirmed to reach back for nineteen centuries.[77]

This, combined with various other proofs, seems to render it evident, that the Magians had been established in Babylon long before its conquest by the Chaldeans. As the primitive Magian religion had its origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, and spread itself over so large a portion of Asia, it is the less to be wondered at that it should have made its way into Babylon, where the continual clear-

[76] BERTHOLD has attempted to enumerate these various officers, and to determine the business of each, in an excursus to his *Translation of Daniel*, to which I more particularly refer the reader.

[77] Very honourable for the Chaldeans is the opinion which the latest writer has given of their progress in astronomy. IDELER, *ueber der Sternkunde der Chaldæer;* among the treatises of the Berlin academy of sciences for the years 1814 and 1815, *Berlin*, 1818.

ness of the sky, and the peculiar brightness of the stars, greatly facilitated astronomical observations.[78] Astrology, however, was the chief support of the Magians and the priesthood, and it was principally by its practice that they maintained their authority and influence in the state. Whether, however, these earliest Magians of Babylon were disciples and followers of Zoroaster, I cannot venture to determine. The Magian doctrine, indeed, was much older than that of the Zend, as Zoroaster only appeared in the character of its reformer. How can this question be settled, when the Babylonian cylinders and gems referring to the religion of Ormuzd may very probably belong to the Persian period? If we admit, indeed, that the Chaldeans, and it seems very likely, were descended from the Curds, then would they also belong to the Persian race, and could not have been strangers to the Magian doctrine, though they might have ingrafted other particular points of belief upon it. And if they also had their priests, as indeed the Magian worship prescribes, there is nothing very strange in their becoming united with the Babylonian Magians. They are indeed usually mentioned with them, and are only distinguished as a separate class when spoken of definitely;[79] though the two names are often confounded.[80]

In this manner, therefore, the Magians and Chaldeans formed the priest-caste in Babylon. It is certainly possible, that, according to rule, the son succeeded the father; but, that the priest-caste was not strictly hereditary, that even foreigners might be admitted to this office, if their early education had fitted them for it, is shown by the example of Daniel and his companions.[81] At their head was the high Magian, whose influence was so great, that, upon the death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he administered the affairs of the empire until the arrival of that prince.[82] They were divided into several classes, as expounders of the sacred writings, interpreters of dreams, astronomers, and soothsayers; and again distinguished from these are the

[78] SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. de cœlo, p. 123; cf. PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 56.

[79] See JOSEPHUS, *Op.* 346, 347.

[80] Thus in HEROD. i. 138. CTESIAS also confounds the Magians and Chaldeans, *Pers.* i. 15.

[81] DAN. i. 4.

[82] JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, 349.

Chaldeans.[83] They dwelt not only in the capital, but also in other places; and among others, probably in establishments of which the mounds of bricks spoken of above are the remains.[84] Their connexion with the kings is clearly shown from the history of Nebuchadnezzar. Their influence was founded upon their knowledge; but their power seems never to have been so great as in the Persian court, if we may judge from the manner in which they were treated by Nebuchadnezzar; unless, indeed, we may attribute this to the personal character of that formidable conqueror.

The boundaries of the Chaldean-Babylonian empire extended as far under Nebuchadnezzar as they ever were carried, comprising Western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean. Immediately, however, upon the death of its founder, its greatness declined. Several feeble successors followed rapidly, one rising upon the overthrow of the other, till the founder of the Persian monarchy threw the last upon the heap, and made Babylon one of the capitals of his new empire. There was no city in Asia of whose possession the Persians were more jealous; and the repeated attempts of the Babylonians to shake off the foreign yoke show that they could not cloud the remembrance of their former might and greatness, nor stifle their repugnance to dependence and slavery.

[83] The authorities are collected by BERTHOLD, etc.

[84] As at Akkerkuf, Al Himar, and above all, at Borsippa, where, according to STRABO, xvi. p. 1074, there was one of their principal schools.

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce of the Babylonians.

A LAND OF TRAFFIC—A CITY OF MERCHANTS.
EZEKIEL, xvii. 4.

As the European steps into a new world as soon as he has crossed the Alps, so is the contrast equally striking to the Asiatic traveller upon descending from the mountainous country of Persia and Media, or Irak Ajemi, into the plain of ancient Babylon and modern Bagdad, the capital of Irak Arabi. The connexion, frequently so mysterious and inexplicable, which exists between climates and countries, and even between climates and inhabitants, is here most remarkably exemplified. The manners of the people, their habitations, their dress, are all different. While in Persia and Media, the garments, though long, were closely fitted to the person; they are here, on the contrary, loose and flowing. The black sheepskin cap which covered the head, gives way to the lofty and proud folds of the turban; and the girdle, with its single knife, is replaced with the costly shawl and rich poignard. "On my entrance into the city of the Caliphs," says a modern traveller,[1] "I found the streets crowded with men in every variety of dress, and of every shade of complexion. Instead of the low dwellings peculiar to Persia, the houses were several stories high, with lattice windows closely shut. The great Bazaar was full of people, and I saw on all sides innumerable shops and coffee-houses. The sound of voices, and the rustling of silks, reminded one of the buzzing of a swarm of bees. For even now, though but the shadow of its former splendour, Bagdad is still the

[1] PORTER, ii. 243, etc.

grand caravanserai of Asia." But what a change has taken place in manners and modes of life! The rigid etiquette of the Persian court has disappeared; the tone of society, the relation of the sexes is under less constraint; and every thing betokens pleasure and voluptuousness. Though in the hot season the glowing sky forces the inhabitants during the day into their under-ground vaults; yet they enjoy the balmy coolness of night in the open air on their housetops. The delightful temperature of the winter months, from the middle of November to that of February, compensates for the inconveniences of summer, though at the same time it offers irresistible incentives to all manner of sensual enjoyments.

It must surely have been the same in former times. Can it be supposed that those who came down the Euphrates from the royal cities of Persia and Media to the great city of traffic, had not the same spectacle before their eyes? But what is modern Bagdad compared with the ancient capital of the East? What crowds must have once thronged the streets and squares of that city, when the caravans of the East and West with the crews of ships trading to the South were there collected together; when the Chaldee and Persian sovereigns, with their numberless attendants, made it their residence; when it was the emporium of the world, and the great centre of attraction to all nations! How bustling and animated must not these desolate places have been formerly, where all now is still, save the call of the Bedouin, or the roaring of the lion!

The accounts of ancient Babylon given by Jewish and Grecian writers, set before us a picture of wealth, magnificence, and pomp; though at the same time, a less pleasing representation of luxury and licentiousness. Their banquets were carried to a disgusting excess, and the pleasures of the table degenerated into debauchery; nay, at the very time when the victorious Persians rushed into the city, the princes of Babylon were engaged in festivities;[2] and Belshazzar was given up to intoxication in company with thou-

[2] The reader may compare the terrible description of ISAIAH, xxi. 5, where it is said, that the cry of battle should frighten them from the table, with the information of XENOPHON, *Cyrop.* vii. 5, *Op.* p. 192, that the very guards were intoxicated.

sands of his lords, when the hand which wrote on the wall of the royal banqueting house, and predicted his approaching fate, aroused him to the dreadful reality of his condition. But this total degeneracy of manners was above all conspicuous in the other sex, amongst whom were no traces of that reserve which usually prevails in an eastern harem. The prophet, therefore, when he denounces[3] the fall of Babylon, describes it under the image of a luxurious and lascivious woman, who is cast headlong into slavery from the seat where she sits so effeminately. Moreover, at these orgies the women appeared, where they proceeded so far as to lay aside their garments, and with them every feeling of shame;[4] nay, there was even a religious enactment, as we are informed by Herodotus,[5] according to which every woman was obliged to prostitute herself to strangers in the temple of Mylitta, once in her life, and was not allowed to reject any person who presented himself.

The principal cause of this profligacy of manners was the riches and luxury consequent upon extended commerce, which Babylon owed to its geographical position. Climate and religion effected the rest.

I have already had occasion to notice this advantageous situation of Babylonia, in which respect it was probably superior to every other country in Asia. While this afforded admirable facilities for traffic by land, it was equally convenient for maritime and river navigation. The two large rivers which flowed on each side of it seemed the natural channels of commercial intercourse with the interior of Asia; and the Persian Gulf by no means presented the same difficulties and dangers to the navigator as that of Arabia.

[3] ISAIAH, xiii.

[4] CURTIUS, v. 1. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus; nec ad irritandas inliciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt; Babylonii maxime in vinum et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, perfusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quæque amicula exuunt; paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (horror auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. It is plain, Curtius is not here speaking of the Bayaderes, as might perhaps be supposed.

[5] HEROD. i. 199.

If we add to this, the accounts which ancient authors have given us of the industry, manners, and civil institutions of Babylon, it will be evident, that it owed its splendour and wealth to the same causes which in latter times have been the occasion of an extensive commerce to the cities of Bagdad and Bassora. They unanimously describe the Babylonians as a people fond of magnificence, and accustomed to a multitude of artificial wants, which they could not have supplied, except by commercial relations with many countries, some of them very remote. In their private life, especially in their dress, costliness appears to have been more their object, than either convenience or utility. Their public festivals and sacrifices were attended with immense expense, particularly in precious perfumes, with which they could not have been provided but from foreign countries. The raw materials too, required for their celebrated manufactures, flax, cotton, and wool, and perhaps silk, were either not the produce of their soil, or certainly not in sufficient quantities for their consumption. Lastly, many of their civil institutions were of such a nature as only to be calculated for a city, into which there was a continual influx of strangers. On this principle alone can be explained, not only their custom of exposing sick persons in the market-place, that they might meet with some one competent to prescribe for them; but also, and more particularly, the above-mentioned law, which obliged their women to prostitute themselves in the temple of Mylitta, and the public auction of marriageable virgins.[6] It has been already observed,[7] that the relations of the sexes are formed in a peculiar manner in large commercial cities; and this will serve to explain many remarkable institutions of several nations in Asia.

However certain may be the evidence drawn from these

[6] HEYNE, in his treatise, *de Babyloniorum instituto religioso*, etc., (*Commentat. Soc. Gott.* vol. xvi.,) has shown with great learning the relation which this custom bears to the social condition of women throughout the East. Yet I cannot conceive how it could have been considered as a consecration to marriage. For from the relation of Herodotus, it appears quite plain to me, that not virgins, but women were obliged to submit to it. He uses the words *ἐγχώριαι γυναῖκες*, native women, not *πάρθενοι*, virgins, under which latter term he describes the young maidens, who were submitted to the auction.

[7] See above, p. 229.

principles, and the accounts of antiquity in general, viz. that Babylon was the great centre where all nations assembled, and whence they departed to their several destinations, yet it is difficult to enter in detail on the commerce of the Babylonians, and to settle with any degree of accuracy its nature and its course. The obscure traces of it which yet remain must be laboriously sought for in the works of Greek and Hebrew writers alone; the labour, however, will not be without its recompence, and the general result of this investigation will be a picture, which, though not complete in its subordinate details, will yet present a generally faithful outline.

As a preliminary step, however, let us take a glance at the products of Babylonian skill and industry; amongst which, weaving of various kinds deserves our first notice. The peculiar dress of the Babylonians consisted partly of woollen, and partly of linen, or probably cotton stuffs. "They wear," says Herodotus, "a gown of linen, (or cotton,[8]) flowing down to the feet, over this, an upper woollen garment, and a white (woollen) tunic covering the whole." This garb, which must have been too much for so warm a climate, seems to have been assumed rather for ostentation, than to meet their actual wants, and probably some alteration was made in it as the weather became warmer. Their woven stuffs, however, were not confined to domestic use, but were exported into foreign countries. Carpets, one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were no where so finely woven, and in such splendid colours, as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them, of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the West.[9] Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury appears no where to have been carried further than

[8] *Λίνεον* is the term Herodotus uses, which with him signifies either linen or cotton.

[9] ATHEN. v. p. 197. The reader should above all compare the remarks of Böttiger on this subject, containing a fund of mythological instruction, in his interpretation der Griechischen Vasengemalde, (figures on Greek vases,) i. 111, p. 106.

among the Persians. With them, not only the floors, but even beds and sofas in the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada, was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship.[10]

Babylonian garments were not less esteemed; those in particular called sindones were in very high repute. It appears that they were usually of cotton, and the most costly were so highly valued for their brilliancy of colour and fineness of texture, as to be compared to those of Media, and set apart for royal use;[11] they were even to be found at the tomb of Cyrus, which was profusely decorated with every description of furniture in use amongst the Persian kings during their lives.[12] The superiority of Babylonian robes and carpets will not be a matter of surprise, when we consider how near Babylon was to Carmania on the one side, and to Arabia and Syria on the other, and that in these countries the finest cotton was produced.

Large weaving establishments were not confined to the capital, but existed likewise in other cities and inferior towns of Babylonia, which Semiramis is said to have built on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which she appointed as marts for those who imported Median and Persian goods.[13] These manufacturing towns also were, as will soon be shown in respect to Opis, staples for land traffic. The most famous of them was Borsippa, situated on the Euphrates, fifteen miles below Babylon, and mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus.[14] These were the principal linen and cotton manufactories, and they still existed in the age of Strabo.[15]

Besides these, the Babylonians appear to have made all kinds of apparel, and every article of luxury; such as sweet waters, which were in common use, and probably necessary, from the heat of the climate; walking sticks delicately chased with figures of animals and other objects, and also elegantly engraven stones, were in general use amongst the Babylonians.

[10] Xenoph. and Arrian, vi. 29. [11] Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 9.
[12] Arrian, l. c. [13] Diod. i. p. 125.
[14] Jos. in Apion. *Op.* p. 1045, relates that the king of Babylon, conquered by Cyrus, was imprisoned in this town.
[15] Strab. xvi. p. 1074.

These stones begin to form a particular class, since the curiosities called Babylonian cylinders have become less rare. Many of them have undoubtedly served for seal rings; for, in the East, the seal supplies the place of a signature, or at any rate makes it valid, as we still see on specimens of Babylonian documents. The same may be said of the cylinders. We have a striking illustration of the perfection to which the Babylonians had brought the art of cutting precious stones in the collection of M. Dorow, which contains a cylinder, formed from a jasper, bearing a cuneiform inscription, and an image of a winged Ized, or Genius, in a flowing Babylonian dress, represented in the act of crushing with each hand an ostrich, the bird of Ahriman.[16]

These various manufactures and works of art presuppose an extensive commerce, because the necessary materials must have been imported from foreign countries.

We shall now trace this vast commerce of Babylon through all its branches, beginning with its land trade; and after that, proceed to investigate its navigation and maritime trade. The first will be divided according to its principal directions into eastern or Persico-Bactrian, northern or Armenian, western or Phœnician, that of Asia Minor, and the southern or Arabian. Our inquiries into the maritime trade of the Babylonians will comprehend in general their navigation and traffic in the Persian Gulf.

From what has been already adduced, no doubt can be entertained that Babylon enjoyed a lively commerce with the principal countries of the Persian empire. Not only did the Persian and Median lords decorate their houses with the productions of Babylonian skill, but the kings of Persia spent a great part of the year in that city with all their numerous attendants; added to which, the satraps exhibited in the same capital a pomp but little inferior to royal magnificence.[17] Owing to this intimate connexion between the chief provinces of Persia and Babylonia, the country lying between this and Susa became the most populous and culti-

[16] *Morgenländische Alterthümer*, (Oriental Antiquities,) published by D. Dorow, first number 1818, with the draughts and interpretation of Grotefend and others. My description is taken from a cast in sulphur, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the owner.
[17] See above, p. 272.

vated in Asia; and a highway was made from Babylon to Susa, which was twenty days' journey distant, sufficiently commodious for the baggage of an army to be conveyed on it without difficulty.[18]

The investigation, however, is involved in greater difficulties as we proceed towards the east beyond Persia; though a principal country to which they traded, that is to say, Persian India, or the present Belur-land, and with the parts adjacent, whence the Babylonians imported many of their most highly prized commodities, afford a clear proof of the direction and extent of this commerce. We have already given a geographical account of these countries, so important in ancient commerce; our present business will be therefore to describe more particularly their produce, and the relation in which they stood towards Babylon.

The first article which we may confidently assert the Babylonians to have obtained, at least in part, from these countries, were precious stones; the use of which for seal rings was very general amongst them. Ctesias says expressly, that these stones came from India; and that onyxes, sardines, and the other stones used for seals, were obtained in the mountains bordering on the sandy desert.[19] The testimonies of modern travellers have proved that the account of this author is entitled to full credit;[20] and that even at the present time the lapis lazuli is found there in its greatest perfection; and if it be added to this, that what Ctesias relates of India undoubtedly refers for the most part to these northern countries,[21] we must consider it probable, that the stones in question were found in the mountains of which we are speaking; while with regard to the sapphire of the ancients, that is to say, our lapis lazuli, I have no doubt that it is a native of this country. A decisive proof is furnished by Theophrastus, a more recent author, but worthy of credit. "Emeralds and jaspers," says he,[22] "which are used as objects of decoration, come from the desert of Bactria (of Cobi). They are sought for by persons who go thither on horseback at the time of the north wind, which blows away the sand, and so discovers them." "The largest of the

[18] ARRIAN, iii. 16. [19] CTESIAS, *Ind.* cap. 5, compared with HEROD. i. 195.
[20] See above, p. 353. [21] See above, p. 345.
[22] THEOPHRAST. *de lapid. Op.* p. 396.

emeralds called Bactrian," says he, in another place,[23] "is at Tyre, in the temple of Hercules. It forms a tolerably large pillar." The passage, however, of Ctesias, to which we have referred, as a modern author has justly remarked,[24] contains some indications, which, relatively to onyxes, appear to refer to the Ghât mountains; since he speaks of a hot country, not far from the sea.

The circumstance of large quantities of onyxes coming out of these mountains at the present day, viz. the mountains near Cambaya and Beroach, the ancient Barygaza, must render this opinion so much the more probable, as it was this very part of the Indian coast with which the ancients were most acquainted; and their navigation from the Persian Gulf to these regions, as will be shown hereafter, admits of no doubt. This opinion, however, must not lead us to conclude, that the commerce of Babylon was confined to those countries; for that they were acquainted with the abovementioned northern districts is equally certain.

Hence also the Babylonians imported Indian dogs. This breed is asserted to be the largest and strongest that exist; and, on that account, the best suited for hunting wild beasts, even lions, which they will very readily attack. The great fondness felt by the Persians for the pleasures of the chase, by whom it was regarded as a chivalrous exercise, must have increased the value and use of these animals, which soon became even an object of luxury. The Persian nobles were obliged to keep a great number of them, as they formed a necessary part of their domestic economy, and their train; and they were also accustomed to take them with them on their journeys and military expeditions. Thus Xerxes, as we are assured by Herodotus, was followed by an innumerable quantity of dogs, when he marched against Greece;[25] and an example taken from the same writer, shows to what a pitch the Persian lords and satraps had carried their luxury

[23] THEOPHRAST. *Op.* p. 394. This is certainly the same pillar which Herodotus mentions, ii. 44. "In the temple of the Tyrian Hercules I saw two pillars, one of pure gold, and the other of emerald, which gave light in the dark." Might not this have been of lapis lazuli, like the pillars in the church of the Jesuits at Rome?
[24] *Ueber die Onyxgebirge des Ctesias in der Sammlung der Aufsätze, des Hrn Grafen von Veltheim,* (on the onyx mountains of Ctesias in the collection of the treatises of the Count von Veltheim,) ii. p. 236.
[25] HEROD. vii. 187.

in this particular. Tritantæchmus, satrap of Babylon, devoted to the maintenance of these Indian dogs no less than four towns of his government, which were exempted from all other taxes.[26] It is easy to settle the extent of this branch of commerce, admitting, as is reasonable, that the supply of the animals in question was not continually renewed by fresh importations, but that they were propagated in the country.

The native country of these animals, according to Ctesias,[27] was that whence precious stones were obtained. And this account of the ancient author has been confirmed by a modern traveller; for Marco Polo, in his account of these regions, has not forgotten to mention large dogs, which were even able to overcome lions.[28]

A third, and no less certain class of productions, which the Persians and Babylonians obtained from this part of the world, were dyes, and amongst them the cochineal, or rather, Indian lacca. The most ancient, though not quite accurate description of this insect, and of the tree upon which it settles, is also found in Ctesias.[29] According to him, it is a native of the country near the sources of the Indus, and produces a red, resembling cinnabar. The Indians themselves use it for the purpose of dyeing their garments, to which it gives a colour even surpassing in beauty the dyes of the Persians. It is evident from this passage, that these beautifully coloured Indian robes were an article of commerce with Western Asia; and here I cannot forbear reminding the reader of an observation already made: namely, that these mountainous countries of Candahar and Cashmire were identical with those in which sheep-breeding formed the principal occupation of the inhabitants, who reared these animals with wonderful success, on account of the abundance of silphium growing here, with which they were fed.[30] Hence we can have no doubt, that the same parts of Asia which at this day produce the finest woollen cloths, and whose

[26] HEROD. i. 192. [27] CTES. *Ind.* 5.
[28] MARCO POLO, *in Ramusio*, ii. p. 53.
[29] CTES. *Ind.* c. 21. BECKMANN. *Beiträge*, etc. 111, supposes it to be the cochineal. WILFORD, *Asiat. Res.* ix. 65, more correctly considers it the Indian lacca, an insect which, when bruised, produces a beautiful red; as the climate is too severe for the cochineal.
[30] Sect. on *Persian India.*

shawls (a word which having passed from the Sanscrit into the Persian language, must be very ancient) are now so highly valued by ladies, both for convenience and for ornament, enjoyed the same advantages in the time of the ancient Persians, and that the harems of Susa and Babylon were decorated with these productions of the loom.

I intentionally omit to mention other objects of commerce probably obtained from India, and among them, gold and gold-dust, which we are assured the natives of these regions sent into Persia, as tribute. But a second, and no less interesting question demands our notice concerning this trade: viz. what was its route, and who were the people who carried it on?

Strabo[31] has preserved to us from Eratosthenes, a knowledge of the roads by which the commodities of the Indian districts, bordering on the Persian empire, were conveyed to its principal cities, and especially to Babylon. The usual high road, through populous and cultivated regions, first ran in a northerly direction, in order to avoid the predatory tribes which infested the desert between Persia and Media. It continued along the southern part of this desert, as far as one of the most celebrated defiles in Asia, called the Caspian gates, through which it proceeded to Hyrcania and Aria. In this latter country, taking its course along the foot of the high and woody Hyrcanian and Parthian mountains, the road thence turned northward toward Bactra. This is the same which Alexander followed in his expedition against the Bactrians; and though he left it occasionally to attack the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, he always returned to it. In Arrian,[32] it bears the name of the great military road.

The great commercial route to India was the same as this as far as Aria. Here, however, it took a different, that is to say, an easterly direction, while the other proceeded northward towards Bactra. Thence it ran to Prophthasia, Arachotus, and Ortospana, where it divided itself into three branches. One of these went due east to the borders of

[31] STRABO, p. 782. That this is an ancient road, anterior to the times of Alexander, the names of the places, which are all ancient, are sufficient to prove. Alexandria in Aria, is the same as Artakoana. See the Appendix.
[32] ARRIAN, iii. 21. Αεωφόρος ὁδός.

India; perhaps the second had a similar direction, with a little inclination to the south; and the third turned northward towards Bactria, and formed the great road, through which India had communication with this country and its capital, Bactra.

This city must then be regarded as the commercial staple of Eastern Asia. Its name belongs to a people who never cease to afford matter for historical details from the time they are first mentioned. Not only does Bactra constantly appear as a city of wealth and importance in the age of the Persian empire; but it is continually interwoven, in the traditions of the East, with the accounts of Semiramis and other conquerors.[33] It is situated on the borders of the gold country, "in the road of the confluence of nations," according to an expression in the Zendavesta; and the conjecture, that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilization, becomes highly probable from the facts which have been mentioned in the course of the present investigation.

We cannot entertain any doubt as to the persons through whose hands the commodities of India came to Bactra. It is evident, from what has been said before, that the natives of the countries bordering on Little Thibet and others, or the northern Indians of Herodotus and Ctesias, formed the caravans which travelled into the gold desert, and that it was the same people from whom Western Asia obtained ingredients for dyeing, and also the finest wool. But it may be asked how far this commerce extended? whether it comprised the countries beyond the desert? and this question is involved in very great difficulties.

The name of Serica is not mentioned by the writers of this period, nor for some time afterwards; when it does appear, it is only an indefinite appellation for the countries beyond the desert of Cobi, whence silk was imported; and therefore does not exclusively denote the present Tangut, but also Coshotei, and as much of China as they were acquainted with. There can be no question of commodities, indisputably Chinese, so long as the age of the silk trade continues unsettled. One of the most celebrated of modern

[33] Diod. i. p. 117.

writers has brought down the commerce with China to the third century before the Christian era; but has overlooked a passage in an author contemporary with the Persian monarchy, from which, although the higher antiquity of commercial relations with the extreme east of Asia is not certainly established, at any rate it becomes extremely probable.

"The country where gold is found, and which the griffins infest," says Ctesias, "is exceedingly desolate. The Bactrians, who dwell in the neighbourhood of the Indians, assert, that the griffins watch over the gold; though the Indians themselves deny that they do any thing of the kind, as they have no need of the metal, but (say they) the griffins are only apprehensive on account of their young, and these are the objects of their protection. The Indians go armed into the desert, in troops of a thousand or two thousand men. But we are assured that they do not return from these expeditions till the third or fourth year."[34]

It is clear, from the foregoing statement, that the Indians here mentioned were no other than the natives of Northern India; and by the desert where they found gold, must be understood the sandy desert of Cobi, bounding Tangut on the west, and China on the north. With regard, however, to the account of Ctesias, that caravans of a thousand or two thousand men travelled into this desert, and returned after three or four years laden with gold—what other direction could this journey have had, than to the rich countries in the most remote and eastern part of Asia?[35] I willingly leave it to the reader to judge what degree of probability there is to support this conjecture. The distant obscurity indeed prevents our having a clear view, yet this very obscurity possesses a certain charm.

We are indebted to Strabo[36] for an account of the road

[34] De Guignes, in the *Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscrip.*, t. xlvi.

[35] Ctes. *ap. Æl. Hist. An.*, iv. 27. Compare with this passage the time which Ptolemy assigns for the journey to Serica (i. 11). Reckoning from the eastern limit of Little Bucharia near Sertem, seven months were necessary to reach the capital of Serica; and from Bactra to Sertem five more, a year altogether. If we allow the same time for returning, it will be evident that the caravans could only be at home in the third year. In my inquiries concerning the Indians, I shall return to this subject, when I hope to place it in a clearer light.

[36] Strab. p. 1084.

by which the wares of Babylon were conveyed to the shores of the Mediterranean. It ran in a due northern direction through the midst of Mesopotamia, and reached the Euphrates near Anthemusia, five and twenty days' journey distant, where it turned off towards the west, to the Mediterranean. This could have been only a caravan road, because a numerous company of merchants would be necessary for mutual defence against the predatory nomad tribes, the Scenites, who infested the desert; or indeed for procuring a safe passage by the payment of a ransom. I cannot advance it as certain, that this road was generally used under the Persian dynasty; yet it appears in the highest degree probable from the circumstance, that roads were seldom or never altered by the ancients.

Another great military road, described by Herodotus, from station to station, and leading to Sardis, and other Greek commercial towns in Asia Minor, was made by the Persian kings at a vast expense. It is not, indeed, to be doubted, that political reasons were a principal inducement to the formation of this road, because the Persians, when they were engaged in war with the Greeks, scarcely set so high a value upon any of their provinces, as they did upon Asia Minor, with which they were very desirous to further and maintain an uninterrupted communication. But we moreover learn from the description of Herodotus, that it was a commercial road, upon which caravans travelled from the chief cities of Persia into Asia Minor. According to him the road began from Susa, and not from Babylon; yet the vicinity of these two cities, and their intimate connexion, which has been remarked above, renders this a circumstance of no importance. The passage of the Greek historian deserves to be communicated entire to the reader.[37]

"The following," says he, "is an account of the military road from Sardis and Ephesus to Susa. Royal stations and magnificent caravanserais[38] continually succeed each other in all parts of it; and it passes through an inhabited and safe region all the way. First, (from Sardis,) there are

[37] Herod. v. 52.

[38] Καταλύσεις, lodging-places. There are no inns in the East answering to those of Europe, but caravanserais, as I have translated the term employed by Herodotus.

twenty stations through Lydia and Phrygia, or ninety-four parasangs[39] and a half. Leaving Phrygia, we come to the river Halys, near which there is a guarded passage, necessary to be passed in our way over the river. On the other side of the river we come to Cappadocia, and through this country to the Cilician[40] mountains; comprehending twenty-eight stations, or a hundred and four parasangs. We penetrate into these mountains by a double defile, which is intrusted to a double frontier guard, and then traverse through Cilicia, a space of three stations, or fifteen parasangs and a half. The river Euphrates, which can only be passed by a ferry, separates Cilicia from Armenia,[41] in which there are fifteen stations, or fifty-six parasangs and a half. There is here also a frontier guard, and four rivers, which are crossed in boats. The first is the Tigris; the second and third bear the same appellation, without being either the same rivers, or flowing from the same country,[42] as the first of them comes out of Armenia, and the other out of the land of the Matienians; the fourth is the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty branches. From Armenia into the land of the Matienians there are four stations; and eleven stations, or forty-two parasangs and a half, from this country into that of the Cissians,[43] as far as the river Choaspes, which must likewise be passed in boats; and on the banks of this river stands the city of Susa. Thus in the journey from Susa to Sardis there are one hundred and eleven[44] stations, with the same number of caravanserais."

This principal road of Asia, once so famous, having undergone no other alteration than that occasioned by its different limits, is now commonly used by caravans from

[39] The parasang, according to Herodotus, was equivalent to thirty stades, about three English miles.

[40] Cilicia, according to the same author, extended as far as Cappadocia, along the Upper Euphrates, and comprehended the region afterwards named Little Armenia. Compare v. 49. And therefore by the term Cilician mountains, we are to understand all that chain which reaches to Mount Caucasus.

[41] In Herodotus, Armenia comprehends all northern Mesopotamia.

[42] Without doubt, the greater and lesser Zabus, of which the first springs from the mountains which bound Media, or those of Matiene; the other from the mountains of Armenia.

[43] That is to say, Susiana, or Chusistan, the inhabitants of which Herodotus calls Cissians.

[44] See the Appendix, on the incorrectness of this number.

Ispahan to Smyrna; Tavernier[45] has given us a full description of it. Its present course is from Smyrna to Tokat, and thence to Erivan. Only the last half has varied; for, in order to be in the direction of Ispahan, the traveller now proceeds north-east, beyond the lake of Ormia; whereas the ancients, on the contrary, without going so far east, inclined more to the south, and followed the course of the Tigris.

On the whole, however, the ancient and modern roads agree in one particular, the reason of which we are told by Herodotus; that is to say, they chose the longer in preference to the shorter way, that they might travel through inhabited countries, and in security. The direct road would have led them through the midst of the steppes of Mesopotamia; where security would have been quite out of the question, on account of the roving predatory hordes. Therefore in ancient times, as well as the present, they chose the northern route along the foot of the Armenian mountains, where the traveller enjoyed security from molestation and an abundant supply of all necessaries.

As to the rest, the division into stations was evidently adopted for the advantage of the caravans. According to Herodotus, the distance between each station was five parasangs, a journey of seven or eight hours; and this we learn from Tavernier, is exactly the space which caravans consisting of loaded camels are accustomed to traverse in the course of a day;[46] but those of horses travel much faster. As this road, however, was perfectly safe, there can be no doubt, that single merchants and travellers performed the journey alone.

A third branch of Babylonian commerce in the interior of Asia had a northern direction; particularly to Armenia. The Armenians had the advantage of the Euphrates to convey their wares to Babylon; and amongst these, wine, which the soil of Babylonia did not produce, was the principal. Herodotus has described this navigation; and we learn from him that the ships or floats of the Armenians were constructed similarly to those which are at present seen on the Tigris, under the appellation of Kilets.[47] The skeleton only

[45] TAVERNIER, t. i. p. 68. [46] Ibid. i. p. 99.
[47] HEROD. i. 194. TAVERNIER, i. p. 184. POTTER, ii. p. 259, gives an exact description of them. According to him, bladders filled with air were fastened to them to prevent their sinking.

was of wood; this had a covering of skins overlaid with reeds; and an oval form was given to the whole, so that there was no difference between the stern and prow. They were filled with goods, especially large casks of wine, and then guided down the stream by two oars. The size of these barks varied considerably; Herodotus observed some which were rated at more than five thousand talents' burthen. On their arrival at Babylon, the conductors sold not only the cargo, but also the skeleton; the skins, however, were carried back by land on asses, which they brought with them for the purpose; since, as the historian has remarked, the force of the stream rendered it impossible for them to return up the river: thus in Germany, the market boats which go down the Danube to Vienna never return, but are sold with the commodities which they convey.

We shall be led to conclude, that the navigation of the Euphrates must have been very important, if we recollect the great works which were performed in order to secure it. Herodotus speaks of it as extraordinary; and, truly, if we believe, as there is great probability for doing, that this trade was confined to the consumption of Babylon, it must necessarily have been very considerable, from the immense population of the city, and from the peculiarity of its soil, which, as it yielded a superfluity of some things, was necessarily quite deficient in others. Hence the Babylonians were obliged to import from the northern regions those necessaries of life which their own soil failed to produce; and we shall have more distinct notions respecting this trade, if we recollect that Herodotus includes under the name of Armenia, in addition to the mountainous district which may be termed Armenia Proper, also the whole of that rich and fruitful country, Northern Mesopotamia.

Further, with whatever difficulties the navigation of the Euphrates, when against the stream, may have been attended, even supposing them to have been insurmountable by barks of the above-mentioned construction; yet Herodotus is mistaken when he declares it absolutely impossible. At all events it was practised, and considered as a continuation of the trade on the Persian Gulf, as the precious commodities

of the southern regions were hence conveyed up the stream to Thapsacus, and from that place into the other parts of Asia by caravans. This investigation is most intimately connected with the question concerning the maritime trade and navigation of the Babylonians, one of the most difficult which antiquity presents to us, and involved in almost total obscurity; the only way by which any light can be thrown on the subject, is to obtain, in the first place, a more exact knowledge of the state of the Persian Gulf at that time, as being the principal theatre of this commerce.

A single glance at the map will be sufficient to show, that the situation and nature of the Persian Gulf rendered it eminently qualified to be the common emporium for the whole southern Asiatic trade, or that with Arabia and India. Its very configuration afforded it great advantages over the Arabian Gulf. While the latter resembles a long and narrow canal, studded every where with rocks and islands; the Persian Gulf, on the other hand, presents to our view a large and spacious basin, of almost equal extent with the Gulf of Bothnia, and by the extreme smallness of its mouth, breaks the waves of the Indian Ocean; it presents, too, fewer dangers to navigation from hidden rocks, as its shores are almost free from them. Beside this, the streams which it receives appear like so many roads of trade for transporting commodities into the interior of Asia. Hence few countries can be found where nature has done so much for man; and the history of the middle ages, in which the names of Ormus, Bassora, and other cities frequently occur, proves that her labours were not in vain; and it required nothing less than the different direction which the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope gave to Indian commerce, to deprive the Persian Gulf of this pre-eminence.

The ancients considered as the beginning of this Gulf, the narrow strait formed by the cape of Makae or Dsiulfar on the Arabian shore, and that of Ormus or Harmozia on the Persian; the broad embouchure between Oman and Carmania not being reckoned as part of it. The above-mentioned strait is so small, that the promontories on both sides may be distinctly seen from the middle. But as soon as we pass beyond this entrance, the shores fall off on both sides, and give to the Gulf that oval shape with which it is

represented in our maps. We shall now conduct the reader along these two shores to the mouth of the Euphrates; and take for our guide, together with Strabo, the relation of Arrian, drawn from Nearchus, who sailed along and described the whole eastern coast.[48]

After Nearchus had passed the mouth of the Indus with Alexander's fleet, and had sailed through the entrance of the Gulf, he kept on the right hand according to his plan, and followed the line of the eastern coast. However, he saw in the distance the high promontory of Makae or Dsiulfar. After sailing sixteen miles, he landed in the fruitful and populous country of Harmozia, which produced every thing but olive trees; and here the wearied mariners first reposed from their fatigues and dangers. This is no other than the valley of Ormus, which extends two days' journey along the sea-coast.[49] Opposite to this, on a small island, the commercial city of Ormus was afterwards erected under the Caliphs; but the account of Nearchus shows that the name is much older. According to Marco Polo, a number of large rivers, of which Nearchus mentions the Aramis, water this valley, which abounds with dates, parrots, fruits, and animals of various kinds, very different from ours. While the ships were repairing in this place, Nearchus hastened by land to the army of Alexander, in order to announce the happy arrival of his fleet, and took the same road which has been so well described by Marco Polo, at that time infested with bands of robbers, who took refuge in the mountains behind the valley, and therefore extremely dangerous. On his return, he continued his voyage, and landed twice on the large island of Oaracta, (now Broet,)[50] which produced vines, palms, and corn, and was under the government of a Persian named Macenes, who was his attendant to Susa. They were shown in this island the tombs of the ancient

[48] For what follows, the reader may compare ARRIAN'S *Indica*, *Op.* p. 19, etc. A full investigation, of which I can here give only the result, will be found in my treatise, *De prisca sinus Persici facie*, *in Commentat. Soc. Goetting.* t. xiii. p. 138.

[49] For what follows, compare MARCO POLO *in Ramusio*, ii. p. 8, 9.

[50] For what follows, I have made use of the map of DELISLE, as well as that of NIEBUHR, to determine the modern names of the islands. From a comparison of these geographers with Nearchus, it appears that the greater part of them have been disfigured by Greek terminations, or by transcribers.

kings; a circumstance which proves, that it was once independent, and inhabited from a considerable time back. He passed by another small and uninhabited island, named Organa, (now Aragan,) on his left hand. Of the remaining small islands which are in the vicinity, Nearchus mentions the name of one more, Pylorus, (now Malora,) and alludes to another without a name, probably Talengo, which is said to have been dedicated to Neptune. He now approached the coast of Carmania, which here seemed to him uninhabited; and after that, reached the island Catæa, probably Keiche, where was the boundary between Persia and Carmania. On the Persian coast, he landed at a place called Ila, (now Cailo,) opposite the small island Caicandros, (now Androvari,) and on the following morning reached another island, which is not named, where there was a pearl fishery. From a comparison of situations, this appears to have been the same as the island Lara. Along the coast he saw many villages thickly inhabited, and ships in the roadstead; there was also no want of palms and fruit trees like those of Greece. From hence he proceeded to Gogorna, (Congon,) at the mouth of a small river, and after having observed several other small rivers which are to be found in the map, he came to Hieratis, (probably Corsiara,) situated on a river of the same name, where he saw many gardens and fruit trees. Pursuing his voyage, and, as before, incurring danger from rocks and shallows, he arrived at the mouth of the large river Aresas, (now Rasain,) which separated Persis and Susiana, as it now divides Fars from Chusistan. Next followed the coast of Susiana, which was so dangerous from shallows, that the inhabitants were accustomed to direct the course of ships by setting up long poles. He then crossed over the Choaspes, called in Arrian the Pasitigris; passed by the inland sea into which the Tigris empties itself; and at length reached the mouth of the Euphrates, where was situated the commercial town of Tenedon, otherwise called Diridotis.

I wish it were in my power to impart to the reader an equally exact and authentic description of the western coast of the Persian Gulf; but here, alas! we have no Nearchus, whose testimony we might use as that of an eye-witness; for

on account of the many dangerous rocks and shallows, navigators have always preferred the opposite side of the Gulf.[51]

All this part of Arabia, from the Euphrates to Cape Dsiulfar, is included by the Arabs under the name of Hadjer, or Bahrein; and it is one of the parts of our globe with which we are the least acquainted. It is moreover neither sterile nor without water; but, on the contrary, abounds in dates and other productions; nevertheless, the sand which is blown hither from the neighbouring desert not only turns this line of coast into a waste, but obstructs the passage through it, and chokes up the road.[52] It is at this day inhabited by the Wahhabites.

In the accounts of antiquity, only one city appears throughout this coast, Gerrha, situated near a bay, which takes its name from it; but for this very reason, it is so much the more remarkable to the historical inquirer into the commerce of the ancients. It occupied the very same position which Lachsa does now, under the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude, or perhaps a few miles further north, near the present El Katif. Here there are, according to the account of a modern traveller, monuments of stone with inscriptions; though inconsiderable, it is at this day a city provided with all the necessaries of life; and date trees are found in its vicinity.[53] "When" says Strabo,[54] who here speaks from the accounts of the followers of Alexander, "we have travelled along the coast 2400 stades, we arrive at Gerrha, built by a colony of Chaldeans from Babylon. It is situate in a country abounding in salt, of which the houses of the inhabitants are constructed; and these it is necessary to moisten frequently, that they may not split, through the heat of the sun. The city is 200 stades from the sea. Its inhabitants transport the goods of the Arabians and spices by land; though Aristobulus says, they frequently went in ships to Babylon, and sailed as far up as Thapsacus, from whence their wares were carried into all

[51] THEVENOT, ii. p. 298, etc.
[52] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, p. 559. OTTER, *Voyage* ii. p. 74.
[53] *History of Seyd Said, Sultan of Muscata*, by SHEIK MANSUR, (an assumed name,) a native of Rome. London, 1819. North of El Katif, a desert begins, twenty days' journey in length.
[54] STRAB. p. 1110.

parts." I shall soon find occasion to say more of this colony from Babylon, and of its commerce.

The continuation of the coast as far as the Cape Makae or Dsiulfar, offers nothing remarkable; along it, however, there are sand banks, which, time out of mind, have been celebrated for pearl fishery. The Cape Dsiulfar, according to Nearchus, was situated in a desert country; but the adjoining district towards the south, by name Oman, is one of the richest and most fruitful in Arabia, and in former times rendered the Cape itself an emporium of commerce, as I shall presently show.

First, however, there remains an investigation as obscure as it is important, concerning some islands situated near this coast, which, as they are said to have been eminent trading places, must not be passed over in silence. In the Greek geographers, for instance, we read of two islands, named Tyrus or Tylos, and Aradus, which boasted that they were the mother country of the Phœnicians, and exhibited relics of Phœnician temples. The Hebrew poets, on the other hand, mention another, by the name of Daden, whose caravans travelled with valuable merchandise into the north of Arabia.

The Greek geographers do not agree as to the position of Tylus and Aradus; wherever, therefore, we fix their situation, it will still be liable to objections. For my own part, however, I am convinced that these two islands were the same as those at this day called Bahrein. I shall first communicate to the reader my reasons for this opinion, which may be taken both from the situation, and from the names given them by the ancients; yet without concealing the objections to which it is liable.

Pliny and Strabo are the principal authorities, yet they are both indebted to more ancient authors. "On sailing farther (south) from Gerrha," says Strabo,[55] "we come to two islands, where there are to be seen Phœnician temples, and the inhabitants assure us, that the cities of Phœnicia bearing the same name are colonies from them. These islands are ten days' sail from Tenedon, (Diridotis, at the mouth of the Euphrates,) and one from Cape Makae."

[55] STRAB. p. 1110. PLIN. vi. 28. The latter names Arad, Little Tylos, which he reports to be ten miles from Great Tylos.

From the account of Strabo, so much is evident; viz. that these islands must be sought for to the south of Gerrha; yet what distance they were from the bay of Gerrha is not to be determined with certainty by this passage; here, however, Pliny comes to our assistance. "Tylos," says he, "is fifty miles from the bay of Gerrha." This calculation exactly suits the Bahrein islands, which are just that distance from the present bay of Lachsa, or, as it is also called, El Katif. Moreover, the ten days' sail mentioned by Strabo from the mouth of the Euphrates are no objection; for although it is only a distance of sixty or seventy miles, yet on the eastern side Nearchus spent a much longer time in the very same navigation.

The situation then of Aradus and Tyrus would seem to be sufficiently determined by the testimony of Strabo and Pliny, if there were not a difficulty in the account of the former, when he adds, "from these islands to Makae, (or the mouth of the Persian Gulf,) there is a distance of one day's navigation." This is impossible, if we suppose him to be speaking of the islands named Bahrein; we ought rather, in this case, to seek them in the group off Ormus; to which opinion, however, the account of Pliny is opposed.

The report of the followers of Alexander, who were sent by him to discover the western coast of Arabia, countenances another view of the question.[56] "They were informed that there were two islands in the sea beyond the mouth of the Euphrates. The first not far from it, at a distance of a hundred and twenty stades, (about twelve miles,) was very woody, and contained a temple of Artemis, surrounded by habitations of the inhabitants. That there was in it a multitude of wild goats and roe bucks, which were never killed; and that the island had received the name of Icarus from Alexander." (The situation of this small island before the mouth of the Euphrates is sufficiently determined, to make it evident that it can be neither of those mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the same as that which is called Bubeân in the map of Niebuhr; but as the country has been so much changed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, we cannot come to any certainty on

[56] ARRIAN, vii. 20.

this point.) "That the second island was at the distance of a day and night's navigation, supposing a favourable wind, from the Euphrates: that it was named Tylos, was of considerable magnitude, produced a quantity of excellent fruits, and was neither mountainous nor woody." Here we have another Tylos, evidently of a different situation from that of Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the Cathema[57] of our maps, situate in 29° N. Lat., 48° 30′ Long. All this, however, proves nothing more than that the name of Tylos, or Tyrus, has been improperly given to this island; and the voucher of it is one Archias, whom Alexander sent to explore Arabia and Tylos; but he had not courage to sail farther than the island in question, and therefore was willing to find Tylos here. This confusion of names has been already noticed by an old grammarian, who informs us that Arrian mistook Anata for Tylos.[58]

From what has been said, two things occur to us: first, that the name of Tylos has been taken for that of several islands in the Persian Gulf; and, secondly, that the islands Tylos and Aradus, where relics of the Phœnicians were found, were those named Bahrein, according to the definite accounts of ancient writers; and the critic will have no hesitation in preferring these to vague and indeterminate notions.

To these geographical proofs another may be added, which arises out of the name. The smallest of the Bahrein islands has preserved the ancient appellation of Aradus, for it is still called Arad;[59] this will carry conviction to those who are aware how little Asiatic appellations are subject to change.

The question respecting the island Daden of the Hebrews remains to be considered. This question, which is extremely important in considering the commerce of the ancients, is answered by the help of the oriental geographers, so far with certainty, as the island is either one of the Bahrein, or the rather more northerly one of Cathema.[60]

[57] This island is to be seen in the map of Delisle, but not in that of Niebuhr.

[58] STEPH. *de Urb. v.* Τίρος. The island Anata is no longer known. Might it not have been a corruption for Cathema?

[59] See NIEBUHR'S *Map.*

[60] The proofs, which to detail here would be out of place, may be found in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* tom. III. pars II. p. 160, 564, 604, 744. Difficulties arise here not merely from want of maps, but also from the variation and confusion of names. Dadein or Daden is also frequently called Dirin; and it may be conjectured, that from hence arose the name of Dehroon, which is given to one of the Bahrein islands in the map of Delisle. If that were the case, then Daden would not be Cathema, as Assemani asserts, but the island mentioned above; and this is rendered probable by the resemblance of names, which is a certain guide in comparing the modern and ancient geography of Asia.

It is not necessary to settle this point with greater exactness, considering that these islands are at no great distance from each other, and in general, what the Greek and Hebrew writers have said of the islands Tyrus, Aradus, and Daden, will apply to those in the bay of Gerrha, especially to the Bahrein islands.

According to the report of a modern traveller,[61] there exist several places on the coast of the Persian Gulf, whose names seem to indicate a Phœnician origin; such are, Sidodona on the eastern side, and a city named Szur, (Tur, Tyrus,) which Niebuhr[62] calls Sur, and describes as having a good harbour in Oman, on the western side; these appear to prove that the Phœnicians had colonies on the continent, as well as in the islands. Niebuhr was acquainted with, and has described, another harbour called Tur, at the entrance of the Gulf of Suez.[63]

It was necessary to give these geographical notices with regard to the Persian Gulf previously to investigating its ancient navigation. I would, however, request the reader to refer to the times anterior to the Persian dominion, or the period[64] of the Chaldaico-Babylonian empire, since this navigation suffered great changes under the Persians, as will presently be shown.

That the Babylonians possessed a maritime navigation, when their power was at its height, may be gathered, in general, from the predictions of the contemporary Jewish prophet Isaiah.[65] "Thus saith the Lord your deliverer;

[61] Dr. SEETZEN, in *Zach's Monatl. Correspond. for Sept.* 1813. See the Appendix.

[62] NIEBUHR'S *Description of Arabia*, p. 307. 25° N. L. He has also a place named Sur, south of Muscat, 22½° N. L.

[63] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, i. 259.

[64] From 630 to 550, B. C.

[65] ISAIAH, xliii. 14, according to the translation of Michaelis. Gesenius has it differently: "For your sakes sent I to Babel, and drive all its fugitives, and the Chaldees, to their ships which are their delight." To which he has the following note: "The fugitives are the people collected together in the commercial city of Babel, (consequently different from the Chaldees,) who, on the invasion of the enemy, take refuge in the ships of their delight, their joy,

for your sakes have I sent to Babel, and thrown to the ground all obstacles, and the Chaldeans, who exult in their ships." This is a graphic description of a people no less proud of their ships than of their gates and ramparts. But more definite information is preserved to us in the Greek writers, who deserve the utmost attention of the historical inquirer. Æschylus, in his play of the Persians, enumerating the nations who composed the army of the great king, speaks as follows: "Babylon, too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who both embark in ships, and boast of their skill in archery."

The accounts of these writers, dispersed as they are through a multitude of different works, and sometimes at variance with each other, nevertheless concur in representing Babylon as a city, which received the merchandise of the South, Arabian and Indian productions, by means of the Persian Gulf; and they put it in our power sometimes to point out clearly the course and limit of this trade, and sometimes to give an obscure glimpse of it.

Amongst these, Strabo's information concerning Gerrha and Tylos merits a closer examination.[66] Gerrha, according to him, was a Chaldean colony; that is, from Babylon. Although, when he adds that it was founded by Chaldean emigrants, it does indeed appear to have been the consequence of some political revolution, with which we are unacquainted; or at any rate, to have owed its rise to a colony of priests, and not to any purpose of extending commerce; this is a consideration of very little importance, so long as we are satisfied that it had a flourishing trade, and constant intercourse with Babylon. We have no certain account with respect to the period of its foundation; yet since the contemporaries of Alexander described it as a rich commercial town, it is evident that the brilliant period of this colony must be referred to the era of the Macedonian conqueror.

We are assured by Agatharchides[67] that the inhabitants of Gerrha were one of the richest people in the world; and

or tumultuous pleasure; for these vessels, instruments of the magnificence of Babel, were commonly filled with crowds of rejoicing people."

[66] STRAB. 1110.

[67] AGATHARCHIDES *de Rubro Mari; in Geogr. min.* HUDSON, i. p. 60.

that for this they were indebted to their traffic with Arabian and Indian commodities, which they transported into the West by means of caravans, and to Babylon by their ships; for although they inhabited a barren district themselves, yet were they in the vicinity of Arabia Felix, the native country of frankincense and other perfumes, which the Babylonians consumed in great quantities.[68]

These precious goods were carried to Babylon in such abundance, that a vast overplus which remained, after the capital was supplied, was conveyed up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and then, by land, over the whole of Western Asia.[69] As, therefore, Babylon was the emporium on the river Euphrates, in like manner the Tigris had the city Opis, which was a few miles above Bagdad, and not far from the Median wall, so called, the limit of Babylonia. Thither the inhabitants of Gerrha had directed their navigation from very ancient times, although, for reasons which I shall presently explain, the Persians interrupted it;[70] and undoubtedly Opis was their emporium, from whence merchandise was conveyed by the caravan trade into the interior of Asia.[71]

Gerrha had, as appears from Strabo, another advantage from its situation; that of being in a country which contained an abundance of salt. We shall show, in speaking of Africa, how great an advantage this is for regions where, as in Arabia and Africa, salt is scarce. Though we are not acquainted how far Gerrha profited by this gift of nature, in a commercial point of view, we may reasonably suppose she would not overlook the advantages which might be derived from it.

The formidable desert, which separated this city from the fruitful countries of Asia, served to protect her from the victorious nations, who ravaged the interior of this quarter of the globe; and hence its revolutions in general operated but slightly on Arabia. While, however, the peculiarity of its situation opposed to the conqueror a boundary, which he never passed, it could not repel the advances of merchants stimulated by the hope of gain; and with them

[68] According to Herodotus, a thousand talents of frankincense were annually consumed in the temple of Bel or Belus alone by the Chaldeans.

[69] STRAB. l. c. from Aristobulus.

[70] STRAB. p. 1074; cf. ARRIAN, vii. 7.

[71] STRAB. p. 1075. He names Opis expressly as the emporium of the circumjacent region.

Gerrha was obliged to share its rich commerce. The Phœnicians had found out the way to this coast through the sandy desert of Arabia, and, as usual, were attracted by the neighbouring islands. They chose the above-mentioned one of Tylos or Daden, and Aradus, for the purpose of forming commercial establishments; and were induced hereunto not only by the productions of these islands, but by the hope of participating in the East Indian trade. Amongst the former, the pearl fishery first claims our notice. It is generally known that the finest pearls are found in the Persian Gulf, and near the island of Ceylon. The shell-fish which produce them are found in almost all the islands of this Gulf; but the most considerable bank is that which extends along the western coast from the Bahrein islands nearly as far as Cape Dsiulfar.[72] Nearchus, in his journal, mentions this ancient pearl fishery.[73] It is true that he only speaks of the island Catæa on the eastern coast, for he did not see the Arabian coast or its islands; but he must of necessity suppose, that if those small and often uninhabited islands were frequented by pearl fishers, the ever active mind of the Phœnician in point of commerce, could not have overlooked the treasures which the larger islands presented to them. One of the latest British travellers who have explored these regions, informs us how extremely productive this fishery is, or might be made. "There is no place in the world," says Morier, "where more pearls are found; the bottom of the sea being quite covered with the shell-fish. The island Bahrein, with Karek, is considered the richest bed of pearls; the fishery, however, has been followed with less eagerness since the removal of the English market to Ceylon. At present, the principal market is at Muscat, from whence the greatest number of them are carried to Surat. Those in the Persian Gulf are yellow or white; the latter of which are taken to Asia Minor and Constantinople, chiefly for the supply of the seraglio. While the pearl of Ceylon shivers in pieces, that of the Persian Gulf is as hard as a rock. The largest are at the bottom of the sea, and divers go down ten or fifteen fathoms under water."[74] But we need say no more to show the great importance of this branch of commerce to the ancients.

[72] See NIEBUHR'S *Map*. [73] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 194.
[74] MORIER, *first Voyage*, p. 53, etc.

Another production of these islands, or at least of the largest of them, that is to say, cotton, must have been a great attraction to the Babylonians. Theophrastus informs us, that there were at Tylos such large plantations of cotton trees, that a considerable part of the island was, as it were, quite covered with them;[75] and modern accounts give us to understand that cotton is produced at this day on the eastern coast of Arabia.[76] It is highly probable, that these plantations were the fruit of a commercial intercourse with India, the native country of cotton. Tylos might not indeed have produced enough to supply the manufactories of Babylon; but whatever this island furnished would be doubly valuable, because it was close at hand, and the conveyance without difficulty.

A comparison of Herodotus with Theophrastus renders it very probable that the Babylonians imported a third commodity from this island, which, although it may appear insignificant, I cannot entirely pass over in silence. Herodotus, in describing the magnificence of the Babylonians, adds, that it was a general custom amongst them to carry a walking-stick or cane, elegantly chased with the representation of some emblem.[77] It appears from Theophrastus, that this came from Tylos. "There grows in this island," says he,[78] "a tree from which the most handsome sticks are cut. They are streaked and spotted like the skin of a tiger, and very heavy; but fly in two when struck against any hard substance." This brief description is not sufficient for us to determine botanically the species of the tree, though showing very plainly that it has nothing to do with the bamboo, which has neither this heaviness nor hardness.

But there was another production peculiar to this island, which contributed much more to its value than these which have been mentioned. It has been already remarked in another place, that Babylon was totally deficient in timber, with the exception of the date and cypress tree, both which, however, are little suited for ship-building. This applies also to the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and would, therefore, have put an insurmountable obstacle in the way of that navi-

[75] THEOPH. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 9; cf. PLIN. xii. 10, 11. According to him, Little Tylos or Aradus was still more productive in cotton than the large island.
[76] OTTER, *Voyage*, ii. p. 74. [77] HEROD. i. 195.
[78] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Pl.* v. 6.

gation, if the deficiency had not been supplied by the island of Tylos. "There is in this island," says Theophrastus,[79] "a species of timber for ship-building, which under water resists all tendency to putrefaction, lasting for upwards of two hundred years; but out of water it decays much sooner." To this Pliny adds, that the followers of Alexander brought the knowledge of it to Greece. The want of a fuller description will not permit us to define this timber scientifically, which is, possibly, the celebrated Indian teak-wood; but the passage quoted affords an important disclosure, not only because it proves, in general, the navigation of the Persian Gulf, but also, as it brings within our comprehension the long voyages undertaken by vessels from Tylos, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.

Gerrha and Tylos were, therefore, certainly principal marts of Babylonico-Phœnician commerce; yet there was another no less remarkable emporium for the commodities of the South, just in the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Ormus, which was afterwards so celebrated, did not yet exist, and its place was occupied by Cape Makae or Dsiulfar. Nearchus, who had only a passing view of this Cape, as he sailed by, gives an interesting account of it.[80] His companions, who were acquainted with the country, told him that there was here a mart for cinnamon and similar merchandise, which was conveyed to the Assyrians, that is, to Babylon. They added, that the district around the Cape was sterile and uninhabited. Here it is worthy of remark, that the above-mentioned city of Tur,[81] in Oman, was very near Cape Makae. Without building much upon the evidence of names, we may, however, believe, as we have historical accounts to confirm the idea, that this Tur was a Phœnician colony, and the staple for the spice trade mentioned by Nearchus.

An emporium like this, at the entrance of the Gulf, naturally leads us to suppose a more distant navigation, and strengthens our idea of an ancient Indian trade from the Persian Gulf.

Amongst the commodities which Tyre received by the Persian Gulf may be enumerated ivory, ebony, and cinnamon.[82] It is true, that the two first are no less natural to

[79] THEOPHRAST. l. c. PLIN. xvi. 41. [80] ARRIAN, *Ind. Op.* p. 190.
[81] See above, p. 437. [82] EZEK. xxxvii. 15.

Ethiopia than India;[83] but it is contrary to all probability, that the natives of the eastern coast of Arabia should have imported them from Ethiopia, when India was so much nearer and more convenient for trade.

A more important and difficult question is that concerning the native country of cinnamon, (cinnamomum,) which was so much sought after, and so highly valued by the ancients.[84]

The researches of modern naturalists have sufficiently proved, that at the present day cinnamon is found in the East Indies alone. Its principal country is Ceylon, from whence we obtain the best; yet it is not confined to Ceylon, but is also found on the coasts of the Deccan and in the East Indian islands; no where, however, in Africa or Arabia.[85] Some of the later Greek geographers, indeed, amongst whom Strabo may be reckoned, speak of cinnamon as a production of Arabia;[86] but as no one of them speaks as an eye-witness, it is more than probable that they were deceived by the circumstance of cinnamon being obtained through the medium of Arabia. We may add to the investigations of other writers[87] on this point, that the two oldest authors who have mentioned cinnamon, Jeremiah and Herodotus, express themselves in a manner tending to confirm our notion of its Indian origin. "To what purpose," it is said in Jeremiah,[88] "cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country." If the prophet, with the later geographers, had considered Arabia Felix to be its native country, he would not have made this distinction. The same is clear from Herodotus. He had been told by the Phœnicians that cinnamon was brought through Arabia; but they would not, or could not, inform him where it was found, or what country produced it. All he could discover was, that it came from the country in which Bacchus was educated.[89] The mystery thus thrown over this commerce, proves sufficiently that

[83] HEROD. iii. 114.
[84] Cinnamon is the bark of the Laurus Cinnamomum, a tree of moderate height and magnitude, and the Laurus Cassia (probably a variety of the other, producing however a coarser sort). See, concerning this spice, THUNBERG, *Anmerkungen über den Zimmet, auf Ceylon gemacht, in den Neuen Abhandlungen der Schwed. Akad.*, (Observations on the cinnamon grown at Ceylon, in the new treatises of the Swedish academy,) vol. i. p. 53.
[85] THUNBERG, l. c. [86] STRAB. p. 1124.
[87] BECKMANN. *ad Antig.* p. 86. [88] JEREM. vi. 20. [89] HEROD. iii. 111.

its former possessors were no less anxious to conceal it from the rest of the world, than the Dutch have been in more modern times.

It was not however possible to keep it entirely secret; and the father of history has the glory of having first discovered traces of it, leading to the Indian peninsula and Ceylon.

Herodotus, in speaking of the native country of cinnamon, adds to his account a fabulous tradition. He had been told that a species of large birds brought the cinnamon, and carried it to their nests, from whence it was taken by a stratagem which he describes. This tradition of cinnamon birds prevailed throughout antiquity, and is found under a variety of modifications in several even of the most credible ancient writers;[90] for we cannot be surprised that they had every one their own version of the story. Nay, this very tradition which Herodotus related after the Phœnicians, more than two thousand years ago, was heard in Ceylon[91] itself, by a modern writer of the greatest fidelity, to whom we are indebted for our best information as to the manner of obtaining cinnamon. "The inhabitants of this island maintain," says Thunberg, "that good cinnamon must always grow wild. The propagation of the trees, however, takes place in the following manner. Magpies eat the berries when ripe, but do not digest the stones, which they sow here and there in the woods. On which account these birds are preserved, no one being allowed to shoot them." The same has been related of pigeons.[92] Similar to this is the fact of the English having shot a pigeon at Tanna with a nutmeg in its beak.

Another valuable commodity was obtained from Ceylon in these distant ages, that is to say, pearls. Of this we can have no doubt, because we read of Indian pearl fisheries as well as those of the Persian Gulf. Nearchus, when he mentions the latter of these, adds the following observation:[93] "Pearls are fished up here as well as in the Indian Sea." Now it is generally known, that the most considerable pearl fishery is on the south-eastern coast of the peninsula, this side of the Ganges, between Ceylon and Cape

[90] Beckmann. *ad Antig. de Mirabil.* [91] Thunberg, l. c.
[92] Forster, *Voyage Round the World*, ii. p. 332.
[93] Arrian, *Ind. Op.* p. 194. It is even said in another place, that according to the traditions of the Indians, Hercules had established this fishery. Would not this seem to imply the participation of the Phœnicians?

Comorin. Hence a connexion between these countries and Babylon is sufficiently proved.

Lastly: the ancient name also of Ceylon, Taprobane, was known very early, and was even brought to Greece as a very remarkable one by the followers of Alexander; and the oldest traditions concerning it have exactly that obscurity which usually involves the most distant countries on the extremities of the known world.[94] Accordingly it was long undetermined, whether Taprobane was an island or a large continent, upon which the antipodes were to be sought. And even the discoveries made by the followers of Alexander appear to have afforded but little more light, as is manifest from Strabo, who drew his information from them. This is however very different in Ptolemy.[95] He has, it must be confessed, made false representations (probably borrowed from his predecessors) concerning the magnitude of the island; since he makes it extend from 12° 30′ N. L. to 3° S. L. But he is acquainted with its real figure and the direction in which it lies; its coasts, cities, rivers, and harbours; and even its ancient capital Maagrammum, in the situation of the present Candi. There was certainly a time in antiquity when Ceylon was quite as well known as it was under the dominion of the Dutch; and we may here repeat a question which has been started before, in regard to the interior of Arabia:[96] viz. whether this was not the age of the Phœnicians, and whether Ptolemy did not obtain his information from Tyrian sources. If we could assume this, how vast a commerce must there not have existed between the Phœnicians and Indians!

But without such a supposition, it is sufficiently made out, that the principal direction of the maritime Indian trade was to Ceylon and the neighbouring coast of Hindustan. We now naturally ask, who they were by whom this commerce was carried on; whether the Indians sailed to the Persian Gulf, or whether the inhabitants of the latter brought away the Indian commodities themselves. In my own opinion, the previous statements have sufficiently established the fact of the last of these having been the case, considering that the Chaldeans and Phœnicians had a joint participation in this trade. "The men of Dedan were thy

[94] See Plin. vi. 22. [95] Ptolem. vii. 4. [96] See above, p. 360.

merchants, and went to extensive countries, who gave them in exchange for thy wares, horn, ivory, and ebony."[97] The identity of these countries with those of India would be rendered probable by their geography; but the Indian commodities which are mentioned turn this probability into certainty. This remarkable passage, however, informs us of the nature of this trade, as well as of its course. The men of Daden, viz. the inhabitants of the islands in the bay of Gerrha, sail to India with Phœnician wares, which they exchange for Indian; after this they bring the fruits of their traffic to their own country, and then form, on the neighbouring Arabian shores, near Gerrha, those caravans from Daden mentioned by Isaiah,[98] which travelled through the Arabian desert to Babylon, or to the maritime cities of Phœnicia.

Putting together what has been said thus far, we shall have the following general results:

First. We can entertain no doubt of a considerable navigation on the Persian Gulf, not, however, limited to that sea, but extending to large and distant countries, before the age of the Persian empire.

Secondly. The principal places to which this navigation was directed were Ceylon and the western coasts of the Indian peninsula, on this side the Ganges. Here was situated, not far from the mouth of the Indus, the port Crocola, where Nearchus embarked. It is undoubtedly the modern Kurachi, which now carries on a considerable commerce, adjoining a city of thirteen thousand inhabitants;[99] and it is extremely probable that Barygaza likewise, (now Beroach,) though coming under our notice somewhat later, was in these early times a port of some consequence. The proximity of these countries would favour the voyage, which was still more facilitated by the periodical winds, which at regular intervals of half a year conducted ships thither, and brought them back.

Thirdly. This navigation was perhaps much less applied to by the Babylonians that by the Phœnicians, who had settlements on the eastern coast of Arabia, and in the neighbouring Bahrein islands, where they were supplied with timber for ship-building; it was also carried on by the Arabians, who became very early a navigating people, and

[97] EZEKIEL, xxvii. 15. [98] ISAIAH, xxi. 13.
[99] POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 333, 342.

conveyed the commodities which they had imported from India, to Babylon and the Phœnician commercial cities, from whence they were communicated to all parts of the world.

Lastly. The objects of this trade were Arabian frankincense, Indian spices, especially cinnamon from Ceylon, ivory, ebony, precious stones, and Persian and Indian pearls. These are, at least, the wares mentioned by historians; yet we cannot doubt, from our want of a complete catalogue, that there are many articles omitted, which used to be offered to strangers who came to the several countries, and upon which they set a considerable value.

Under the Persian empire, however, the navigation of the Persian Gulf had many difficulties to contend with. The Persians, who were not themselves a navigating people, had great apprehension of their provinces being suddenly attacked and laid waste by some foreign fleet or other.[100] When we consider the situation of their principal cities, this will appear any thing but a groundless fear. Not only Babylon, but Susa, the metropolis of their empire, and the depôt for tribute collected from many nations, were both situated on large and navigable rivers, which afforded foreign fleets an easy access into the heart of their dominion; Babylon on the Euphrates, and Susa on the Choaspes, which is connected with the Tigris by a canal.[1] No great naval power, in the modern sense of the term, would be requisite for such an attempt, but only some squadrons of daring pirates, resembling the Normans of the middle ages, a description of people which has never been wanting in the Persian Gulf. What could the Persians on the moment have opposed to such a fleet? Their principal cities would inevitably have been plundered and destroyed; nay, it is not going too far to suppose the utter abolition of their empire.

In order to prevent such a misfortune, they determined to make the entrance of the principal stream, viz. the Tigris, through which ships passed to the Choaspes, entirely inaccessible for navigation; and the expense and trouble which they bestowed upon accomplishing this design, clearly shows how much the danger of a foreign invasion had alarmed their fears. At certain distances one after the other they interrupted the course of the stream by masses of stone,

[100] STRAB. p. 1075. [1] ARRIAN, vii. 7.

which, as the waves passed over them, formed cascades more or less elevated. Alexander, who considered nothing of greater importance than the furtherance of trade and navigation, caused these obstructions to be removed, on his return from India.[2] But his premature death prevented the completion of this design, and one of these has probably remained to our time. "One day's journey below Mosul," says Tavernier,[3] "our bark stuck against a dam, across the Tigris from one side to the other. It is two hundred feet broad, and forms a cascade twenty feet high; being constructed of large stones, which by the lapse of time are become as hard as a rock. The Arabians assert that Alexander the Great ordered it to be made, to conduct the stream; others maintain, that Darius endeavoured by this means to prevent Alexander from penetrating by the river into his dominions." The monument certainly deserves a more accurate investigation, were it only on account of ancient Persian architecture; for it is not at all probable that a dam should have been made so far up the river.[4]

Here, then, we may seek for the reason of the great decline of the Persian Gulf navigation in the time of Alexander. It was a result of the Persian policy; and hence it would be very hasty to decide, in conformity with this, as to the antecedent period, when the Babylonico-Chaldean power was at its height. A people who, like the Persians, are not themselves navigators, would be inclined to attach but little value to maritime trade in general. Moreover, the dams of which we have been speaking were no detriment to the navigation of the Euphrates; and although the maritime commerce of Babylon may have been much reduced under the Persian dominion, it certainly was not put a stop to altogether.

[2] STRAB. l. c. If I dared to oppose evidence so definite as that of Strabo, I should conjecture, with great probability, that these dams were made to restrain the river, and to prevent an inundation.

[3] TAVERNIER, i. p. 185.

[4] They extended, however, as far as Opis, which, as an important commercial town, it was of great consequence to defend from any attack.

END OF VOL. I.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

This book is due on the date indicated below, or at the expiration of a definite period after the date of borrowing, as provided by the library rules or by special arrangement with the Librarian in charge.

DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE	DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE
C28(842)M50			

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
0032261888

DO NOT COPY

930 H363 1
Heeren
Historical researches
L. M. Levin

930 H363 1

09563830
930.
H363 V1 C1

OCT 25 1944

VOLUME 2

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY



GIVEN BY

Dr. James Peck

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

KNIGHT OF THE NORTH STAR AND GUELPHIC ORDER; AULIC COUNSELLOR AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN; AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER LEARNED SOCIETIES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. II.

ASIATIC NATIONS. SCYTHIANS, INDIANS, APPENDIXES.

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCCLIV.

930
H363
v.2

Gift
Dr. JAMES PECH
June 7, 1913

COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

JOHN CHILLS AND SON, BUNGAY.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

SCYTHIANS.

PAGE

CHAP. I. Geographical Survey of the Scythian Tribes 3
CHAP. II. Commerce and Intercourse of the Nations of Central Asia 21

INDIANS.

CHAP. I. A Critical View of the Antiquities and Literature of India 45
CHAP. II. Fragments relative to the History, Constitution, and Commerce of Ancient India 210

APPENDIX.

I. The two first Fargards of the Vendidat, from the Zendavesta 313
II. On the Cuneiform Character, and particularly the Inscriptions at Persepolis; by G. F. Grotefend 319
III. On Pasargadæ and the Tomb of Cyrus; by G. F. Grotefend . 350
IV. On the Indian words occurring in Ctesias; by Professor Tychsen 360

PAGE

V. On the words Pasargada and Persepolis; by Professor Tychsen 373
VI. Some observations on Herder's Persepolis 377
VII. On the most ancient Navigation of the Persian Gulf . . . 385
VIII. On the Voyages of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to Britain, and their settlements on the coast 387
IX. On the Commerce of Palmyra and the neighbouring Cities . 392
X. On the latest additions to Sanscrit Literature 412
XI. On the Commerce of Ceylon 416
XII. On the sources of Ptolemy's Geography 440
XIII. On the Commercial Routes of Ancient Asia 450

SCYTHIANS.

SCYTHIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Survey of the Scythian Tribes.

GOMER, AND ALL HIS BANDS; THE HOUSE OF TOGARMAH OF THE NORTH QUARTERS, AND ALL HIS BANDS: AND MANY PEOPLE WITH THEE.
EZEKIEL, XXXviii. 6.

THE aspect of Central Asia, or the wild countries between the Taurus and Altai chain of mountains, have not, it must be confessed, the same attractions as the southern parts of this quarter of the globe. Those boundless plains, without wood or arable land, and covered only with pasture for cattle, present to the eye as little variety as the encampments of the wandering tribes who travel through them with their herds. But the great influence which these people have exercised on the fortunes of the human race would render it unpardonable to pass them over in silence, even if the period of the Persian empire did not supply us with more ample materials for the investigation than we might otherwise expect.

The name of Scythians is quite as vague in ancient geography, as those of Tartars and Monguls are at present. We sometimes find the name applied to a particular people, and sometimes to all the nomad tribes who were settled throughout that immense tract of country extending from the north of the Black and Caspian Seas, into the heart of Asia. The same uncertainty prevails in the use of a name for the country, the term Scythia being sometimes applied to the region inhabited by Scythians properly so called, and sometimes employed as an indefinite appellation for modern Mongolia and Tartary. We shall use the names Scythia and Scythians in this latter extended sense, a liberty which will be permitted in a general survey, although the Scythi-

ans may have already formed a distinct people, at the era to which our researches apply.

We cannot be surprised that nations who have never had any fixed place of abode, but have always led an unsettled life, should leave their country on the slightest occasion, and wander about from one to another. Moreover, these changes of habitation make it necessary to take one particular point of time when we are delineating such countries; for otherwise, it is evident from the nature of the case, the several parts of our sketch will not be in keeping with each other; perhaps they will even be at variance with truth. This necessity becomes much more urgent when we are taking a general survey of the nomad tribes of Central Asia. From the earliest times we have noticed periodical emigrations of these nations from east to west; their extensive country seems to have been, as it were, the magazine of our race. The farther back we go into the history of the first ages of the world, the more probable does it appear that the whole of western Europe received its population from thence; and it is a case of common notoriety, that these regions have been the focus of important revolutions at a more modern epoch. It would, therefore, be a great error to found our observations on Pomponius Mela, or Ptolemy, or to intermix the picture set before us by these geographers, with the more credible delineations of earlier writers.[1] Herodotus,[2] then, a contemporary author, will be our only

[1] An investigation concerning the ancient northern tribes is, according to Ptolemy, one of the most difficult in history. This chaos was first reduced to something like order by Gatterer, in his inquiry into the origin of the Finni, Letti, and Slavi, in the *Commentat. Soc. Götting.* (Vol. XI. XII.) His first treatise particularly, *de Sarmatica Letticorum populorum origine*, belongs to our subject. Many illustrations on this point have been given in Mannert's Ancient Geography, and in Rennel's Geography of Herodotus.

[2] Herodotus did not confine his travels to Olbia, but saw also a part of the country of the Scythians, (iv. 81,) and obtained as much information about them, as he did relative to the Greeks of Pontus. It is certain that he examined these countries with great care, and faithfully related whatever he had seen and heard. I rely therefore implicitly on him for measures and distances. We have no means of deciding whether those he gives are correct or not, and risk much more in departing from, than we do in following him. The different accounts of Darius's Scythian expedition rested upon traditions which were collected here; and on this point I acknowledge with the excellent biographer of Herodotus, DAHLMANN, *Forschungen aus der Geschichte*, (Historical Researches,) II. p. 159, that these people have gone into much exaggeration on the subject, when they assert that Darius advanced as far as the Wolga, and raised some forts on that river. But we must not forget

guide, who has devoted the fourth book of his work to a description of the immense steppes which unite Europe to Asia. This great historian seems here to be perfectly familiar with his subject; he is acquainted with the rivers, the country, and the people; their manners and way of life no less than their parentage. The wilds of the Ukraine and Astracan are geographically described by him; and it is in his work that the ancestors of the Letti, Finns, Turks, Germans, and Calmucks first occupy a place in history; he has mentioned the Ural and Altai chain, though without a fixed appellation; and we even read of traditions concerning Siberia, which, though they at first appeared unworthy of credit, have been subsequently verified.

Herodotus begins his description with the European countries on this side of the Don or Tanais, or new Ukraine, and for the sake of method, it will be necessary to follow him in the same order. The division which he has adopted, is that formed by the rivers, and is indeed the best way of settling the boundaries of districts inhabited by wandering tribes who have no fixed residence. The principal rivers mentioned by the historian are undoubtedly correct; but two, which flow across the steppes, are uncertain, and he seems to have considered them larger than they are in reality.[3]

Conformable to his exactness in fixing localities, is the distinction which he establishes between different tribes, enumerating eight of Scythians, properly so called: who-

that the Persian army contained an abundance of light cavalry, which could and must have advanced in all directions as the Scythians retired before them. To what distances do not the Cossacks at this day remove before the regular armies of the Russians? I would not, however, maintain that the vanguard of the Persian army advanced as far as the Wolga, or found upon the traditions a distinction which they do not make; but could only give the point of view in which we ought, in my opinion, to look upon the subject.

[3] The principal of these rivers are, the Ister or Danube, the Tyras or Dniester, (still called Tyral, near its mouth,) the Hypamis or Bog, which unites with the Borysthenes or Dnieper, before it empties itself into the Black Sea. Between this last and the Tanais or Don, which flows into the sea of Azof, Herodotus has placed three secondary rivers, the Pantikapes, the Hypakyris, and the Gerrus, of which the last is uncertain, and the two others are not to be found, at least according to his description. (See MANNERT, *Geography*, iv. p. 31. RENNEL, p. 57.) These uncertainties, however, only affect the line of demarcation of some Scythian tribes between the Dnieper and Don, and have nothing to do with other nations settled beyond the Don, and farther towards the north.

ever were not included in these did not belong to the Scythian stock. The settlements which he assigns to the Scythians proper extend from the Danube to the Tanais, or Don,[4] around which several other tribes had their residence. The Scythians, or Skolots, as they were called in their own language, had not always inhabited this tract of country, but were reported, by historical tradition preserved among themselves, to have come from the East. Being pressed by another people, the Massagetæ, they crossed the river Araxes, expelled the Cimmerians,[5] and took possession of their settlements, which they still retained in the age of our historian. From time to time they made irruptions into the south of Asia; and in a great expedition undertaken by the whole nation against the remains of the Cimmerians, they even conquered the Medes about seventy years before Cyrus, kept the whole of Asia Minor in subjection to them for eight and twenty years, and extended their excursions to the borders of Egypt, whose king Psammetichus was obliged to buy them off.[6]

I shall now make the reader acquainted with each of the tribes comprehended under the general name of Scythians. My plan will be to present them in the order of their relation to each other, and to fix their settlements by rivers; which, I flatter myself, will prevent our falling into any considerable mistakes. As long as we are confined to the shores of the Black Sea the subject will be clear and without difficulty: it is first involved in obscurity, and we cannot be surprised, when it regards the remote countries of the North.

[4] The boundaries which Herodotus assigns to Syria are as follows: on the south, the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis (called by him Mæetis); on the east, the Persian Gulf and the Don, or Tanais, to its rise out of the lake Ivan, which Herodotus was acquainted with; on the north, a line drawn from this lake to that out of which the Tyras (or Dniester) flows, that is, to the northern arm of the last lake in the circle of Sombrov in Galizia, towards the 49th degree of latitude; for Herodotus makes this lake the frontier between the Scythians and Neuri, whose settlements began about the 50th degree. HEROD. iv. 55. Lastly, the western boundary was a line from thence to the Danube. Thus the figure of Scythia is that of an irregular oblong, which Herodotus ascribes to it, iv. 101, 102.

[5] HEROD. iv. 11, 12. I forbear to notice the other fabulous traditions concerning the Scythians. In this passage, we are, in my opinion, to understand the river Wolga for the Araxes. I have already remarked, that this name does not always mean the same river, in Herodotus, but is also applied to different streams on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea; it was probably a general denomination for any river.

[6] HEROD. i. 103—106. This is the famous Scythian invasion, which Michaelis and Schlözer have shown to be identified with that of the Chaldeans.

The northern coast of the Black Sea was occupied by Greek colonies, of which the most considerable was Olbia on the Borysthenes, whose name it sometimes bore. With respect to these, it has been already observed,[7] that they had all one common origin from the city of Miletus. They were situated at the mouths of the large rivers; and beyond them the Greeks had formed many other settlements; viz. in the Crimea at Panticapæum, and on the farther shore of the sea of Azof, at the mouth of the river Tanais,[8] where Milesian merchants had established themselves.

In their vicinity, the Tauri occupied the greatest part of the Crimea, to which they gave their own name. They figure in Greek mythology as a people of barbarous customs and manners, being even addicted to human sacrifices, which were practised among them in the days of Herodotus.[9] "They gain their livelihood," says this historian, "by war and plunder." Their origin is not known, but they were probably a remnant of the Cimmerians,[10] whom the Scythians dispossessed of their settlements; for the most ferocious conquerors are seldom found to exterminate a people utterly; and as we find no further traces of them in their former country, our conjecture may be considered very probable, at least in the absence of any express testimony.

Next to these, the Scythian tribes first occur along both sides of the river Dnieper; and to the west, on the banks of this river, above the city of Olbia, the Callipidæ, a mixed people of Greeks and Scythians,[11] who had fixed habitations, and applied to agriculture as well as their neighbours, the Alazones, whose ancient abodes must be sought where the Dnieper and Bog approach the nearest to each other. The

[7] See above, p. 70, sq.

[8] A new light has been diffused over these cities, and principally over Olbia, by the controversies which have been lately entered into. See RAOUL ROCHETTE, *Antiquités Grecques de Bosphore Cimmerien*, Paris, 1822; PETER VON KOPPEN, *Alterthümer am Gestad des Pontus*, (Antiquities of the coast of Pontus,) Vienna, 1823; and VON KOLU, *Zwei Aufschriften Von Olbia*, (two inscriptions from Olbia,) Petersburg, 1822. I shall make use of these different works in speaking of the Greek colonies. It would as yet be too soon, while we are engaged with the inland nations.

[9] HEROD. iv. 103. [10] GATTERER, l. c. p. 140. [11] HEROD. iv. 17.

tribes which were settled above these, comprehended under the general name of agricultural Scythians, followed the same way of life.[12] They cultivated the land, however, less for the sake of enjoying its produce themselves than on account of the trade which they carried on in corn.

These last, it is true, extended far towards the west, but the principal tribes were only settled on the eastern side of the Dnieper, between this river and the Don or Tanais. "Having crossed the Borysthenes," says Herodotus, "a woody region first presents itself, after which we come to the agricultural Scythians, whom the Greeks name Borysthenites, but they call themselves Olbiopolites."

It is uncertain whether there remain any traces of that woody region. Some old maps present the name of the Black Forest in the very same place; and this may have had a much wider extent in earlier times. From the communications of several travellers, however, it appears, that there is no wood there now, although the fact of its having once existed, is preserved in the popular traditions of the country; nor does the woody country occur until we come to the banks of the river Don.[13] Modern travellers assert, that these districts, which at the present day are occupied by colonies of Germans, Greeks, and others, afford a soil very favourable to the pursuit of agriculture. Rich meadow land, which can easily be converted into arable, is their general character; from the Don to the Danube, from Poland to the sea of Azof, the soil is deep and fruitful, and well adapted to every kind of produce.[14]

According to Herodotus, the settlements of those agricultural Scythians extended three days' journey to the east from Olbia, as far as the river Pantikapes, which empties itself into the Dnieper, and flows through the woody country to the north, eleven days' navigation up the Borysthenes. If we follow Gatterer in considering the Pantikapes to be the same as the Desna, we must make the woody country

[12] HEROD. l. c.

[13] The forest commences near Tcherkask, on the banks of the Don, and extends to the Dnieper near Tchernigov, in 52° 30′ of north latitude, having the appearance of a long black line on the horizon; it is here succeeded by a steppe, which continues to the Black Sea, and presents a considerable number of monumental mounds.

[14] *New Russia*, by MISS HOLDERNESS, Lond. 1823.

reach as far as Kiev; in this case, the country of the agricultural Scythians would begin at the confluence of the Desna and Dnieper, and extend northward to Mohilow on the Dnieper, 54° N. L.[15] But it is not easy to believe, that the Pantikapes is the same river as the Desna; as we are not authorized by the expression of Herodotus to suppose that the woody country extended so far north; and the distance between the Dnieper and the Desna is not equal to three days' journey. I would therefore take the Pantikapes for one of the more southern rivers which fall into the Dnieper, either the Sula or the Psol. Under this view, the limit of the country inhabited by the agricultural Scythians, will be fixed near Kiev, 51° N. L. The importance of settling the locality of these tribes will be readily acknowledged; but we shall pursue the investigation no farther, as it is amply sufficient for all the purposes of a general survey, to know that the district in question lies between the Don and the Dnieper, and that the agricultural Scythians occupied the western part of it. On the other side of the Pantikapes, we enter upon the country of the nomad Scythians, who neither plough nor sow. It is a steppe destitute of wood, and comprehending a space of fourteen days' journey in an eastern direction as far as the river Gerrus, and the region which bears the same name, where are the tombs of the Scythian kings.[16] Beyond this river the ruling horde of the Scythians, who were named royal, first appear; their country is bounded on the south by the lake Mæotis and

[15] M. v. KOPPEN, l. c. p. 12, note 2, thinks I am mistaken in making the Scythia of Herodotus extend so far north as Mohilow; he adds, that it was terminated by the southern *tumuli* in the government of Kursk, where, owing to peculiar circumstances, we discover quite a different race of men, inasmuch as the southern and northern Russians differ from each other, both in language and in manners. It is, however, doubtful whether these *tumuli* should be considered to decide the question; at the same time it seemed reasonable to fix the limit at Mohilow, on account of our uncertainty respecting the course of the Pantikapes, as well as the mention of eleven days' navigation on the Dnieper. If, as I think, the river Psol is the ancient Pantikapes, the opinion of M. Köppen with respect to the north-western limit of Scythia, coincides with mine: but I hold, from the express declaration of Herodotus, that its north-eastern frontier extended as far as 54 or 55° N. L.

[16] HEROD. iv. 19. The region of Gerrus must have been at a considerable distance up the Dnieper, as we are told that forty days' navigation on that river were required before they came to it (iv. 52). But we cannot form any estimation of these days' navigation against the stream. We are acquainted with no vestige of the tombs of the Scythian kings.

the city Cremni, and on the east by the river Don, which here terminates the whole of Scythia.

Herodotus speaks of some other nations on this side of the river Don, who bordered on the Scythians to the west and north, but were not of a similar extraction with them. These, with the addition of the Tauri and Greeks, whom I mentioned before, as being settled on the south of Scythia, were the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Anthropophagi, and the Melanchlæni. Among these, the Agathyrsi were farthest towards the west; they lived, according to the express words of our historian, on the Maris,[17] (Marosch,) which falls into the Danube, and occupies a part of Transylvania and Temeswarian Banat. They were a very rich people, having an abundance of gold, probably obtained from the Carpathian mountains, which they employed for the fabrication of their utensils. We are not to suppose that they were at the trouble of working gold mines, as the metal was probably found in the sand washed down by their rivers. In the centre of the region which now comprises Poland and Lithuania, Herodotus places the Neuri,[18] bounded on one side by the Carpathian mountains, and the lake out of which the Dniester rises;[19] and on the other, by the Dnieper. They had been once obliged to leave their country, on account of a quantity of serpents, with which it was infested, and had taken refuge with the Budini on the eastern side of the Don; but they afterwards returned.[20]

[17] Herod. iv. 48, 100, 104. This helps to determine the settlements of the other tribes. It is surprising how well Herodotus was acquainted with the inferior rivers which flow into the lower Danube (i. 48, 49). For this accurate information he must have been indebted to intimate commercial relations between the Greeks of Pontus and the inhabitants of the Carpathian mountains.

[18] Herod. iv. 17.

[19] Herod. iv. 51. This author was acquainted with the entire course of all the rivers from the Danube to the Don, the Dnieper alone excepted, respecting which he avows his ignorance, iv. 53.

[20] So Gatterer explains the passage, Herod. iv. 105, translating ἐς ὅ πιεζόμενοι, "so long as they were molested," which was formerly rendered by "while they were thus molested:" this does away with all apparent contradictions in Herodotus to the passage in iv. 21, as well as puts an end to all discussion relative to the country of the Neuri and Budini. (See the commentators on Herodotus and Mannert.) Schweighæuser ad h. l. translates ἐς ὅ, *ad extremum*, because Herodotus never uses these words in the sense of *quamdiu*. He adds, however, that the Neuri returned to their country when it was no longer infested by the serpents. Whatever interpretation may be adopted, it will not affect the limits which have been assigned to the Neuri, Herod. iv. 51.

Scythia was bounded on the west by the country of these two nations; and on the north, by that of the Anthropophagi, (cannibals,) and Melanchlæni, (black clothed,) from whom it was, however, separated by a desert.[21] The former of these were settled in the modern government of Smolensk, and the latter in the vicinity of Moscow; and their names were not the peculiar appellation of the tribes to which they belonged; but rather were derived from their customs and dress. Herodotus says expressly, that they were not of Scythian extraction; and we learn at a later period that their true name was Bastarnæ.[22] These were a branch from the German stock, which probably first occupied the Scythian country, and were expelled from it by the inroads of other wandering tribes. Thus Herodotus is the first author who has made us acquainted with the ancestors of the modern Germans, such as they were in these remote ages, when they clothed themselves with the skins of animals and fed on human flesh.

The Tanais or Don formed the eastern boundary of Scythia. On the other side of this river we meet with a new race, that is to say, the Sarmatians,[23] whose name is no less celebrated than that of the Scythians. "On crossing the Tanais we come to no more Scythians, but enter into a country inhabited by the Sarmatians, who extend to a distance of five days' journey towards the north from the Palus Mæotis. The district which they possess is equally destitute of wild and of cultivated trees." It is clear from this passage of the historian, that they occupied the steppe, which is now appropriated to the Cossacks of the Don; and perhaps a part of that of Astracan besides. As fifteen days' journey are equivalent to about seventy-five German miles, (about three hundred English,) their country must have extended to the 48th degree of north latitude, or to the point where the Don and the Wolga approach the nearest to each other. The language, however, of the Sarmatians was a dialect of the Scythian; and according to the fabulous tra-

[21] Herod. iv. 18, 20.

[22] Gatterer, l. c. p. 148. From a comparison of Herodotus with Strabo. It is plain that the appellations of Anthropophagi and Melanchlæni were derived from the Greeks.

[23] Herod. iv. 21. He calls them Σαυρομάται.

dition, their nation owed its origin to an intermixture of the Scythians with the Amazons.

Another very remarkable people were settled above the Sarmatians, viz. the Budini.[24] "They inhabited a country full of thick woods. They were very numerous, and had blue eyes and red hair. In their country there was a city, whose walls, houses, and temples were of wood; and each of its sides were thirty stades (about three miles) long. The inhabitants of the city, however, the Geloni, were originally Greeks who had retired thither from the commercial towns; and they spoke a mixed dialect of Greek and Scythian. The Budini, on the contrary, had a language and way of life peculiar to themselves; they were nomads, and lived by hunting, while the Geloni cultivated the soil, and supported themselves by its produce. They likewise differed from each other in complexion. It is true that the Greeks used to apply the name of Geloni to the Budini; but it is very incorrect to confound these two nations."

According to this, the settlements of the Budini began where those of the Sarmatian steppe ended, viz. in the government of Saratov; but Herodotus does not inform us how far they extended to the north or east; his calling them, however, a great and powerful nation is sufficient to convince us that their territory must have been considerable. If we admit that it was equal in extent to that of the Sarmatians, it will have comprised the present governments of Pensa, Simbirsk, Kasan, with a part of that of Perm, and terminate in the vicinity of the southern branch of the Ural mountains. We know that at this day these provinces abound in woods of oak, the magazines for Russian naval architecture; which perfectly agrees with the account of Herodotus, that the Budini inhabited thick forests; as they were not then so enlightened as at present. We cannot now discover the lake mentioned by Herodotus; but it is to be observed that he describes it as a morass, and we shall remark hereafter that the same place where we should expect to find it, is occupied by marshy grounds, which at certain periods turn the land into a vast lake; and this will also afford me an opportunity to express my opinion respecting the colonies of Greeks which were established here, and their motives for forming such settlements.

[24] Herod. iv. 108.

"Beyond the Budini[25] on the north, there is a desert, seven days' journey in length. Having crossed this, and turned eastward, we come to the Thyssagetæ, a large and independent nation, who live by hunting. In the same country, and adjoining them, we come to another people, the Iurcæ, who follow the same way of life. They climb trees, where they watch for the deer; and hunt with horses and dogs; their horses are taught to lie down on their belly in order to appear smaller. To the east of these are to be found a colony of emigrants from Scythia, (Scythæ exules,) who came from the country of the royal Scythians."

Thus we fix the northern boundary of the Budini, in 54° N. L., and adding to the account the desert of seven days' journey, or five and thirty miles, (about one hundred and forty, English measure,) we shall come to the government of Wiatka, towards the 56th degree of latitude. Here we must turn towards the east, in order to arrive in the country of the Thyssagetæ, and Iurcæ; and this can be no other than the government of Perm, near the Ural mountains. Herodotus assures us that the Thyssagetæ were very numerous; whence we are authorized to suppose that they would occupy the whole of the government of Perm, and even extend beyond it on the north. With respect to the Iurcæ, who, as it has been remarked, inhabited the same country, it would appear, forming our calculation from the order adopted by Herodotus, that they occupied the eastern part, that they reached nearly to the Ural chain, and were even to be found in the interior of these mountains. In the succeeding chapter we shall return to the Iurcæ, and endeavour to throw some light upon them, as well as upon the Scythian emigrants.

Herodotus continues thus:[26] "Leaving the habitations of these Scythians, the country, which was before plain and open, now becomes unequal and mountainous." Taking this passage as our guide, we shall seek for the ancient abodes of these tribes on the western side of the Ural chain; but as they are said to have extended to the foot of these

[25] Herod. iv. 22. [26] Ibid. iv. 23.

mountains, and even into their interior, we shall conclude that they touched upon the frontiers of Siberia.[27]

Hence we can have no difficulty in deciding the stony and mountainous country which follows, to be the Ural chain, reaching from the northern side of the Caspian to the icy sea.

"Having[28] proceeded a considerable way through this stony region, we come to the people named Argippæi, settled at the foot of high mountains. The women as well as the men of this nation are bald from their youth; they have flat noses and large jaw bones; their costume is Scythian; but their language peculiar to themselves." From the physical account of this people, with which our author has furnished us, we can have no hesitation in identifying them with the Calmucks, a principal branch of the Monguls. "Their diet," says Herodotus, "partly consists in the fruit of a tree named Ponticum, about the size of a fig tree. The fruit which it produces resembles a bean in the pod. When this is ripe, they put it in bags for filtration, and a thick black juice issues out, which is called Aschy; this becomes a part of their food, either by itself, or mixed with milk. The mass of the fruit remaining after this process is formed into cakes, which are baked and eaten by them. They have few sheep, as their pastures are but indifferent." The fruit in question is probably the bird's cherry, (Pennus Padus, Linn.,) which at this day the Calmucks eat in almost the same manner; they dress the berries with milk, then press them in a sieve, and afterwards form them into a thick mass, which is called *moisun chat*; a small piece of which, mixed with water, makes a nutricious and palatable soup.[29] This people made their tents as at present, of black felt, but they were not yet acquainted with the method of supporting them artificially like the moderns.[30] They each of them hung their canvass on a tree[31] for their winter abode; in

[27] GATTERER, l. c. p. 128, derives the name of Iurcæ from the river Irgis, which flows on the eastern side of the Ural chain, and empties itself into the lake Acsacal.

[28] HEROD. l. c.

[29] NEUNICH, *Polyglot Dictionary of Natural History*, s. v. *Prunus Padus* L. According to Wassili Michailow, (Riga, 1804,) an intoxicating beverage is made from this fruit.

[30] PALLAS, l. c. i. p. 111.

[31] This must be a misunderstanding which has arisen from the supporters of their tents being of the shape of trees, which were not to be found in the desert.

summer, when they lived in the open air, it was folded up. The horde of which Herodotus speaks does not appear to have been one of the most wealthy; we collect, however, from him, that they roved about in the same country which is inhabited by the modern Calmucks.

"We are now arrived," continues Herodotus, "into the most distant country which we can become acquainted with, as this terminates the journeys undertaken by the Scythian and Greek caravans from the commercial cities of Pontus. No one can give any account of that region which is beyond the Argippæi, because this people are separated from the remote districts in question by inaccessible mountains, which have never been passed. The Argippæi, it is true, assert that men are to be found there with goats' feet, and that at a great distance the country is inhabited by men who sleep six months in the year. But these stories are fabulous, and quite unworthy of credit."

The inaccessible mountains which terminate the region possessed by the Argippæi, are evidently the Altai chain bounding southern Siberia, which in this passage first occurs in history, though without a name, like the Ural mountains. The tradition concerning men who had goats' feet is one of those stories which are so often indulged in with regard to distant countries, and particularly Siberia. In the other tradition of men who sleep six months in the year, we can perceive a ray of truth, inasmuch as we know that the polar regions continue for six months, more or less, without having the light of the sun; their darkness being only relieved by the moon and the aurora borealis. This was unknown to the ancients, and their ignorance of it justifies the caution of Herodotus.

"The country to the east of the Argippæi," continues the historian,[32] "we know to be inhabited by the Issedones. These people have a custom, when any one loses his father, for the relations to kill a certain number of sheep, whose flesh they hash up together with that of the dead person, and feast upon it.[33] But the dead man's skull is cleansed

[32] HEROD. iv. 25.

[33] Incredible as this custom may appear, it nevertheless exists amongst the

and gilded, and becomes a sort of idol, to which they offer sacrifices every year. In other respects they are said to be a civilized nation, and women amongst them are eligible to the sovereignty as well as men."

Although the Greek writer has not given us any positive account of the country of this nomad people, it is not difficult to determine the point. They began in the interior of Great Mongolia, the present residence of the Sungares, and were terminated by ancient Serica, whose inhabitants appear to have been derived from them.[34] The Greeks were acquainted with the name of this people long before the time of Herodotus, from an epic poem, attributed to Aristeus of Proconnesus.[35]

"To the north of the Issedones[36] we find, according to this people themselves, men with only one eye, called in the Scythian language Arimaspi, and griffins, who watch over the gold. The Scythians learned this circumstance from the Issedones, and we ourselves from the Scythians."

We have already spoken of the fabulous country of the griffins, and have proved that it was situated more to the south of the mountains bordering on Little Bucharia. But since the gold mountains of Eastern Asia extend as much to the north as to the south, it is probable that the tradition prevailed in both these directions; moreover, this fabulous story of the Arimaspi, and the griffins who watched over

Battas of Sumatra. The inhabitants of that land related to Dr. Leyden that they frequently eat their nearest relations when they are become old and infirm; and this less to gratify their appetite, than in obedience to a precept of religion. When a man gets old and perceives his strength fail him, he himself engages his relations to eat him, at the season when salt is the cheapest. He then ascends a tree, and his children, with his nearest kinsmen, dispose themselves around it; they shake the tree, singing these words: "The fruit is ripe, and must be shaken down." After which, the old man descends from the tree, and is killed and eaten by his relations at a solemn repast. In other respects, the Battas as well as the Issedones are described as a civilized people. LEYDEN in *Asiat. Research.* ix. p. 202. It is remarkable that Herodotus has the same story concerning an Indian people named Padæi, iii. 99.

[34] Ptolemy places the Issedones in Serica.

[35] This poem, entitled Ἀριμάσπεια, contained the most ancient traditions concerning the east and north of the ancient world. The poet pretended to have travelled into the country of the Issedones, and related a multitude of fables respecting them. (HEROD. iv. 13—15.) He lived about two hundred years before Herodotus; and we see by that historian's account of the poet, to what high antiquity the commerce of the Greek colonies of the Pontus Euxinus with Eastern Asia must be referred.

[36] HEROD. iv. 27.

the gold, tends to confirm the opinion which we have given in the introduction, that the gold mines of Southern Asia were known from the most remote antiquity.

We shall now follow our historian along the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, and the lake Aral, where his geographical knowledge will excite our admiration quite as much as it did in the north. No subsequent ancient writer, nor even any modern geographer, has collected equally exact accounts of these regions. The greatest part of the tribes were settled in Great Bucharia; yet any attempt to fix the residence of each of them would be fruitless, as that must have changed frequently in the vicissitudes of their wandering life; but there will not be much danger of confounding them with each other, because we know them already from the list of nations tributary to Darius, and have seen them exhibited with their arms and accoutrements in the immense army of Xerxes.

The vast plains of Great Bucharia, or Tartary, to the east of the Caspian Sea, have been at all times the favourite abode of nomad tribes. Some have been attracted to these seats of commerce, the staples for southern Asiatic productions, by their wants; while the commodities in which they abounded have afforded others an inducement to piracy. On the whole, the nations in question do not appear to have been ever more numerous than they were in the age of the Persian empire, in the service of which they were for the most part engaged.[37]

The tribes of the Caspii, Pausicæ, Pantimathi, and Daritæ, wandered along the shores of the Caspian Sea, between it and the lake Aral. The Caspii figure in the army of Xerxes with costumes of fur, their arms being sabres, and bows made of a sort of reed.

The other nations which we have just named did not appear in the army of Xerxes, but were included in the tributaries of Persia, as may be seen by the catalogue made under Darius, where they are placed by the side of the Caspii. The name of the last has undergone no alteration; at a later period, however, they are found on the west and north of the Caspian Sea.

[37] FROEMMICHEN, *Asiæ Herodoteæ difficiliora*, with the notes of Gatterer: this treatise gained a prize from the academy of Göttingen in the year 1794.

To the south of these tribes, in the vast plains of Khiva, the habitations of the Chorasmii and Thamanæi were dispersed. The name of Chorasmii constantly appears in history. According to Herodotus, they were settled on the Aces, that is to say, the Oxus,[38] and in the army of Xerxes had the Median arms with the Bactrian costume. The Thamanæi lived on the banks of the same river, and are only found in the list of tributaries.[39] Their neighbours were the Mycians[40] and Utii, who are probably identical with the modern Uzes, known as the ancestors of the Turks. These two nations were principally clothed with fur cloaks, and applied to agriculture like the Chorasmii, though at a later epoch they are enumerated amongst nomad tribes.

To the north of these last, on the lower Jaxartes, lived the Paricanii and Orthocorybantii. The Paricanii[41] were clothed with fur like the preceding, and armed with bows made in their own country. We have already seen in Herodotus another people bearing this name, and cited in the list of tributaries with the Asiatic Ethiopians,[42] which will authorize a conjecture that they extended much farther to the south than the people of whom we are speaking here. With regard to the Orthocorybantii, they do not appear in the expedition of Xerxes, being only mentioned in the catalogue of satrapies.[43]

In the interior of Great Bucharia, and on the east, these are succeeded by the Gandarii, Aparytæ, Dadicæ, and Sattagydæ. The Gandarii and Dadicæ imitated the Bactrians[44] in their method of arming themselves; the two other people were included in the list of tributaries, though not in the army of Xerxes.[45]

Such are the ancient nomad tribes which Herodotus was acquainted with, and has faithfully described. After his time the greater number of them do not appear any longer in history, though some, as the Caspii and Utii, are found more recently in other districts to the west of the Caspian Sea; and by this remarkable change of situation, confirm the observation already made, that these nomad hordes have moved from east to west. If we reflect, however, on the uninterrupted expeditions of the powerful nomad nations of Great Tartary, there will be no room to doubt that the hordes mentioned in Herodotus were detached branches of them. These hordes, whose country was beyond the borders of the Persian empire, that is, on the other side of the Jaxartes, were confounded by the Persians under the general name of Sacæ, an appellation as indefinite perhaps with them, as that of Scythians with the Greeks, or that of Tartars with us. "The people named Scythians by the Greeks," says Herodotus,[46] "are called Sacæ by the Persians." We may add that these tribes followed the Persians in all their expeditions, in the capacity of mercenaries, and formed the greater part of the armies of the great king.

Besides this general information, Herodotus has given a detailed account, equally instructing and interesting, of a nation beyond the Jaxartes, bearing the name of Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus undertook the expedition which occasioned his death.[47] "Some assert," says the historian, "that they are a warlike nation established on the eastern side of the river Araxes, and near the Issedones; others, that they inhabited an immense plain to the east of the Caspian Sea, and were related to the Scythians. The Massagetæ do, in fact, resemble the Scythians in their costume and manner of life. They fight on foot as well as on horseback, being equally skilled in both. They make use of bows and lances, and are accustomed to the battle-axe. Their lances and clubs are of brass; their helmets and girdles ornamented with gold. The harness of their horses is of brass; though the bit is gold as well as the ornaments of the bridle. They are not acquainted either with iron or silver, their country being entirely destitute of these metals, while it affords gold and brass in abundance."

The exactness of the geographical data here furnished us, renders it impossible to mistake the situation of this people. The Araxes can be no other than the Jaxartes, as we are referred to a large river on the east of the Caspian Sea. It is true, that this designation would equally apply to the Oxus;

[38] It has been frequently asserted, that the Aces is the Ochus of the moderns, but the opinion of Gatterer, who takes it for the Oxus, appears to me the most probable. GATTERER, l. c. p. 17, in the notes.
[39] HEROD. iii. 93. [40] Ibid. iii. 93; vii. 68. [41] Ibid. vii. 68; iii. 92.
[42] Ibid. iii. 94. [43] Ibid. iii. 92. [44] Ibid. vii. 66.
[45] Ibid. iii. 91.

[46] HEROD. vii. 64. [47] Ibid. i. 201, 204, 215, 216.

but the name of Araxes cannot be given to the latter, because Herodotus calls it the Aces, and because it flows in Bucharia; for the Massagetæ were not inhabitants of this country, but rather were fixed more to the east or to the north, and near the Issedones. To which it may be added, that they were not tributaries of the Persians, or mercenary soldiers in their armies, like all the other nations of Great Bucharia; that the gold and brass with which their country abounded were not found in Great Bucharia, but in the Altai mountains; and that the immense plain to the east of the Caspian Sea is that steppe land, which at this day includes Sungaria and Mongolia, touches on the frontier of Eygur, and extends to the Altaic chain.

It appears, then, that the Massagetæ were neighbours of the Issedones, and that these two nations had a common origin, being both, as well as the Argippæi, of Mongol extraction. With these, our historian concludes his survey, his geographical knowledge not extending beyond their country; for he does not seem to have been acquainted with the name of Seres, who have since become so famous in the west; and yet they were, as we have already proved, a branch of the Issedones. We may supply his place by the Chinese annalists, who take up the thread of narration where he quitted it; but here we shall only remark, from what they relate[48] of the Hiongnu, (according to all appearance, the ancestors of the Huns,) that this people, to the east, bordered on the Issedones and Massagetæ, of whom they probably formed a part; and we do not intend to pursue our inquiries so far as to touch upon nations, which, being extremely remote from all parts of the world known to the ancients, cannot furnish us with facts of much importance to the present investigation into the commerce and manufactures of antiquity.

[48] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. p. 13, etc.

SCYTHIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce and Intercourse of the Nations of Central Asia.

JAVAN, TUBAL, AND MESECH, THEY WERE THY MERCHANTS: THEY TRADED THE PERSONS OF MEN AND VESSELS OF BRASS IN THY MARKET. THEY OF THE HOUSE OF TOGARMAH TRADED IN THY FAIRS WITH HORSES AND HORSEMEN AND MULES. EZEKIEL, XXVII. 13, 14.

If it be true, as our preceding pages evince, that the interior of Asia was better known in the times of the Persian empire than it is now, the knowledge of this fact ought to make us entertain a very high idea of the relations of every kind which in these remote ages existed between the different nations of Asia; it ought to enlarge the picture which we have undertaken to portray of ancient commerce, and enrich it with an additional group in the back ground, which will be more attractive from the contrast which it forms with the rest.

In this task we are not reduced to content ourselves with simple conjectures. History has fortunately preserved a sufficient number of positive accounts to enable us to attain to correctness in our general view of the subject, though some of its details may be liable to exception.

The Greek cities on the coasts of the Black Sea infused life and activity into the tribes of the north; their bold and enterprising genius opened to them a connexion with the most remote countries of the East; and perhaps they even introduced into their own country the commodities of India, conveying them over the immense steppes of Asia.

We have remarked already, that all these cities were colonies from Miletus; Olbia, situated at the mouth of the Borysthenes, on the site of the modern Cherson, being the most considerable. The second rank was distinguished by

Panticapæum, in the Tauric peninsula; Phanagoria and Tanais, at the extremity of the sea of Azof; Dioscurias, near the mouth of the Phasis; and lastly, Heraclea, Sinope, and Amisus on the shores of Asia Minor, which were washed by the Pontus Euxinus. These cities, the greater part of which were founded seven hundred years before the Christian era, and consequently existed before the Persian dominion, appropriated to themselves the navigation and commerce of the Black Sea; they saw in profusion in their own markets, the productions of all the countries bordering on this sea, which found here a sale as advantageous as it was prompt; and their industry increasing with their wealth, they at length monopolized all the productions of the North and East. We shall now proceed to trace their commerce through its different branches.

All the cities in question, and especially Dioscurias, Panticapæum and Phanagoria, had formerly the most considerable and famous slave markets. The countries situated on the north and east of the Black Sea were inexhaustible magazines for this shameful and inhuman traffic: hence the name of Scythian was frequently used as synonymous with the word slave.

In the continual wars which the nations of Mount Caucasus waged against each other, all the prisoners were sold as slaves; for slavery was generally prevalent amongst the Scythians, as amongst other nomad tribes;[1] and the slave markets of Panticapæum and Dioscurias were, even in the time of Strabo, a great attraction to these barbarous nations.[2]

But a much more advantageous commerce for them was that which consisted in corn. We have already seen in our quotations from Herodotus, that several Scythian tribes had attained to the knowledge of agriculture, and that the Ukrain, amongst others, on the two banks of the Dnieper, produced a considerable quantity of corn. The cultivated part of this district reached to the modern government of Kiev. We have likewise remarked in the same historian, that the inhabitants cultivated the soil not for the purpose

[1] HEROD. iv. 2, 3.

[2] STRAB. p. 757, 761. According to the testimony of this author, there were more than seventy tribes collected together in the great markets of Panticapæum.

of consuming its productions themselves, but to find their account in it by the profits of commerce.[3] Thus the Ukrain was, in the Persian era, as it still is in our time, very productive in corn, and the city of Olbia served as an emporium for this branch of traffic. The same city maintained especially an intercourse[4] with Athens, whose territory did not produce enough of this necessary commodity to supply the wants of its inhabitants.

The commerce which was carried on with fur put it in the power of the Greeks to penetrate still deeper into the heart of this country. We have already observed in another place, that this commerce could not have been so considerable in ancient times as it has become recently; but it was not of less importance. The climate of the regions bordering on the Black Sea, as that of many others on the same degrees of latitude, was more inclement than at present; and warm garments were more necessary.[5] Accordingly the use of furs was nearly general among the nations of Thrace, and all the Asiatic tribes settled in countries above the 40th degree of north latitude. The Thracians wore caps of fox skin and boots of fur;[6] the Scythians and Melanchlæni used cloaks of the same material. Similar habiliments were common to other people on the east of the Caspian Sea; and we shall show afterwards that fine furs were of equal estimation in Southern Asia.

But the adventurous and enterprising spirit of the Greeks on the shores of the Euxine Sea did not confine itself to this commerce with the nations of the North; they penetrated into the East, and made way for themselves even into Great Mongolia. Herodotus is still our authority on this subject.

"As far as the Argippæi,[7] (the modern Calmucks,) the country is very well known; and also that of the other nations whom we have mentioned before. For it is often visited, either by the Scythians, who readily communicate what they have learned respecting it, or by the Greeks of Olbia and its neighbourhood. The Scythians who go into these districts usually carry on their affairs in seven different

[3] HEROD. iv. 17.

[4] DEMOSTH. *in Lept.* p. 254. ed. WOLF.

[5] This inclemency of the climate is a fact of which we may assure ourselves from Herodotus, (iv. 28,) if we are inclined to consider the complaints of Ovid exaggerated.

[6] HEROD. vii. 75.

[7] Ibid. iv. 24.

languages, by the assistance of the same number of interpreters."

This remarkable passage of our historian evidently describes a commerce by caravans, which, having crossed the Ural mountains, travelled northward round the Caspian Sea, and thence advanced into the interior of Great Mongolia. This commerce was jointly carried on by the Greeks of Pontus and by Scythians; and when we once know its route, it will be easy to explain its organization; as the Scythians were accustomed to travel with immense herds, and were possessed of many beasts of burden, they were probably the best conductors of merchandise; and we must therefore conclude, that they in a great measure formed the caravans which travelled into Eastern Asia.

Hence we can entertain no doubt as to the place of setting out, or the termination of their journey. It began at Olbia, near the mouth of the river Borysthenes, and ended beyond the Ural mountains, in the country of the Argippæi (the Calmucks). This people belonged to the great Mongolian family, and formed the most western branch of it. Their tents being made of felt proves in some degree their relation with the Mongols or Calmucks; while the Scythians, by living, according to Herodotus, on their waggons,[8] showed their Tartar origin. All we know of the country of the Argippæi is, that we must seek them in the western part of Great Mongolia, and probably in the present canton of the Kirghis:[9] we must not however conclude from this that the region was of moderate extent; for it might have reached to the Jaxartes on the south, that is, to the confines of the tribes of Great Tartary and Mongolia; and on the east, to the territory of the Issedones. Our acquaintance with their neighbours on two sides seems very important, as it tends to prove that the commerce of the Greeks with the Argippæi could open to them a communication with the different countries situated on the east and north of Asia.

We shall now examine the routes of this commerce.

The latter part of the route which crossed the steppes beyond the Ural mountains, was the same as that at present traversed by caravans from Orenburg towards Bokhara, or

[8] HEROD. iv. 46.

[9] The Kirghis emigrated very late from Siberia to their present country.

Khiva, or from these latter cities to Orenburg. The commercial expeditions of the Russians, particularly that in the year 1820, have thrown considerable light on these countries and their roads; and we have obliged the reader with the information which has been communicated to us in writing.[10]

According to these accounts, there is no high road between Orenburg and Bokhara. From Orenburg to the Sir-Darja we find no beaten way; we only meet occasionally some paths made by camels.

The Russian caravan, which, as it was accompanied by a strong escort, could without danger take the most frequented road, doubled the north-eastern extremity of the lake Aral;[11] passed the two arms of the Sir-Darja, on the north and south, and then proceeded along the desert of Kisil-Koum, in northern Bucharia. But for several reasons, caravans are not always able to travel on the same road: sometimes on account of the insecurity occasioned by the predatory hordes, which are roving about; at others they are prevented by the want of forage and water for camels, which it is not safe to pasture any where, except on the territory of friendly hordes. The Khivans have four routes of communication with Russia. The first passes between the lake of Aral and the Caspian Sea across the steppe of the Kirghis. This is safe only in times of peace, and when an intelligence is maintained with these tribes, which has been difficult for some years. The second road is by way of Saruchek, along the frontiers of Russia, and ends likewise at Orenburg. By this circuitous route the Khivans seek to avoid the insults of the Kirguis. The third road goes from Saruchek to Astracan, from whence merchandise is transported to Novgorod by the Wolga. The fourth road sets out from Khiva and leads to Karagan,[12] and from thence by the Caspian Sea to Astracan. Of these four roads the second and third are most frequented.

[10] Vol. i. p. 168, (note [41].)

[11] It went to Bokhara, and not to Khiva; if the latter city had been its destination, the road between the Caspian Sea and the lake of Aral would have been the shortest.

[12] Karagan is the most westerly cape of the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, towards the 44th degree of north latitude, and at the shortest distance from Astracan.

We shall show how far these data will apply to Scythian commerce, after having explored the commercial route of the cities on the Black Sea, from the shores of that sea to the Uralian mountains.

Although Herodotus has not accurately determined this road, it is not difficult to trace it from the indications he has left. According to him, the commercial Scythians and Greeks were obliged to traverse countries inhabited by seven different tribes, and speaking seven different dialects, and consequently under the necessity of employing the assistance of seven interpreters, in order to make themselves understood. These cannot be the same which Herodotus himself has mentioned:[13] the Tauri, the Sarmatians, the Budini, the Geloni, the Thyssagetæ, the Jurcæ, and the Argippæi.[14]

Thus if, with Herodotus, we consider Olbia to have been the emporium in whose neighbourhood the caravans assembled, their route must have passed along the Hylæan or wood country, and have coasted the sea of Azof, as far as the mouth of the Tanais. It was here that the Tauri[15] inhabited, whose settlements extend far beyond the peninsula to which they have given their name. Having passed the Tanais, the caravans entered into the steppe of Astracan, whence they took a northern direction across the country of the Sarmatians, reached the territory of the Budini, and arrived in the wooden city of the Geloni. Hence they turned to the north-east, and after seven days' journey through a desert, they reached the country of the Thyssagetæ and Jurcæ, on the frontiers of Siberia. After passing the Ural chain they came into the steppes of the Kirghis and Calmucks, which terminated their journey.

[13] This is proved incontestably by the context.

[14] I pass over in silence the Scythian exiles or emigrants; in their intercourse with whom the caravans had no need of interpreters, as they still preserved their own language. If, however, we were desirous to substitute them in this passage for the Tauri, there could be no reason to oppose this disposition. Herodotus does not fix their settlements positively; he only says that they were formerly established on the east of the Jurcæ, without explaining the cause of their emigration. It would seem that this was a voluntary emigration, (as we should understand by the expression ἀποστάντες,) and that the object of this people in changing their country was to be fixed on the great commercial road.

[15] HEROD. iv. 99.

It is evident that this was not the shortest way from Olbia to the country of the Argippæi. It was necessary to turn to the left, make a circuit in the northern direction, and proceed as far up as the frontiers of Siberia, if not pass beyond them; for the account of Herodotus will not permit us to assign a more southern position to the regions traversed by the caravans. Perhaps this circuitous route was necessary, on account of the predatory hordes which infested the more direct way. It appears, however, from the text of Herodotus, that it was rather enjoined by the demands of commerce than any other necessity; and what proves this to a demonstration is the fact, that the caravans were obliged to use interpreters, whom they could have dispensed with, if it had not been their purpose to traffic with different nations. With respect to the nature of this traffic, Herodotus himself has taken care to inform us that this road of the Scythian caravans had been frequented from time immemorial by merchants who traded in furs.

According to the testimony of Herodotus, the Budini, Thyssagetæ, and Jurcæ, were all hunting people, who lived in the midst of the woods; they watched for the animals from the top of trees, and killed them with their arrows; sometimes also they hunted with horses and dogs. The deserts which separated their territories formed, as it were, parks filled with all kinds of animals; and the object which they had in view when they hunted these animals, like the modern Siberians, was to possess themselves of their valuable furs. This is, moreover, confirmed by the following passage from Herodotus. "In the country of the Budini, there is a lake and a marsh full of rushes, where they catch otters, beavers, and other animals of the same kind, whose skins serve for the decoration of garments."[16]

The wooden city, of which we have spoken above, was situated in the country of the Budini, and was surrounded

[16] HEROD. iv. 109. The authenticity of this passage, doubted by some authors, has been justly defended by Schweighæuser, ad h. l. Let naturalists explain, if they can, what is meant by square-headed animals. As to myself, I at first believed that sables were intended, although I have quitted this opinion, since the fact has come to my knowledge, that sea-dogs (phocæ vitulinæ) inhabit the lakes of Siberia. I have no doubt of these being the animals which Herodotus had in view, because they are amphibious, like those which he has mentioned first in this passage; and the surprising size of their head justifies the expression he has employed in defining them.

by a wooden enclosure, each side of which was thirty stades long. This establishment, founded by the Greeks of the commercial cities of Pontus, contained buildings and temples for their use.[17] There can be no doubt as to their object in founding this *slobode*. It could only be designed as a staple for the fur trade. And this fact explains why the Greek caravans, instead of taking the direct way to the end of their journey, did not reach it till after a long circuitous route to the north. For the wooden city was a great market, where they not only disposed of the fruits of their own industry, but received other commodities in exchange, which they carried away for the purpose of traffic with remote nations.

A German scholar,[18] who, alas! died much too soon for the interests of science, a short time ago succeeded in throwing a brighter ray of light on these countries, hitherto involved in such obscurity. He has proved from original documents, that the country which has been sought for a long time on the north-west of Russia, is that into which we have just arrived with the caravans whose route Herodotus has described. This country comprehended the vast territory on both sides of the Ural chain, the government of Perm, and the western part of that of Tobolsk, to the banks of the Obi. Its inhabitants, the Jugrians, are the same who at this day live near the Obi, under the name of Voguls and Ostiacks. The district in question, one fourth larger than Germany, contains sixteen thousand square miles, from the 56th to the 67th degree of north latitude. It has been always celebrated for animals whose furs are held in estimation, found in the greatest numbers on the east of the Ural mountains, which were passed three different ways. The soil of this country is in a great measure marshy, and becomes more and more so as we advance towards the north: which explains the passage of Herodotus, where he

[17] HEROD. iv. 108.

[18] *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der ältern Geschichte Ruszlands*, (Researches relative to the illustration of ancient Russian history,) by A. C. LEHRBERG; published by the Royal Academy of Sciences, under the superintendence of Ph. Krug. St. Petersburg, 1816; with an introductory biographical sketch, extremely interesting. This admirable man found after his death an equally admirable friend in the publisher of his work. The first treatise belongs to our subject; entitled, *On the geographical position and history of Jugria.*

mentions a large lake, or rather a marsh, of rushes. Here also were found the best sort of beavers, those, namely, who built near the water: and those animals which supply the finest furs, as sables, squirrels, and foxes, of every description.[19] During the long period of the middle ages, Jugria was in possession of this commerce. But after the eleventh century, this trade fell into the hands of the inhabitants of Novgorod, who soon reduced it into a province of their republic; nor did the ruin of this state, as Lehrberg has proved, interrupt the commerce in question.[20] Finally, the caravans of Bokhara came to these districts in the sixteenth century, and conveyed thither the commodities of their own country and of India.[21]

We refrain as much as possible from founding our opinions on a mere resemblance of proper names. But if it is established that the Jurcæ inhabited the same country where at a later period we find the Jugrians, and that this country extended into the interior of the Ural mountains, are we not authorized in supposing that the Jugrians and Jurcæ are the same people; and the commerce which subsisted amongst them until the fifteenth century of our era had flourished perhaps for several thousand years before? We find in these cold regions a city resembling that of the Budini; the *spotted herd*,[22] so named from the piebald horses which they give to the Indians in exchange for their commodities; and lastly, we even hear of the fabulous traditions mentioned by Herodotus; for the story of men sleeping six months in the year is incontestably a Siberian tradition,[23] which would naturally prevail in a region where, with the exception of man, the whole of nature, animated and inanimated, sleeps during the winter.

The caravans, leaving behind them these countries of skins and these hunting tribes, turned to the east of the Thyssagetæ, and passed the Ural mountains, whose most southern branch, under the name of Auro-Uruk, reaches to the shores of the lake Aral. It would be difficult to determine the point at which they passed this chain; but it is probable that after having gone so far north, they did not effect the passage lower than Orenburg, in 52 degrees of

[19] LEHRBERG, l. c. p. 31. [20] Ibid. p. 32. [21] Ibid. p. 37, 38.
[22] Ibid. p. 41. [23] Ibid. p. 44.

north latitude; and the road which they followed from this point must have been one of those we have already described, conducting them from Orenburg to the steppes of the Kirghis; and, according to Herodotus, there was still a great distance to the country of the Argippæi: we must, therefore, seek the ancient abodes of this people in the eastern part of the steppes of the Kirghis; and perhaps they extended in a southern direction to the Jaxartes or the Sir-Darja, like the habitations of the Kirghis.

But it may now be asked, whether they could expect amongst the Argippæi a favourable market for their principal commodity, which were furs. In order to reply to this question, we must recollect an observation made in the introduction[24] to this work, that furs have been at all times not only an object of necessity, but also of luxury; as they have been used for personal decoration in general: hence they have been by no means confined to the northern countries, but have always found a market amongst the nations of Southern Asia. Captain Cook had no difficulty in disposing of the otter skins which he had obtained from Nutka Sound, in the market of Canton, a city of Southern China. Going farther back into antiquity, we learn from Herodotus, that there were several tribes on the shores of the Caspian Sea who wore cloaks of fur; and that they were also worn in Babylon, being considered a necessary to wealth, rank, and beauty. We have already observed furs among the presents of the governors, represented on the great relief of Persepolis;[25] and in the sequel of our researches, we shall prove that this object of luxury was in great estimation amongst the Indians from the most ancient times. The Scythians and Greeks, therefore, could have been under no difficulty in selling their furs to the Argippæi, any more than the Russians of modern days who exchange them at Kiachta for the merchandise of China. This will be set in a clearer light by the following observations.

Herodotus, it is true, says that the Scythian and Greek merchants of the Euxine Sea did not go beyond the country of the Argippæi, but he does not say that this was the termination of their commerce. All we learn is, that the

[24] Vol. i. p. 42.

[25] Vol. i. p. 108.

caravans of the East and West assembled amongst the Argippæi, and that they here found markets in which they exchanged their merchandise.

And in fact, although the journey of the Greeks ended in the country of the Argippæi, they were not ignorant of the existence of more remote tribes, such as the Issedones and Massagetæ. Whoever has studied the history of ancient commerce, will easily discover from the account of Herodotus, what it was which attracted the Greeks into those remote countries. However important the traffic in skins may have been, it could not have been sufficient to induce them to undertake such long and perilous journeys; in addition to this, they furnished themselves with horses, camels, and other beasts of burden from these pastoral tribes. They also procured various metals, for all these nations had much brass, and some of them a great abundance of gold.[26]

Settled just on the frontiers of the mountainous districts of Asia, they maintained a relation with these countries; and their communication was facilitated by a long concatenation of various tribes which succeeded each other without interruption from these frontiers to Bactra and Maracanda, the two principal marts for Indian merchandise. This it must be confessed is only a presumption, but a presumption which approaches to certainty; for how could Herodotus have been so well acquainted with the nations on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, if these districts had not been traversed by commercial roads? With respect to the object of this commerce, that is to say, gold, or the merchandise of India; here, as before, the historical inquirer has ample matter for admiration, as well as for the most serious reflection. And this surprise will considerably increase, when he reads in Herodotus that there existed at the same time

[26] The same abundance of gold is attributed to the nations which frequented the market of Jugria in the middle ages. LEHRBERG, l. c. p. 42.

[The information for which we are indebted to Herodotus on the subject of the riches of the Ural mountains, has been latterly confirmed by the discoveries of the Russians. The Ural chain is at this day the object of the most accurate scientific investigations. We know by the public papers, that gold is found there at such a very slight depth, that no expensive mining operations are necessary in order to obtain it. This sufficiently explains how the nomad tribes, such as they were described by Herodotus, were able to procure this metal without much trouble. *Inedited note of the author.*]

an organized navigation on the Caspian Sea. Herodotus is far from falling into a similar error with some more recent authors, who have supposed this sea to be a branch of the Northern Ocean; he is acquainted with the circumstance of its being an inland sea, and even gives an estimate of its length and breadth in days' navigation.[27]

Whence could he have obtained his knowledge if this navigation had not been really established? In the Macedonian period, the productions of India and Bactria were carried down the Oxus to the Caspian Sea; then over this sea to the mouths of the Araxes and Cyrus; after that by land to the Phasis, where they were again conveyed by water to the different Greek cities on the coasts of the Euxine Sea.[28] There is no positive historical evidence for this route which we have just traced; but one conjecture will naturally arise from other circumstances which we know for certain respecting the traffic in its neighbourhood.

These conjectures seem to be strengthened by the picture which Herodotus has drawn of the character and manners of the principal nations of Central Asia. He describes the Massagetæ as a warlike people, and the Argippæi and Issedones as devoted to peaceful possessions; which would almost make us suppose that there existed distinct castes amongst these nations. "The Argippæi," says he, "are never injured by any one, for they are regarded as a sacred and holy people. They carry no arms, and reconcile the differences of their neighbours. And when a man takes refuge with them, he is not disturbed."[29] Their territory was, therefore, a sanctuary, as well as the emporium of an extensive commerce. The name of holy people which was given them, shows plainly that there was a religious character attached to them, and that they filled the same office amongst the Mongols, as the sacerdotal order amongst other nations. The circumstance of their being bald, which is added by Herodotus, proves our assertion, for the priests of the Calmucks, that is to say, the Lamas, are bald-headed. When he says of them that they reconciled their neighbours who were at variance with each other; this can imply nothing else than that they acted as mediators in the differences which occurred between the merchants who had come to so great a distance from their own country, and were such entire strangers to each other. We thus discover the connecting link so often in antiquity uniting religion to commerce, which we have already observed in some nations, and shall have occasion to remark again as we proceed in our subject. Here, however, it differs a little from that which has been the subject of our previous observations, as it is appropriated to a particular place, and conformable to the ideas of a people who were not acquainted with either temples or any permanent sacred edifice, but at the utmost had only a tent set apart for religious purposes, like their descendants the modern Calmucks. As the Massagetæ, who were neighbours of the Argippæi on the south, and descended from the same stock, are represented in Herodotus as a warlike people, and accustomed to the use of arms, we may suppose that they formed a caste of soldiers. But this was not the case with the Issedones, who were neighbours of the Argippæans, and related to them like the Massagetæ, but were not devoted to arms; on the contrary, they were described under the honourable name of a just people, that is, civilized, and were not hostile to any other nation.[30] This nation, in particular, were those from whom any information concerning the most remote districts of the east and north of Asia was obtained; for the Scythians had their intelligence from the Issedones, and the Greeks from the Scythians. They thus appear as the commercial people, who extended their relations even to Greece. If we add to this, what has been remarked before, that the Seres were a branch of this nation, a still clearer light is thrown on the fact of the propagation of the woven stuffs of the Seres having been their principal employment; and the most ancient path of the silk trade is thus discovered amongst them.

Thus also it is explained, how the frontiers of their settle-

[27] HEROD. i. 203.

[28] See my treatise, *de Græcorum cum Indis commerciis, in Commentat. Soc. Goett.* p. xi. 76.

[29] HEROD. iv. 23.

[30] HEROD. iv. 26. Compare Gatterer's first treatise, *de Hunnis*, in Commentat. Soc. Goett. vol. xiv. p. 19, etc. In the second, he has placed the Budini and their neighbours on the east of the Sarmatians, instead of the north, quite contrary to the opinion of Herodotus.

ments became the principal seat of trade, and terminated the journey of the caravans which travelled thither from the shores of the Black Sea in order to traffic for those productions which the Issedones imported from Western Asia. But here history is lost in complete darkness. We shall not, however, give up all hopes of throwing some light upon this obscurity, particularly with regard to Eastern Asia, when we shall have entered upon our investigation relative to the Indians, in the succeeding part of this work.

INDIANS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In preparing the following translation of Professor Heeren's work on India, the translator has been furnished with some additional matter from the author himself, which will be found in two of the Appendixes at the end of the volume. The first contains a brief sketch of the works connected with Sanscrit literature, which have appeared since the last edition of the "Researches," in Germany, together with a confirmed statement of the author's method of determining the several ages of Sanscrit classical compositions. The second comprises an interesting discussion relative to the island of Ceylon, which the Professor satisfactorily shows to have been the principal emporium of Oriental commerce for upwards of two thousand years.

The translator has also examined the French version of M. Suckau, with the view of incorporating such of his notes as appeared likely to throw some further light on the subject; and has at the same time added a few remarks of his own, in the humble attempt to explain, and sometimes to modify, the assertions of the author; for these, he has only to request the reader's favourable consideration.

With regard to the orthography of the Sanscrit names occurring in the body of the work, it was at first apprehended that any attempt to correct the vicious mode of spelling adopted by some writers, from whom Heeren quotes, would unavoidably impede the reader in verifying the references made to them; but upon second thoughts, and particularly as there is no sort of reason why an erroneous custom should usurp the rank and authority of a legal precedent, the translator has uniformly endeavoured to ascertain the genuine orthography by an immediate reference to

the Sanscrit originals. This, however, was a task of considerable difficulty, because, in quoting from English writers, who have adopted one mode of spelling proper names, the writers of the continent employ, as might be expected, another, peculiar to themselves; so that, after a few successive alterations of this kind, by the time the words in question find their way back again to England, it is frequently no easy matter to say precisely what they stand for. In some cases, indeed, the complete restoration of the true form was altogether impracticable; as, for example, in the review of the great epic poem, the Mahabharat, which Heeren derived solely from the accounts contained in the Ayin Acbari, and of course has followed the corrupt spelling peculiar to the Persian writers upon India, who have disfigured the proper names of Sanscrit origin quite as much as their own were, formerly, by the Greeks. And as the translator was unable to procure a copy of the Mahabharat, he has therefore been obliged to leave the barbarous spelling of the Ayin Acbari, with a few exceptions, just as he found it, in which it would certainly puzzle Ganesa himself to discover any thing like a resemblance to Sanscrit orthography. The same reproach of misspelling applies also in full force to most of the Sanscrit words noticed in Polier's Mythology of the Hindus. As to the manner of representing Oriental names in European letters, the system first proposed by Sir W. Jones, and recommended by the practice of almost every subsequent writer in this department of literature, has been followed as the most convenient and simple, and at the same time of universal application, as it enables the scholars of the continent to comprehend, at a glance, the proper way of pronouncing an Eastern word, even when occurring in English writers, whose general pronunciation has scarcely any thing in common with that of the rest of Europe. According to this system, the vowels will be pronounced after the Italian method, while the consonants, with the exception of certain aspirated forms, such as *th* and *ph*, etc., (to be pronounced as in the words *nut-hook*, *hap-hazard*, etc.,) retain their English sounds unaltered. The translator has to apologize for a few casual deviations from the above system; but there is no occasion to detain the reader any longer with the trifling minutiæ of verbal criticism, which it is probable (supposing the translator to have bestowed as much care upon sentences as upon words) he may

willingly choose to overlook, for objects of much greater importance, and infinitely more worthy his attention.

With regard to the particular merits of the work here presented in an English dress, the public will be the most appropriate judges; and the reputation of the author is too well established to be affected by any thing that might be offered in this place; which, besides its liability to be considered as nothing more than an attempt to bias the reader, would, together with observations of another kind, be more suitably exhibited in the pages of a Review.

PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

As the following Researches are almost wholly derived from native Indian sources, which the recent study of Sanscrit literature in Europe has just opened to us, it will be requisite to give the reader a brief notice of the works I have been enabled to consult in this inquiry; more particularly as at the time of my first edition, the state of continental blockade prevented me from having recourse to many valuable works which could only be procured in England. They are as follows:—

The Ramayana of Valmiki, in the original Sanscrit, with a prose translation and explanatory notes, by William Carey and Joshua Marshman. Vol. i. containing the first book, Serampore, 1806, 4to, pp. 656. Vol. iii. containing the latter part of the second book, Serampore, 1810, pp. 493.

Of the seven books which compose the entire poem, the two first are all that has appeared; but unfortunately the copies of the second volume were lost in their passage to Europe, and no others, I believe, are now to be found even in England, certainly not in the libraries of the continent. It is with great regret, therefore, that I have been obliged to confine myself to the first and third volumes only; for it is unquestionable, that next to the Mahabharat, the Ramayana is the purest and most fertile source for the elucidation of Hindu antiquities. In preparing the first edition of my work, it was by mere chance that I was able to procure even the first volume of this poem.

Nalus, carmen Sanscritum e Mahabharatâ, edidit, latine vertit, et adnotationibus illustravit Franciscus Bopp. Londini, 1819, 8vo, pp. 216.

Bhagavad-gita; id est, Θεσπέσιον μέλος, *sive almi Krishnæ et Arjunæ Colloquium de rebus divinis, Bharateæ Episodium. Po-*

etam recensuit, adnotationes criticas et interpretationem Latinam adjecit Aug. Gul. a Schlegel. Bonnæ, 1823, 8vo, pp. 189.

The Megha-duta, or Cloud-Messenger, a poem in the Sanscrit language, by Calidasa, translated into English verse, with notes and illustrations, by Horace Hayman Wilson. Calcutta, 4to, pp. 120.

Gita-govinda, by Jayadeva, in Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i.

Sacontala, or The Fatal Ring, by Calidasa, in Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. vi.

Hitopadesa of Vishnusarman, in Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. vi.

Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Menu; verbally translated from the original Sanscrit, with a preface, by Sir W. Jones. Calcutta, 1796, 8vo.

A Digest of Hindu law, on Contracts and Successions, with a Commentary by Jagannatha Tercapanchanana; translated from the original Sanscrit by H. T. Colebrooke, in three volumes. London, 1801, 8vo.

Upnekhat, studio Anquetil du Perron. Paris, 1801, 2 vols. 4to.

Bhagavadam, ou doctrine divine, ouvrage Indienne canonique, par Obsonville. Paris, 1788, 8vo.

A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, by Charles Wilkins. London, 1804, 4to.

Cosha, or a Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, by Amara Singha, with an English interpretation, by Colebrooke. Serampore, 1821, 4to.

Amara-Singha, sectio prima de cœlo a P. Paulino a Sto. Bartolomæo. Romæ, 1798.

Ejusdem, Vyacarana seu Samscrdamicæ Linguæ Institutio. Romæ, 1804.

Ejusdem, Systema Brahmanicum. Romæ, 1802.

Ejusdem, Grammatica Samscrdamica. Romæ, 1790.

Chrestomathia Sanscrita, quam ex codd. Manuscriptis, edidit Othmarus Frank. Monachii, 1820, vol. i. ii.

Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, vol. i.—xiv. The last volume is only known to me by partial extracts.

Annals of Oriental Literature, part i. ii. iii. London, 1821.

Indische Bibliothek, von A. W. von Schlegel, Heft. I. II.

With regard to separate treatises on India, travels, copper-plate

representations of ancient monuments, etc., it is unnecessary to mention them here, as they will be found quoted in their proper places.

The above list, I believe, contains all the works of any importance relating to Sanscrit literature, which have hitherto been procurable in Europe. The writings of Father Paulino are included, less on account of any use I have made of them, than merely to complete the enumeration. The Grammars of Carey and Wilkins, notwithstanding their acknowledged merit, were but little applicable to my purpose. In the use of translations I have strictly confined myself to such as were generally allowed to be correct by Sanscrit scholars themselves; rejecting, on the other hand, all poetical versions, or at least imitations, similar to those of Sir William Jones, which it is obvious cannot safely be depended on. Should it nevertheless be objected to me that an acquaintance with the Sanscrit is indispensable to a writer on Sanscrit literature, I answer, that my inquiries do not so much concern language as matters of fact; in proof of which, I can only appeal to the work itself.

It may be as well, however, to enter somewhat more into detail with regard to the particular subjects discussed in the first chapter of the ensuing Researches. My object was to furnish a critical view of Hindu Archæology, whether consisting in ancient works of art, or the writings of native authors. This chapter, therefore, was intended to supply such a body of useful preliminary information as, in addition to a knowledge of the language, would enable the student to prosecute his inquiries into the literature and antiquities of India. That some such introduction to the study would not only be serviceable, but even necessary, can hardly admit of doubt.

When the present essay was first published, in the year 1814, there was absolutely no similar compilation then in existence; and the very favourable reception awarded to my undertaking, inspired me with well-grounded hopes that I had not laboured in vain, and had even materially contributed to introduce the study of Sanscrit literature among the scholars of Germany. Since that period, however, I have not yet been able to meet with any work completely satisfactory on the subject, and calculated to supply all the deficiencies of our existing information relative to India.

Under these circumstances, it can scarcely be expected that I should furnish the reader with a general account of Hindu antiquities, except in so far as they are connected with the particular object of the present work. I can promise no learned disquisitions on the mythological, philosophical, or religious systems of the ancient Hindus; and least of all is it my purpose to institute a comparison between them and other nations in any of these points, or to investigate the probable manner in which such systems may have been communicated to other countries. An undertaking of this nature, besides being extremely hazardous, would altogether exceed the legitimate province of history. I shall therefore be satisfied with merely introducing the reader to the threshold, if I may so call it, of Hindu Archæology; well aware that even such a step will not be deemed superfluous, if he would penetrate the recesses of the interior.

The study and elucidation of Indian antiquities from native sources, is, in my opinion, one of the most important additions that have been made to the literature of the present day, and will, it is hoped, enlarge its circle of acquirements to a much greater extent hereafter. It is not merely the æsthetic merit of Sanscrit literature, great as that is, which renders it so valuable in our estimation; the same merit also attaches to it in an historical point of view. We must, indeed, allow, that we are not yet enabled to attempt any composition resembling a consecutive critico-chronological history of ancient India; the means at our present disposal are far too inadequate to effect such a laborious undertaking; and probably they will continue to be so. At the same time, however, while it carries us back into remote ages, and among a distant people, who have attained a high and peculiar degree of civilization, the ancient literature of the Hindus discloses to our sight a new world, which is so much the more captivating, as it is entirely different from our own. I would ask, is the addition thereby made to the general history of mankind of no more value than a series of chronological tables, containing only a dry nomenclature of princes and dates? or should we be willing to receive them in exchange for the Ramayana and Mahabharat of the Hindus, or the Iliad and Odyssey of the Greeks?

Our present knowledge of Sanscrit literature may be said to

stand nearly on the same footing as that of the Greek did in Italy towards the end of the fifteenth century. The inestimable benefits which the study of the latter has conferred upon the whole Western world, are too well known; and though it were presumptuous, perhaps, to expect the same important consequences from the study of the Sanscrit, yet we are not without the wish and the expectation, that it may also flourish and produce its own peculiar fruits.

July 27, 1824.

INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

A Critical View of the Antiquities and Literature of India.

THE ACCOUNTS WE RECEIVE OF INDIA REQUIRE AN IMPARTIAL AND UNPREJUDICED CONSIDERATION, FOR IT IS SITUATE AT A VERY REMOTE DISTANCE FROM US, AND BUT FEW OF OUR COUNTRYMEN HAVE EXAMINED IT WITH ATTENTION; AND THOSE EVEN WHO HAVE TRAVELLED THITHER, HAVE SEEN ONLY PARTS OF IT, AND WHAT THEY RELATE IS MOSTLY FROM HEARSAY. STRABO, LIB. XV. INIT.

THE historians who have inquired into the religion and learning of the East, have almost always been obliged to revert to India for information in their researches. That distant country, however, has at no former period attracted the attention of Europeans, in these particulars, so much as at the present day. From the time that it became subject to the English, it has excited their regard, not more by its productions than by its arts and literature: and the learned of Great Britain now flatter themselves, that they have at length discovered the sources from which, not only the rest of Asia, but the whole Western World derived their knowledge and their religion. They have accordingly endeavoured to render these sources accessible to Europe, through the medium of learned dissertations on the most important points of Hindu mythology and civilization, as well as by translations of native works.[1] These inquiries have given

[1] Sir W. Jones, the first president of the Asiatic Society founded at Calcutta, in 1784, has undoubtedly the credit of having originated these studies, and by his own exertions contributed to render them worthy the notice and favourable consideration of the European world. What other scholar indeed but himself could have brought to the task such multifarious acquirements, such a profound knowledge of languages, such extensive views of history, so rich a vein of poetic feeling, and, in a word, such a predominant taste for every thing Oriental? And if occasionally his amiable enthusiasm hurries him beyond the limits of true criticism, we can easily excuse it in one who was the means of exciting the same spirit equally in others, and thus giving

rise to corresponding ones in Germany; the number of students in this department of letters has greatly increased; the sacred language of India, together with its literature and poetry, have been introduced to our acquaintance; and editions of Sanscrit works printed in the original character have issued from the German press, as well as from those on the banks of the Ganges and the Thames.

Were it possible clearly to define and characterize in all its extent, the influence which this most cultivated people of the East has exercised upon the rest of the world, we could scarcely then doubt the probability of our being able to supply one of the most important chasms in the present history of the civilization of mankind. The Hindus, however, have been always too much occupied with themselves to pay much attention to other nations, except when obliged by invasion and conquest; they have therefore, as it would seem, preserved no information for us on the subject; and the conclusions which might be drawn from a comparison of their knowledge and institutions with those of other countries, however probable, are yet by no means certain; and even supposing they were, we shall still have to reply to such questions as the following: What do we really know of the ancient learning of this people? of their religion, their poetry, their arts, their political institutions, or of their commerce, and their influence upon other nations? From what sources do we derive this knowledge? And to what extent are these sources themselves clear and authentic, or the reverse? We must satisfy ourselves upon all these points, before we can even pronounce upon our ability to compose an historical sketch of that olden time when the Hindus, as yet their own masters, and not bowed down under the yoke of a foreign conqueror, had free and unfettered liberty of developing the national character.

Such an inquiry as this, however, is one of the most difficult for many reasons. First of all, the very abundance of materials itself is one obstacle. And again, notwithstanding the vast accumulation of facts, we are perpetually meeting with great and important chasms. Add to this the still greater number of difficulties naturally inherent in the subject, which impede the progress of investigation, and which can only be removed by an intimate acquaintance with the spirit and ways of thinking peculiar to Eastern nations; it is by such means alone that we can hope to arrive at more ample and satisfactory conclusions.

It is true we have one great advantage here which does not assist our researches into most other nations of antiquity —it is the fact that the Hindus still exist as a people. Completely separate by their customs and religion from the rest of the world, and disdaining to make converts, they have thereby preserved their national existence. Even the foreigners who have settled among them, and what is still more surprising, their very conquerors, remain altogether as distinct and isolated as they would be in their own native land. It is this exclusive character which renders communication with them so difficult, and checks all our inquiries. And though it is very probable they would not under all circumstances maintain the same reserve towards a foreigner, who knew how to insinuate himself into their confidence, yet travellers too often bring with them preconceived opinions, or are deficient in that kind of knowledge which will enable them to profit by the information they may obtain: and moreover, instances are by no means rare of the fact, that a desire of flattering strangers will often induce a cunning Hindu to furnish them with statements either absolutely false, or at least so artfully mixed up with what is true as not to be worthy of confidence.[2]

The Hindu passes as it were a kind of spiritual existence in ages long since gone by. The present is to him an age of profound corruption, and according to his legendary notions a still more deeply corrupted era is to ensue, until the restoration of a former happy state shall introduce a new and better order of things. But this present age, truly so

due effect to the important axiom, that Hindu Antiquities can only be satisfactorily explored in the country itself.

Of the writings of the above Society contained in the Asiatic Researches, I have only consulted the first twelve vols., (i.—iv. of the 4to edit. and v.—xii. of the 8vo,) not having been able to procure the thirteenth, which was all then published. The essays of Sir W. Jones may be found also in his Works, vol. i.—vi. 4to edit.

[2] WILFORD, (*Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 250, etc.,) with noble frankness, admits this to have been the case with respect to his essay on Egypt and the Nile. (*Asiat. Res.* vol. iii.) His Hindu teacher had falsified the names of places occurring in the MSS. from which he borrowed his materials.

named by us, is no other than what a European writer would generally term " The Age of History." The Brahman, however, looks down upon it with a glance of indifference, if not of actual contempt. His soul discovers more abundant nourishment in the contemplation of those far distant periods of time when the mighty Vishnu, disguised as Rama, made war on the Demons, or when, in the character of Krishna, he became the restorer of a better order of things. What could induce him to condescend to the survey of this present age of misery? What could reconcile him to such studies as those to which we are indebted for our critical history of his countrymen? To no purpose should we search for a native of this description, and yet, nevertheless, to the Hindu, such as he is, does the European apply for information. The grand object, therefore, of a writer who would describe this singular people, would be to make himself a Hindu among Hindus, without at the same time divesting himself of the character of a European. Whoever has satisfied himself of the difficulty of fulfilling these requisites, must necessarily, in proportion as he distrusts his own abilities, be obliged to make larger claims upon the impartial judgment of his readers. Even though he had in person visited the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and received instruction at the feet of the most learned pundits of Benares, yet he must still allow the impossibility of fully complying with the pre-requisites to his task. How then must the difficulties be increased to one who, living under a dreary northern sky, has never beheld the gorgeous magnificence of an Indian climate; who, out of all its rich literature, is acquainted with but a few detached fragments; and who, in order to obtain even this scanty knowledge, must content himself with translations, themselves probably imperfect and incorrect!

We have however (thanks to the preparatory labours of English scholars) arrived sufficiently far on our way, to be able to fix on some certain point of view from which we can take a comprehensive survey of the whole field of Indian antiquities and literature, though many portions of it still remain enveloped in mist and obscurity. It will therefore be our principal task to determine the correctness and extent of our sphere of vision, as well as to ascertain the degree of clearness with which the several objects strike our view. It is indeed always a considerable point gained, when we are able to distinguish what we know from that which we are ignorant of. The day perhaps may come when the mists which now intercept our observation will be dissipated; should that ever be the case, some later artist may then fill up this imperfect outline with a more sure and successful hand. Incomplete and defective as it now is, it will nevertheless, till that time, have a certain value, and will perhaps suffer but little in the estimation of my successor, even should he pass a correct and impartial judgment on its merits.

Since, then, the object of our inquiries has been thus determined, it follows, of course, that we have here nothing to do with laying down systems of Hindu religion and philosophy by themselves, nor with starting hypotheses, as for example, touching the earliest connexion of India with Egypt, or the transmission of Hindu civilization into the Western World, etc. (although probably we shall have occasion now and then to advert to these subjects): as little do we propose to contradict those learned men who have written upon these topics. Our end will be attained when we have discovered a fixed standard, by reference to which we can examine and set a just value upon their researches.

The general opinion of ancient as well as of modern times is unanimous in considering the Hindus as one of the earliest, if not in fact the oldest, civilized nation in the world. The critical inquirer however has an undoubted right to demand upon what foundation this universal opinion of the high antiquity of the Hindus rests; and whether the bare assertion of the natives themselves be equivalent to an absolute verification of the fact? Or, have not we also good reasons for being incredulous in an equal ratio to their own exaggerated accounts of their antiquity, particularly as it appears more and more evident that India is the last place to look to for any thing like authentic systems of chronology? To this question however we shall only be able to furnish a decisive answer in the sequel of our inquiry. In the mean time, it will merely be necessary at the outset to define with somewhat more precision the rather vague acceptation of the words " high antiquity." Allowing as we do the Hin-

dus to be a most ancient people, we are not therefore obliged to appeal to their chronological series of years reckoned by the million, nor indeed, with several English writers, need we go so far back even as the deluge, at which period, according to their calculations, the fourth age of the Hindus, the age of corruption, began. Under the title of high antiquity we generally comprehend that space of time which extends to the tenth century before the Christian era. The historic records of no other people, if we except the Jews, reaches beyond this point. All that goes further back is concealed beneath the cloak of tradition and hieroglyphics, and as long as we can draw no broad line of demarcation in the case, the definition just laid down will generally be found sufficient for our purpose. Whether the civilization of India reaches back to one thousand years before the Christian era, as is pretty certain, or even to two, which is not improbable, can never be a question altogether devoid of interest. But it is equally certain, that at the precise point where the thread of history and the connexion of its details is broken off, the interest attached to accurate chronological data ends likewise; and all judicious readers must be unanimous in allowing that it is much better to confess ignorance, than boldly to substitute conjecture in the place of knowledge: at the same time however a writer must have free permission to advance probabilities, and even, occasionally, conjectures, *as such*.

Our knowledge of Indian antiquities is derived partly from Grecian sources, and partly from the accounts of the natives themselves. The first of these authorities has already, in great measure, been weighed and examined in our work on Persian India, and the writers themselves are too well known to require any critical notice in this place. I shall content myself therefore with repeating the general conclusion deduced from their histories, that, at the period of the Macedonian invasion, nearly three hundred and fifty years before the commencement of our era, the Hindus already appeared to have reached the same degree of refinement and civilization, both in public and private life, which they subsequently maintained: we are therefore fully authorized in the conclusion, that this civilized state must then have been several hundred years in existence, and even extend

as far back as that "high antiquity" above defined. The present inquiry then will be limited solely to a consideration of Indian sources of information: these are of a twofold description; Monuments and Writings. Each kind will therefore require a separate examination.

The monuments still remaining of Indian architecture, considered with a view towards furthering our knowledge of the people, are scarcely less important than those on the banks of the Nile are for a similar purpose with respect to the Egyptians. Who has not, even though he may be ignorant of all else, at least heard something of those stupendous erections to be seen in the islands of Salsette and Elephanta? These serve to confirm the remark, that the more India is examined, the greater variety of illustrative subject-matter, in this point of view, presents itself to the inquirer. But before we can regard Hindu monuments as authentic sources of information on the antiquities of India, we ought previously to ascertain the extent of our acquaintance with them;—how far in connexion with this object they have already been examined—to what degree they are capable of further illustration? And moreover, what are the conclusions, particularly with respect to the antiquity of the nation, which we are enabled to deduce from our present knowledge of them? Our first endeavour then will be to furnish a satisfactory reply to each of these questions.

We are indebted for almost all that we know of Indian monuments to the labours of Englishmen. Neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch, nor yet the French, have employed their minds on the subject, if we except a few occasional remarks occurring in books of Travels. But partial notices, and even descriptions in detail, explain but little when unaccompanied with accurate engravings. The English have presented us with several magnificent works on India, but they have for the most part considered the subject in a very different light. It was rather their aim to represent Indian nature in general as it now appears, than to give a description of the Hindus of antiquity. The great work of Hodges is composed with this design.[3] The two

[3] *Views of Hindostan*, vol. i. ii. Other works, such as PENNANT'S *Views of*

volumes of copper-plate illustrations contain only two pages descriptive of ancient Hindu temples, the pagodas, namely, of Deogur and Tanjore. In a work indeed of this kind every thing is calculated more for effect than to give a true and correct representation; and moreover the whole manner of Hodges is very little adapted to convey an adequate idea of Hindu architecture, as he gives nothing but sketches and views.

As far as I am aware, before any thing of importance towards illustrating these monuments appeared in England, a native of Germany had already gained the credit of leading the way, and had given a description of the rock excavations at Elephanta.[4] The name of Niebuhr is a sufficient guarantee for the correctness of his copies, and we are indebted to that enterprising traveller for a ground-plan of the rock temple, a design of one of the pillars with its dimensions, and seven plates representing the bas-reliefs on the walls. His drawings of Elephanta are even now the most accurate that we have, though he describes only a few of the bas-reliefs, sufficient however to give us some notion of Hindu sculpture. A large field still remains open to future draughtsmen.

Nevertheless Niebuhr's attempt was so much the more meritorious, in that it appears to have given the first impulse to British zeal and activity. A few years afterwards there appeared in London a work under the title of "The Ancient Monuments of India, by R. Gough."[5] In this production, however, we meet with evident proofs of the low state in which Indian archæology still continued in England. It contains merely a notice of the writers who have spoken about Salsette and Elephanta; Niebuhr is translated word for word, and the accompanying plates are all copied from his designs: only one new engraving is added, containing ground-plans of the rock temples of Salsette and some others, together with a view of that island, and two or three inscriptions. Our knowledge of Indian monuments is not therefore much increased by this meagre compilation. We are

Hindostan, which contain no designs of ancient monuments, I shall pass over in silence.

[4] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, vol. ii. 1778, plates iii.—xi.

[5] *A Comparative View of the Ancient Monuments of India, by* R. GOUGH, London, 1785.

indebted for a more accurate acquaintance with the temples of Salsette to Lord Valentia.

The foundation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta about this time, under the auspices of Sir William Jones, led us to expect fresh information respecting the monuments of India. Such subjects, it is true, were not excluded from the researches of the Society, but their principal attention was directed to languages, literature, and science; and what notices they have given of Hindu monuments are confined to the description of certain pagodas, chiefly those of Ellora and Mavalipuram, and some pillars charged with inscriptions. Thankfully as we acknowledge even these, our gratitude would have been much greater had we been favoured with more drawings, and on a larger scale.

Although since the appearance of Gough's work, designs of monuments had been given in various books of Travels and other writings;[6] yet the splendid work of the Daniells[7] was the first exclusively devoted to the monuments of Hindu architecture. Their plan comprised the whole extent of Indian antiquities, and even the buildings of modern time, particularly those of the Mogul period. But even this work, if I may be allowed to judge from what I have seen of it, appears more calculated to charm the eye than inform the understanding. The employment of colours is scarcely capable of giving an accurate idea of architecture, because it unintentionally embellishes too much, and that this latter is even sometimes done with design a modern traveller is obliged to confess.[8] How often, indeed, does suspicion force itself upon the mind of the beholder that these paintings are too beautiful to be true! Besides, the editors of this publication were artists and not scholars; neither are the monuments there designed classed according to time and nation; and we feel the want of a learned commentary to give us the previous instructions under what era to arrange them. It is impossible therefore with no better materials than these to compose a history of Hindu architecture.

[6] As in MAURICE'S *History of Hindostan*, 1794, etc., CRAWFURD'S *Sketches of Hindostan*, and others.

[7] *Antiquities of India, from the Drawings of* THOMAS DANIELL, *engraved by himself and William Daniell, taken in the years* 1790, 1793.

[8] LORD VALENTIA'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 357.

The work of Mons. Langlès,[9] finished but a short time before his death, presents, it is true, only designs of monuments already known, after the original drawings of the Daniells and others; but it is nevertheless of great merit, because he has incorporated a variety of information dispersed abroad in costly and scarce collections, and has thereby materially abridged the labours of the student. With reference, however, to the accuracy of the monuments of Elephanta designed by them both, it appears to me upon comparison that the preference is due to Niebuhr. The scale too of the designs, I think, is not sufficiently large to convey a just idea of the original. The great in architecture can only be represented by corresponding greatness in the delineation. At the same time the work above mentioned proves, in a striking manner, that we have as yet scarcely passed even the threshold of a perfect acquaintance with Hindu monuments. The learned Orientalist has not even ventured to classify the buildings according to their age, style, and the particular architects; but has followed rather a geographical plan, in proceeding from south to north.

Among modern travellers, Lord Valentia has distinguished himself above all others by presenting us with correct drawings[10] of particular ancient monuments, with which we were previously altogether, or at least but imperfectly, acquainted. Since this period, a considerable number of Travels and other publications connected with India have made their appearance; but I have not been able to meet with any remarkable illustrations, or descriptions of monuments, contained therein.

Fortunate indeed would it have been for our labours, had these interesting relics employed the hand and exercised the ingenuity of a Wood or a Stuart! Every opinion delivered upon architectural remains, must always be hazardous and uncertain when we have no plans on an accurate and extensive scale to guide our judgment. But nevertheless, we cannot still be said to grope our way in perfect darkness. The works above mentioned have contributed a good deal towards showing the path, and have led to conclusions

[9] *Monumens Anciens et Modernes de l'Inde en* 150 *Planches, par* L. LANGLÈS, Paris, 1813.

[10] See the copper-plate engravings attached to his *Travels.*

which are of the greatest importance to a correct knowledge of Indian antiquities.

The monuments of Hindu architecture naturally divide themselves into three classes; the first, comprises subterraneous temples hewn out of the rock; the second, contains those temples which have been similarly formed upon the surface, but have also portions of the structure under ground; the third, includes buildings, properly so called. They have all a common connexion with religious purposes, being dedicated as well to the worship of Vishnu and Siva or Mahadeva, whose followers exist to this day, as also to Buddha, whose sect, long since expelled this part of India, still subsists universally in Ceylon and the Ultra-Gangetic continent. I enumerate the above three classes in the order which appears to agree also with the date of their construction. If this be but a conjecture, there certainly is every appearance of probability in its favour, for it can scarcely be maintained that a people, who had already been accustomed to build in the open air, should subsequently begin to lodge their divinities in under-ground temples; on the contrary, it appears more natural on the very face of things that excavation of the rock should have preceded its exterior embellishment. Whichever be the real state of the case, we must necessarily divide them into three classes, of each of which we will now attempt to give a correct view in succession.

The rock temples of the first kind are found in various parts of India, and are probably not all known to us even at the present day. Although in the plains of Bengal and the Punjab, the nature of the ground does not admit of their construction, yet, on the other hand, the whole of the peninsula on this side of the Ganges is traversed by a rocky chain of Ghauts, at present in great measure unexplored. The nature of this country itself would seem to suggest the convenience of under-ground habitations, where neither the vertical rays of the sun nor the impetuous torrents of the rainy season could penetrate. The natives of many other portions of the globe have adopted similar contrivances; and in proportion to the more extensive scope allowed by them to the introduction of science, so will it appear less wonderful that a people in such a situation, and not deficient in tools, should exercise their ingenuity in this

way.[11] The same kind of habitation which a man would construct for himself, he would also appropriate to his gods. It was a religious feeling which transformed a hut into a temple. But an excavation of the rock would seem just so much the more obvious to him, as it favoured his design of rendering these monuments of his religion imperishable. A design which is apparent in the monuments themselves; and which is exhibited still more strongly among all nations in proportion as we go further back into their antiquity. But the extent of these buildings in India, the vastness of the plan, the care displayed in the execution, the richness of the ornaments which adorn the walls, often indeed fantastic, yet still finished with great taste, all conspire together in exciting the admiration and surprise of the observant traveller; and immediately suggest to his mind the propriety of a remark which one has so often occasion to make, when contemplating the gigantic works of remote antiquity, that such stupendous edifices could hardly have been the production of one generation, but must have required the peaceable and uninterrupted labour of upwards of a century to bring them to completion. We shall now proceed to detail in regular order the accounts of those monuments which are already made known to us.

The rock temple in the small island of Elephanta,[12] near Bombay, has been the most frequently visited of any. This, together with the adjacent buildings, is hewn solely out of the rock, and forms consequently a perfect grotto. The temple itself, exclusive of the apartments and chapels attached, is about one hundred and thirty feet in length, and the same in breadth. In front of the principal entrance facing the north, and therefore sheltered from the sun, is an artificial terrace, from which there is an extensive prospect of the ocean, and on each side is an additional opening to

[11] Even the naked Hottentots are in the habit of sketching rude designs on the walls of their huts. But what a wide interval is there between an African kraal and a Hindu rock temple! and yet the refined artifice observable in the latter, must have previously traced the intermediate steps between the two extremes. An authentic account of the rise and progress of grotto architecture, (were sufficient materials at hand,) would doubtless lead to new and interesting conclusions respecting the general history of mankind.

[12] So called by Europeans from a colossal figure of an elephant hewn out of the stone; the head and neck are now fallen off, and the whole statue threatens approaching ruin. LANGLÈS, vol. ii. p. 148.

admit the fresh breeze. The rock which serves for a roof to this grotto is supported by twenty-six pillars and sixteen pilasters: the latter occupy half of each side, and are left by the architect in the original unhewn state of the material. The chambers or chapels adjoining are not quite so high, but are finished in precisely the same manner. The walls, without inscriptions, but formerly covered with a beautiful stucco, are still ornamented with reliefs, some of which are so highly prominent that the figures are merely attached to the rock by their backs; there is no doubt therefore that they are as old as the temple itself. Similar carving is observable on the walls of other rock temples, and the same figures present themselves: the whole are consequently borrowed from the same mythology. The question is, whether from that of the modern Hindus, and whether these monuments belong to the same people, or are they the production of an earlier race which has now disappeared, together with its religion? Although it is not the object of the present work to furnish a detailed history of these sculptures, of which by the way we have only a few partial drawings, yet they require a more particular examination, in order that we may offer some reply to the foregoing question. I shall endeavour, therefore, in following the order of Niebuhr's drawings, to give some illustration of the subject; premising, however, that where any thing is doubtful I shall choose rather to confess my own ignorance than advance idle conjecture.

The first of Niebuhr's seven plates[13] is the easiest to explain. We here see directly in the entrance of the temple a colossal bust, thirteen feet high, with three heads and four arms. It represents, as he has rightly observed, the Hindu Trinity,[14] Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva or Mahadeva, the three Devas, or personifications of the godhead. The middle one is Brahma, that on the right Vishnu, the left with a serpent and mustachios is Siva. The same mythological idea still remains perfectly unaltered among the modern Hindus. There is an accurate representation of these three figures,

[13] Plates to NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, vol. ii. plate v. LANGLÈS, plate lxxiii. vol. ii.

[14] Called Trimurti by the Hindus, from the Sanscrit *tri*, three, and *murti*, form. PAULINO, *Systema Brahmanicum*, p. 109.

with their proper attributes, to be seen in an idol of bronze in the Borgian museum, which has already been copied and described by Father Paulino.[15] It is uncertain what characters the large human figures represent which are on each side of the bust; probably they are chobdars, or attendants, usually assigned to divinities and great men as part of their retinue. The one on the right hand, supported by a dwarf, bears on his left shoulder a cord, which is the usual distinction of a Brahman, but in many of the reliefs is as often applied to a godhead. In either case we cannot but consider these personages as of a higher rank than simple attendants, a supposition which is confirmed by their stature, the Brahmanical thread, and the additional circumstance of their being supported by inferiors.

The representation contained in the following plate (tab. vi.) is very remarkable. It portrays Siva or Mahadeva,[16] as an hermaphrodite with one breast, a circumstance which has sometimes caused the figure to be mistaken for an Amazon. He is however recognised by his insignia—in one of his four hands he holds a snake, in the other a timbrel, in the third a whip, and with the fourth he supports himself on the bull *Nundi*, his usual mode of conveyance.[17] Father Paulino has already observed,[18] that it is very common to represent Siva, as well as the two other great deities, under the form of an hermaphrodite, an emblem which no doubt contains some deep and mysterious meaning. On his left stand two female figures, one holding a fly-flap, the other an unknown instrument; both therefore evidently in a menial character. On the right Siva himself again appears as a man, with his usual attribute, a trident, the symbol of his dominion over the upper, middle, and nether world. Behind, or rather above him, is an intended representation of Brahma, with four heads, of which however only three are visible; but the four accompanying swans (the bird that carries him through the heavens) leave no doubt of the real number. On the other side, opposite to Brahma, is Kartikeya, the son of Siva and Parvati, the god of war, with

[15] *Syst. Brahm.* p. 105, sqq. tab. xv. *a.*

[16] Mahadeva, "The Great God," is only one of the many surnames of Siva.

[17] See PAULINO, *Systema Brahmanicum*, pp. 88, 89.

[18] PAULINO, *Syst. Brahm.* p. 86. It is from this that he is called "Arthanari," *(Arddhanarisa,)* the lord, half female.

sword in hand, sitting upon his conquered enemy, the giant Kaymughusura. Next to Brahma is Ganèsa, the god of wisdom, holding in his hand a style: another attribute of his is an elephant's head, which the god himself often bears.[19] On another part of the wall is represented the fable of his origin, (which Niebuhr has recounted, without however subjoining any illustration,[20]) and from which also is evident that he must have formed part of the suite of Siva. The figures hovering above them in the attitude of adoration, are a choir of Devas and Devanis, (male and female genii,) who compose Siva's court in his palace of Kailasa.

In the next plate (tab. vii.) Siva again appears as the principal figure, recognisable by his attribute, the snake, in one of his four hands. He is adorned with the Brahmanical thread, and is supported on a dwarf, who carries a fly-flap. At his side stands his consort Parvati, supported also on a dwarf. The stature and attributes of the four-headed Brahma, Ganèsa, and Kartikeya, are similar to those of Siva; and we see also here the accompanying choir of Devas and Devanis. The principal figure in the lower part of tab. viii., in human form, and in a sitting posture, is difficult to determine, because the four arms being broken off, the attributes have disappeared likewise. It should, as the similarity of the head ornaments, the four arms, and the Brahmanical thread make sufficiently probable, be another representation of Siva. Under this supposition the female figure sitting near him would also be his wife. The two chobdars on each side, both ornamented with the Brahman's thread, denote in either case the presence of two great deities, upon whom they are attendant. Their inferiority of condition is expressed in this, as well as in the foregoing plates, by the smallness of their stature. Of these two figures, both of which are female, one carries a fly-flap, the other an infant, indicative of Lakshmi,[21] the consort of Vishnu. If this explanation be correct, the figures before us become very re-

[19] In Niebuhr, owing to a mistake, the head only of an elephant is represented, without adding thereto the image of Ganèsa; the god himself appears in LANGLÈS, vol. ii. plate lxxv., and also in the following plate of Niebuhr's book itself.

[20] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 39.

[21] See F. PAULINO'S description of the bronze statue in the Borgian Museum, *Syst. Brahm.* tab. xii.

markable, inasmuch as the wife of Vishnu is here represented in the capacity of a menial attendant upon Siva. However, I consider it more likely to be a female servant carrying the son of Parvati, that is, Kartikeya, the god of war.

The figure of a man with two arms, in the upper part of the same plate, is without any attributes, unless we suppose what he is represented to be sitting upon is a lotus flower. But this peculiarity is so common to many other Hindu deities, that we can draw no certain conclusion from the fact supposing it be true. I cannot possibly agree with Langlès,[22] in imagining it to be Buddha, for that personage has no business here, nor is there the slightest trace of his worship to be found in any part of this temple.

The representation given in the following plate (tab. ix.) is one of the most remarkable. In the human figure which occurs here also, though three arms with the accompanying attributes are lost, there can be no mistaking the presence of Siva. Every thing favours the conclusion, that the subject before us represents a passage taken from the history of that god—it is in short Siva, receiving his consort Parvati from the hands of Kamadeva, the god of love, into his paradise of Kailasa. The tedious hinderances which had opposed this union, so necessary to the welfare of the universe, were at length happily surmounted. This adventure is here portrayed in all that simplicity of style which seems so peculiar to the ancient Hindu mythology. Other deities, among whom the four-headed Brahma is conspicuous, assist at the ceremony; an attendant is bringing in a covered dish, probably in allusion to the marriage feast; a numerous band of Devas and Devanis are employed in keeping holy day. If any one wishes to see an example of the manner in which this Hindu fable, so simple in its origin, has been spun out by the poets, let him compare the recital communicated to a modern antiquary by one of their learned pundits.[23]

The frightful object represented in plate x. is easy enough to comprehend. It is Siva again, but as the Avenger and Destroyer; he is therefore armed with all the attributes of terror—the sword, the infant marked out for slaughter, the serpent, and the timbrel: instead of the Brahmanical thread he wears a collar of skulls. The same subject, but furnished with a greater number of attributes, is observable in a painting in the Borgian museum, described by Father Paulino.[24]

[22] LANGLÈS, vol. ii. p. 161.
[23] POLIER, *Mythologie des Indous*, tom. i. p. 204, etc.

My intention in offering the above remarks being less to give a circumstantial account of these pieces of sculpture than to note down the prevailing idea in each representation, I shall therefore omit the last plate in Niebuhr's book, of which I need only observe in passing, that it appears to describe some scenes in the history of Siva. Nothing further is necessary to enable us to draw certain legitimate conclusions, of no small importance to a correct knowledge of Hindu monuments.

First, then, the representations to be seen in the island of Elephanta are borrowed from the Hindu mythology still in existence, and are therefore capable of being illustrated in a general way by referring to that source; though at the same time, the particular details must still remain inexplicable, owing to the extent of a very complicated mythology, and our limited and imperfect acquaintance with its allusions. And even supposing that the Brahmans of the present day were themselves unable to explain a great portion of the subjects here represented, yet this circumstance would furnish additional proof of the high antiquity of these monuments. It is however actually demonstrable, that the people who excavated the temple and designed the sculptures, must have possessed the same religious worship, and the same mythological system, though probably more circumscribed than the present.

Secondly: It is no less certain that the grotto of Elephanta is dedicated to Siva. All the ornamental designs represented on the walls either exhibit him in person, or have a manifest allusion to his history; the prevailing idea is to describe him seated on a throne in his palace of Kailasa, surrounded by his court of Devas and Devanis.—Were there, indeed, any doubt of the person intended, it would be removed by the gross obscenity of the figures which are observed on the walls, though Niebuhr has omitted to mention this circumstance. The chief symbol of Siva is the

[24] *Syst. Brahm.*, pp. 88, 89, tab. x.

Lingam, or Phallus, the organ of generation, which is represented in all the modern temples dedicated to him; and is itself an object of religious veneration. It is also found here, in the back-ground of the principal temple.[25] The obscenity displayed on the walls surpasses every thing that the most depraved European fancy could possibly imagine.[26] It has however been remarked by many writers, that no conclusion can properly be drawn from this peculiarity, respecting the morals of the nation itself.

Thirdly: It is also sufficiently clear that the worship of Siva and the sect of his followers, were already in high repute in India at the early period when these rock temples were excavated. Of Vishnu and his worshippers, however, to the best of my knowledge, I can find no trace whatever. Yet under all circumstances it would be too precipitate, to infer that his sect was not at that time in existence. That of Siva certainly appears to have been predominant—and the probability that it is also the most ancient, derives material confirmation from the fact.

And fourthly, If it be asked to what era must we assign the formation of these grottos, and with what reason is that high antiquity so commonly attributed to them? We can only plead the want of accurate chronological data, for suggesting a satisfactory answer. The Hindus themselves confess their perfect ignorance upon this point,[27] and where then shall we seek any other historic testimony? The Greeks, it is true, under Alexander and his followers, became acquainted with India, but they saw only the northern parts of it, the plains lying between the Indus and the Ganges, where structures of the above description are not to be found. To the best of our knowledge, the first certain trace of the existence of Hindu grotto temples that we meet with in ancient authors, is found in a fragment of Porphyry's treatise on the Styx, preserved to us by Stobæus.[28] The colossal statue of a god with two sexes there

[25] GOUGH'S *Monuments, etc.*, p. 14.

[26] I judge so at least, from an engraving published in London, and which was communicated to me.

[27] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[28] STOB. *Eclog. Phys.* vol. i. p. 144 of my own edition. "The Indian messengers," says Bardesanes, a contemporary of Heliogabalus, "report that there is in India a large grotto under a lofty hill, in which is to be seen an image

mentioned, evidently alludes to the figure of Siva already described. Though at the same time no one can venture to affirm that the account given by the Indian Bardesanes directly refers to the pagoda of Elephanta, yet it is nevertheless quite plain, that he must be speaking of some temple precisely similar, and also adorned with sculptures, in which he reports, that at certain times the Brahmans were there wont to assemble and keep holy day, and where also the judicial trials or ordeals, of which there were many kinds among the Indians, used to take place.[29]

It is therefore only from the monuments themselves that we can draw any conclusions respecting their antiquity, and in them indeed every thing concurs to render the fact certain. Their vast extent and perfect execution of detail, as well as the nature of the undertaking itself, sufficiently show that it must have required a great number of years to bring them to completion. The rock out of which they are hewn is a clay-porphyry, one of the very hardest kinds of stone;[30] and in all probability could only be worked by the help of that celebrated Indian steel called *Wudz*, which even in ancient times was famous for its excellent temper. Is it credible that all recollection of such a laborious enterprise as this should have been totally lost, were it not dated from very remote antiquity? Even nature itself has impressed the marks of venerable age upon them, and many of the sculptured representations on the walls are so dissolved by the operation of the atmosphere that they can with difficulty be recognised. How many hundred years must have been necessary to produce such an effect upon a rock so hard! In fine, the style itself also of these ingenious works would seem to attest their extreme age; characterized as they are by great simplicity, united with consummate perfection. The figures of the gods appear all of them naked, but at the same time carefully furnished with their respective ornaments, their head-dress, necklaces,

from ten to twelve ells high, with the arms folded across, and the right side that of a man, the left a woman, etc.

[29] There is a curious dissertation on this subject, in the *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 389. In this grotto was performed the ordeal by water. STOB. vol. i. p. 148.

[30] I can attest the truth of this myself, as I have by me a specimen of the stone from the collection of M. Blumenbach, together with a penknife made of *Wudz*, the first instrument of that material manufactured at London.

earrings, girdles, together with their proper attributes. There is here no appearance of that excessive surcharge of apparel with which the modern Hindus disfigure their idols.

Grotto temples of a similar description but of larger size are found in the neighbouring island of Salsette, which is also opposite to Bombay. Of these we possess a description, with a ground-plan and a view, but of the sculptures by no means such correct drawings as those of Elephanta, for Niebuhr did not visit Salsette. We are indebted to Gemelli Carreri,[31] an Italian, for the first account of these monuments. Anquetil du Perron, in the preface to his edition of the Zend-Avesta,[32] has given a more accurate description, but the subjoined ground-plan is not very intelligible. A more particular notice and an exterior view have been furnished by Lord Valentia;[33] and it is only a few years since we have been presented with a new ground-plan of the temple, and some drawings of the bas-reliefs, by Mr. Salt.[34] These, with the accounts given in the Calcutta Journal, have already been made use of by Langlès.[35] The above publications are sufficient to convey some general idea of the monuments, but of the numerous sculptures they give only a few specimens.

In point of size and number, the temples of Salsette[36] are much superior to those at Elephanta. The lofty mountain, which this island contains, is also composed of a species of rock equally hard, but which nevertheless is excavated in every direction. The grand pagoda is vaulted, and extends over an area of forty paces in breadth and one hundred in length: exclusive of the four columns at the entrance, thirty are enumerated inside, of which eighteen have their capitals formed of elephants; the rest are merely of an hexagonal shape, which would induce a supposition that they still remain unfinished. At the end of the pagoda, which terminates in a circular form, is a kind of cupola, which, as well as the other portions of the structure, are all hewn out of the living stone.

[31] Gemelli Carreri, *Voyage autour du Monde*, tom. iii. p. 36, etc. It contains merely a description without either plan or drawing.

[32] This is translated, and the plan copied by Gough, *Ancient Monuments*, etc., p. 38, sq.

[33] Valentia, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 195, plate x.

[34] In the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. i.

[35] Langlès, *Monumens de Hindostan*, tom. ii. p. 181—208, and pl. lxxvii.—lxxxii.

[36] This island is called by the Portuguese, Canaria. From thence the great temple has its name of "The Pagoda of Kennery;" the others are called "Monpeser" and "Jegvasary."

The Great Pagoda is only so termed by way of distinction, for there are two others scarcely inferior in size, which are even furnished with several stories, one over the other; and between and round about these there is an innumerable quantity of smaller chapels. Every part is ornamented with sculpture, and the apartments, tanks, open courts, are all hewn out of the rock.

The architecture of these monuments so nearly resembles that of Elephanta as to preclude all doubt of their belonging to the same people and the same age, though the excavations at Salsette must have occupied a considerably longer time in execution. The effects of the weather on the sculptures here, too, give striking evidence of the many hundred years that must have elapsed in order to reduce them to their present state of decay.

But a distinguishing feature in the temple grottos of Salsette are the inscriptions, which we meet with on the walls. Of these Anquetil du Perron has enumerated twenty-two, specimens of which he has subjoined.[37] The alphabet in which they are composed has no resemblance to any one among the great number that are still used in the peninsula, nor has any one hitherto been able to decipher their meaning.

But the large temple of Kennery is distinguished from that at Elephanta principally by the circumstance of being consecrated to Buddha. We here see manifold representations of this god, who is easy to be known by his woolly hair, long ears, and sitting cross-legged.[38] His principal statue is surrounded with small reliefs, describing, probably, some scenes taken from his mythological history, in one of which is represented the fore-part of a vessel filled with strangers; but these sculptures are, in general, too diminutive in size to enable us to offer any illustrations of their meaning.

On the other hand there is no doubt that of the smaller temples, the one called Monpeser is dedicated to Siva, as

[37] They are also copied by Gough, vid. supra.

[38] Langlès, plate lxxx. This proves it to be the statue of a god, and not a devotee, though the woolly hair is also attributed sometimes to the latter.

that of Jegvasary is to Indra. In the first we meet with a colossal statue of Siva surrounded with all his court, receiving his consort Parvati, as before observed in the reliefs at Elephanta taken by Niebuhr.[39] In the other we see Indra with his wife in the same position as represented in the plate already explained.[40] It follows, therefore, that in the same small island, and near to each other, formerly prevailed the two hostile sects of Buddha and of Siva, unless we might take it for granted that the sculptures are anterior to the expulsion of the Buddhists by the followers of Siva. It is also worthy of remark, that they contain no allusion to the history of Vishnu: on the contrary, according to the testimony of Lord Valentia, Vishnu is in one place represented as the servant of Buddha, being employed in fanning him.[41] "Not only the great number of these grottoes," continues the same traveller, "but also the tanks, the terraces, the flights of stairs leading from one to the other, all clearly show what must have been the population of these arid rocks in former times, where all now is silent except the casual footstep of the inquisitive traveller. The plains once so highly cultivated are become an impenetrable jungle, the lair of ferocious wild beasts, and the abode of desolation and noxious miasmata."[42]

Another rock monument of the same kind, and to the best of my knowledge first described and delineated by Lord Valentia, is the temple grotto of Carli,[43] situate about half way between Bombay and Poonah, the capital of the Mahrattas. The drawings we have of this piece of antiquity are much superior to those of any other. Considered with regard to the complete finish of its details, the temple of Carli appears to occupy the first place of all, though in point of extent it is inferior to that of Salsette. The principal grotto is one hundred and twenty-six feet long, and

[39] LANGLÈS, plate lxxxii.

[40] LANGLÈS, plate lxxxi.

[41] The relation of superiors and inferiors, as Gemelli Carreri remarks, is here also represented by a difference in stature.

[42] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 198.

[43] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 162, sq. Plate viii. an interior view of the grotto. Plate ix. plan of the same. There are many grottos at Carli, of which the largest only has been delineated. The interior appears altogether like that of Salsette. The pillars are supported by elephants, on which male and female figures are sitting. Underneath the vaulted roof is an arcade of timber, no doubt of modern construction.

sixty-four in breadth; the roof is also vaulted and supported by pillars, and moreover terminates in a circular chapel, surmounted with a cupola. There are no sculptures in the interior, but only on the walls of the portico, partly representing elephants, and partly figures of men with two sexes. The statue of Buddha is observable in many parts, sometimes in a sitting posture, after the Indian fashion, at others in an upright position, and always surrounded with worshippers. Here also we meet with numerous inscriptions, and all in the same unknown character which is found in the seven pagodas at Mavalipuram.[44] It appears, therefore, that this temple also was dedicated to Buddha; but as the drawings of the several figures, and the inscriptions, left to the Literary Society at Bombay by Lord Valentia, still remain unpublished, we can offer no further opinion on the subject: there is, however, less reason for doubt, because the Brahmans ascribe its erection to the agency of Rakshasas, or evil genii; and all religious services therein are peremptorily forbidden.

As far as our knowledge extends, Ceylon is the only other Indian island besides Salsette and Elephanta, in which there are temple grottoes; and it is not many years since we became acquainted with this island after its possession by the British, through the medium of Davy's Travels in the interior. The largest structure of this description is found in the southern part of the island, in about 7° N. Lat., near to Damboulou, and in a south-easterly direction from the capital town of Candy.[45] These rock temples, according to Davy's opinion, are the largest, the most perfect and ancient, as well as the best preserved, in the whole island. They are contained in a grotto, much less indebted to art than to nature for its formation, before which a wall extends of four hundred feet in length. The dimensions of the largest temple are one hundred and ninety feet by ninety, and forty-five in height. The smaller one is ninety feet long and seventy broad; the third is seventy-five feet in length and only twenty-one in breadth. They are all dedicated to Buddha, whose religion is still preserved exclusively in

[44] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 163. All these inscriptions have been copied by Lord Valentia.

[45] JOHN DAVY, *Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, London, 1821, p. 232.

Ceylon, and perhaps there in its greatest purity. The principal temple contains a recumbent statue of Buddha, thirty feet long, of colossal size, as he is generally represented; we also meet with numerous smaller statues of this god, or his worshippers, in different attitudes; of which fifty-three have been counted, representing probably persons of his suite. It is however in the heart of India, and in the midst of the Ghaut-Range, that buildings of the above description are found, which far surpass all those hitherto enumerated. These are the celebrated grottoes of Ellora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur and Aurengabad.[46] The first, I believe, who gave any account of them, though a very superficial one, was Thevenot;[47] a more correct description, especially of the sculptures, is furnished by Anquetil du Perron.[48] The latter visited the grottoes in person, accompanied by two Brahmans, on whose veracity must depend the correctness of the explanations given of the sculptures, of which however he has subjoined no engravings. Du Perron has certainly the merit of having supplied a tolerably detailed account of these monuments, most of which he appears to have seen, and noted down the observations of the Brahmans on the subject: nevertheless, without presuming to question the fidelity of these latter, few descriptions, accurate as they may be, are alone capable of conveying any just idea of the subject.

This deficiency was in some measure remedied by an Englishman of the name of Malet, to whom we owe a description of Ellora, accompanied with some designs and a ground-plan of the principal temple.[49] He states, however, that bad health prevented him from visiting every one of the numerous grottoes in person; and moreover that, his draughtsman being sick also, he could neither guarantee the correctness of the designs made by the latter, in which, too,

[46] In Lat. 20° North, and Long. 76° East. It might be owing to chance, but it is worthy of remark, that Ellora is situate exactly in the middle between the northern boundary of India and Cape Comorin. Its distance from the coast is somewhat greater on the east than on the west side. The expression, nevertheless, that it is in the centre of India, is sufficiently correct, whether that was the effect of design or mere chance.

[47] THEVENOT, *Voyage des Indes*, pp. 220—223.

[48] *Zend-Avesta, Diss. Prelim.* p. ccxxxiii.—ccl., and copied by GOUGH, *Monuments, etc.*, p. 60, sq.

[49] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 382, sq.

we are sometimes at a loss to discover the true expression of Indian character.

A great deal more certainly was effected by the Daniells, from whose splendid work Langlès has copied his illustrations in thirty-four plates on a reduced scale. In the above we are presented with a ground-plan, as well as an exterior and interior view, of twelve of these rock temples; but only a few designs, and those already known, of the many bas-reliefs.[50] Our acquaintance, therefore, with these works of Hindu sculpture still remains very imperfect; it is sufficient, however, to give some idea of the whole, and to enable our deducing certain legitimate and irrefragable conclusions.

Let the reader imagine to himself a chain of rocky mountains consisting principally of very hard red granite, and in a semicircular or rather horse-shoe form, with a distance of nearly five miles between the extreme points. In this range is found a series of grotto temples, some of two and even three stories in height, partly in juxta-position with each other, and partly separated by intervals, which in their turn are filled with a number of smaller temples; and the whole ornamented with innumerable reliefs, many of which have suffered from the effects of time, and not a few from the hands of wanton violence. It is difficult to determine precisely which is the principal temple of all these, but the largest, and that of which we possess a ground-plan and the greatest number of views, is called the temple of Kailasa, i. e. the palace of Siva or Mahadeva.[51] All that is great, splendid, and ornamental, in architecture above ground, is here seen also beneath the earth; peristyles, staircases, bridges, chapels, columns, porticos, obelisks, colossal statues,

[50] The ground-plan and views of the temple of Jagannatha, (Juggernaut,) are given in plate xxxv.; of Parasu Rama, in plate xxxvi.; of Indra, in plates xxxvii.—xlii.; of Dumar-Leyna, in plates xliii.—xlv.; of Jenussa, in plates xliv.—xlvi.; of Ramishur, in plates xlviii., xlix.; of Kailasa, in plates l.—lv.; Dasavatara, in plate lvi.; of Ravana, in plates lvii., lviii.; of Tintodi, in plates lix., lx.; of Dautali, in plates lxi., lxii; of Visvakarma, in plates lxiii.—lxv.; of Dherwara, in plate lxvi.; and general views of the country about Ellora, in plates lxvii.—lxix. The vignette title page of this volume contains a view of Jagannatha, after plate xxxv.

[51] According to the dimensions given of this temple, the vestibule is eighty-eight feet deep by one hundred and thirty-eight in breadth; the temple itself from the door of the portico to the inmost wall is one hundred and three feet in length by sixty-one broad, exclusive of the platform behind the temple, which makes the whole length one hundred and forty-two feet: so that in point of extent it might bear a comparison with several of our Gothic churches.

and reliefs sculptured on almost all the walls, representing, as we have already noticed, Hindu deities and their fabulous history: nor must we omit to mention the imposing effect produced by a row of enormous elephants, who seem to bear up the superincumbent weight of the temple.[52]

In an open court, to which we arrive through the grand entrance, stands within the grotto itself a second temple; the whole mass of the rock which has been suffered to remain having been hewn into a pyramidal form as a pagoda. Of this wonderful structure, the variety, richness, and skill displayed in the ornaments surpass all description.[53] There are also many other temple grottoes here, which are little if indeed any thing inferior to that of Kailasa; that of Indra and his consort Indrani contains in like manner a pagoda of the form just described, and in point of richness of architecture and decoration is fully equal to it. The two divinities, both surrounded with worshippers, are represented as sitting, Indra on a recumbent elephant, Indrani on a lion: all these figures are of colossal dimensions. The grotto known by the name of Dumar-Leyna, and consecrated to Siva and his wife Parvati, is not a whit less remarkable and surprising. The sculptures on the walls describe among other subjects the marriage of Siva and Parvati, and are therefore confirmatory of the explanations already given of a similar scene in the grotto of Elephanta.[54] According to Anquetil du Perron, one of the intermediate pagodas was dedicated to Vishnu, and several of the adjacent ones to his wives and followers, particularly to his architect Visvakarma, who constructed the palace which the god occupies in his celestial abode of Vaicuntha;[55] another pagoda is consecrated to Rama, his wife, and various persons in their suite, etc. Among all the Hindu divinities, in whose honour temples have been erected, there is hardly one who does not appear to have possessed at some time or other his respective sanctuary at Ellora; and in fact we might justly consider the gallery in rear of the great temple of Kailasa, as a perfect specimen of an Hindu Pantheon. The names of not

[52] LANGLÈS, vol. i. plate lii.
[53] *Asiatic Res.* vol. iii. p. 405.
[54] See above, p. 60.
[55] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 421. The grotto here given is vaulted like that of Carli, but the arcades are of stone.

less than forty-three deities of one sort or other have been there enumerated by Malet.

The age of the grottoes at Ellora is as difficult to determine on just historical principles as those at Elephanta. If we believe the reports of the Brahmans communicated to Malet, they must have been constructed as much as seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-four years ago, by one Rajah Ilu![56] consequently long anterior to the commencement of the Cali Yug, i. e. the present age according to Hindu computation, and therefore also in the fabulous period. On the other hand, a certain Mahomedan professes to have heard from some learned pundit, whose name by the way he has forgotten, that these temples, together with the fortress of Deogur, now called Dawlatabad, were the work of one Rajah Il, who reigned above nine hundred years ago. Such testimony as this, however, which rests on no certain foundation, must appear in the eyes of a critical inquirer, as little satisfactory and convincing as the former. Indeed, the single circumstance that all these stupendous buildings could have been completed by one rajah involves an absolute contradiction; it is very possible the fortress might have been built at the time specified, and this supposition would at least furnish some ground for the general report. It follows, therefore, that in the present state of the question, we can only ascertain the age of the monuments at Ellora, by considering them either separately or in comparison with others already described; and in conducting this examination, I believe I can fairly secure certain conclusions which are too important to be withheld from the reader.

In the first place, Every thing in these grotto buildings wears an Indian character, no foreign admixture whether of mythology or art is perceptible. They must therefore belong to a period of time when the people, freely left to themselves, and under no foreign yoke, were able to lead what sort of life they pleased, and were their own masters in every thing. There is, nevertheless, in their architecture, a certain gradation which it is impossible to mistake; while at Salsette and Elephanta all is simplicity in the extreme, and the art of sculpture appears yet in its infancy; so on the

[56] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. page 385.

other hand, in the principal temple at Ellora, the richness and variety of the designs, and the completeness of execution observable in the details, both of architecture and sculpture, exemplify the most flourishing period of Hindu art. The completion of these surprising works must, according to our calculations, have required some hundreds of years; but we must also allow a space of time nearly equal in duration to that epoch, in which Ellora, situate in the middle of India, and near to Deogur, (i. e. the Divine Mount,) continued to be the central point of the Hindu religion: and although it might be impossible to determine this period with chronological exactness, yet every thing concurs to prove that the temple grottoes of Ellora are posterior in construction to those of Salsette and Elephanta.

2. In the rock temples of Salsette and Elephanta, as well as Carli, the prevailing creed appears to have been that of Siva or Mahadeva, and next to this, even that of Buddha. They must consequently be prior in point of time to the expulsion of the latter from India. On the other hand, the temples of Ellora betray not the slightest symptom of any connexion with the worship of Buddha: whether it directly follows, therefore, that at the period of their excavation, the Buddhists were already driven from the Indian continent, I cannot certainly venture to determine: this however seems unquestionable, that at the above period the two still existing sects of Siva and Vishnu were then already separate, and flourishing in the neighbourhood of each other, a fact which an examination of the grottoes at Elephanta and Salsette still permitted us to doubt, and which also furnishes us with additional presumptive evidence of the more modern antiquity of Ellora.

3. It appears highly probable that, at the time when these temples, or at least those of Ellora, were constructed, the Hindu system of mythology had already attained its full and perfect state of development; as on the walls of these grottoes we find not merely the several deities by themselves, but represented also with their companions, relations, and attendants in general, and indeed to much greater extent and perfection at Ellora than any where else; from which we may safely argue for a more recent foundation in the case of the latter temples, independent of the great increase

of probability which the argument derives from the following very remarkable circumstance. We observe on the walls of Ellora sculptured representations of great epic subjects, which appear beyond a doubt to have been furnished by those famous Hindu heroic poems the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. In the large temple of Kailasa, on the right side, is represented the engagement between Rama and Ravana, in which Hanuman the king of the monkeys plays a chief part.[57] This forms the principal subject of the Ramayana. On the left side, directly opposite to the former, is observed the battle of Keyso Pandos taken from the Mahabharata.[58] The armies engaged consist mostly of foot soldiers; some are riding upon elephants, others in chariots, but none on horses. The principal weapons appear to be bows and arrows, though we may occasionally remark the use of maces and straight swords.[59] In another grotto at Ellora, called the three-storied temple, *(Teen Tal,)* is seen a representation of the five brothers of the family of Pandu, all of whom are principal characters in the Mahabharata.

4. The plan upon which these great temple grottoes are constructed is usually simple, but at the same time always grand in conception. The first entrance is through a vestibule, supported by several rows of pillars; this leads frequently by a series of steps into the grand portico, which is covered in some instances with a flat roof; in others it is vaulted.[60] For the most part this is of a rectangular form, yet terminating in a circular end, and furnished with two rows of columns, by which the nave of the temple is divided through its whole length into three portions. This plan

[57] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 406. This last circumstance shows clearly that the representation on the walls is copied without variation from the Ramayana.

[58] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 407.

[59] The Hindu painting in the Borgian Museum described by Father Paulino in his *Syst. Brah.* tab. xvii. and xviii., represents the battle between Rama and Ravana in perfect conformity with what is noticed above, and is most likely a direct, or at least a second-hand copy of the reliefs at Ellora.

[60] It is therefore quite clear, that the architect of these subterranean temples was no stranger to the principles of vaulting, though it does not at all follow that he knew how to apply them to buildings above ground. Lord Valentia's conjecture, (vol. ii. page 189,) that the temples dedicated to Buddha only were vaulted, appears to be groundless, from the fact that a building of this description is found at Ellora consecrated to Visvakarma, an attendant of Vishnu. *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 420.

however is not always observed. There is one grotto at Elephanta which is supported by three rows of pillars; and another at Salsette has as many as six. The sanctuary of these temples, which is frequently nothing more than a chapel furnished with a Lingam, is generally found at the extremity: in the large grottoes at Ellora it is a perfect temple of itself, hewn out of a portion of the solid rock which has been suffered to remain for that purpose. On the right and left are chambers cut out of the rock, apparently designed for the reception of priests belonging to the sanctuary; and in some cases a gallery, supported on pillars, runs round the whole extent, the walls of which are ornamented with exquisite taste and skill.

5. The number and extent of these structures, particularly at Ellora, appear to show sufficiently the object contemplated in their erection. They must have been designed as a sanctuary and habitation, not only for the principal deity, but also for his family and attendant worshippers. Hence arose the necessity of providing for them also, and erecting for each his separate place of worship. The vast number of smaller grottoes, though without doubt partly intended for the accommodation of the priests, were yet however in a much greater degree adapted to receive the many thousand pilgrims and penitents who flocked to the temples, as they still do to the celebrated pagodas of modern India.

6. The idea of employing colonnades in the cases before us, arose from the obvious necessity of leaving pillars to support the roof of the excavated rock, and of course their form would not in the nature of things be so slender as the Grecian column. There is, however, in several instances, an evident desire to produce the utmost degree of attenuation and delicacy of shape which the enormous weight they had to sustain would allow.[61] And what ravages the hand of time has been able to effect in other parts of these venerable structures, the colonnades and pillars seem generally to have escaped. It is not without an involuntary shudder that we pass the threshold of these spacious grottoes, and compare the weight of the ponderous roof with the apparent slenderness and inadequacy of its support; an admirable and in-

[61] See GOUGH, tab. i.; NIEBUHR, tab. iv.; and VALENTIA, vol. ii. tab. viii.—x.

genious effect, which must have required no ordinary share of abilities in the architect to calculate and determine! In the general form and mode of decorating these columns, judging by the few designs we have of them, we meet with great variety, although the pillars in the same grotto have always the same form and dimensions. The length of the shaft, in comparison with its diameter, is also subject to considerable variation; in some cases, as for instance, in the temple of Kennery at Salsette, the pillars are furnished with capitals apparently suffered to remain in order to confer additional strength. These capitals, agreeably to the purposes for which they are designed, would not therefore admit of that delicacy of shape which is observed in the buildings above ground; the design and general form of the capital itself appears to be copied from certain plants, particularly the lotus. But an accurate and characteristic description of these details, which however would be scarcely intelligible without illustrative designs, we must leave to the study of professed architects: yet after mentioning the colonnades and pillars, we ought not to omit noticing the obelisks, which to the best of our knowledge are only met with in the grottoes of Ellora. The single one which up to this time has been copied and designed, and is of a circular form,[62] certainly favours the supposition that it was intended to represent a Phallus: nevertheless, Malet expressly remarks, that two others are found of a square figure.[63]

7. The Hindu sculpture, like that of the Egyptians, appears to have proceeded from relief, but owing to the small number of designed specimens at present in our possession, it is impossible to deliver any correct opinion of its rise and progress. The art of sculpturing in very low relief seems to have remained foreign to the usual practice of Hindu artists; probably because in these temples they were obliged to make their calculations with reference to the general effect which could be produced by the whole, when viewed from a certain distance. Their sculpture however appears, even from the commencement, to have usually developed itself in

[62] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 392. In the drawing of LANGLÈS, plate xxxvii., copied from the work of the Daniells, this monument has almost entirely lost the form of an obelisk.

[63] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 405.

a colossal form; as almost all the statues of gods are from ten to twelve feet high: it has also been already observed, that the relation of inferiority is here expressed by a corresponding diminution of stature, extending even down to that of dwarfs.[64] The walls of these grottoes, at least those at Ellora, were overlaid with a kind of stucco, called Chunam, (Churna,) that progressively hardens by length of time.[65] Now the employment of colours would naturally serve to enliven the sculpture; we accordingly find, that the Hindus like the Egyptians used to paint their reliefs. The climate of India, which is not so dry as that of Egypt, would appear to be less favourable to the preservation of fresco paintings; we nevertheless find in the temples at Ellora universal proof of the contrary. From working in relief, the art of sculpture would insensibly proceed to statuary; several of the reliefs themselves having been formed in such high prominence that they are merely attached to the walls by a portion of their backs. A colossal character was also applied to their statues, not merely when they represented divinities, but likewise, and indeed in an especial manner, to animals, such as elephants, bulls, lions, etc., which was partly necessary perhaps in order to preserve the general keeping of the whole, and partly was agreeable to the sense of Hindu mythology. These numerous colossal figures of animals, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, contribute to enliven as it were the general appearance of the temples, and seem to give the whole a species of animation. Even fabulous beasts were not excluded from this mythology: though we still want accurate designs for enabling us to compare them with those of the Persians and other nations.

Lastly, the grottoes of Ellora contain also certain inscriptions, two or three of which have been made out in Sanscrit, by Wilford, with the help of a book professing to be an explanatory key to several ancient Hindu alphabets, and communicated to him by some pundits, provided they are to be relied on.[66] According to this explanation, the inscriptions refer in part to the subjects taken from the Mahabharat, and represented in sculpture on the walls, and the conjecture is certainly not improbable that they may be real quotations from that poem. The last of these inscriptions mentions the name of the sculptor who executed the work.[67] They are, however, less remarkable for their contents than for the peculiar idiom in which they are written, as it tends to prove that the Sanscrit, though in a form which is now obsolete, was still the prevailing dialect when these grottoes were excavated; a circumstance which must furnish additional proof of their antiquity.[68]

The range of Hindu architecture, however, was not limited to the construction of this first, and probably most ancient

[64] What is most striking in these figures, at least at Elephanta, besides their diminutive height, is the peculiar fashion of their hair, partly resembling the largest full-bottomed wigs of our ecclesiastics; and as this head-dress is confined to a few only of the attendants, they must therefore belong to a particular class by themselves. Is it probable that they are professional story-tellers? According to Hindu mythology, the rajah Vicramaditya used to have forty-two of these little creatures standing round his throne. POLIER, vol. i. p. 90. Sir Stamford Raffles was informed at Java, that similar head-dresses were worn by native hermits. *History of Java*, vol. ii. p. 10.

[65] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. pp. 397, 408, 409.

[66] *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 135, sq.

[67] His name is Sakya Padamrita. Ibid. p. 133.

[68] Langlès, in his seventh number, admits the probability of the beforementioned report of a learned Mussulman, viz. that the grottoes of Ellora were excavated nine hundred years ago, by one Rajah Il; and that in his time Deogur, the capital of the Deccan, was the metropolis of a great empire: and further, that architects from Ethiopia might have constructed these temples upon Ethiopian or Egyptian models. For my part I must confess, that excepting a few partial resemblances, I am unable to detect any traces of general imitation in these works, which are so perfectly Indian in their whole character, and indeed were so pronounced to be at the first inspection by Malet. *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 383. How unreasonable is it to suppose that any foreign artists could at once bring into existence such a peculiar kind of architecture as the Hindu, and at the same time leave only indistinct and altogether uncertain traces of their own! As to the report above alluded to, we have already remarked on what slender ground it rests, while the Mussulman himself could adduce no authority in confirmation of it; to say nothing of the utter improbability that one prince's reign could suffice for the completion of such vast and laborious undertakings. At the same time, however, I am perfectly willing to allow, that a portion of these grottoes, consecrated to the religious services of modern sects, as the Sevras or Jats, may be of later origin (an opinion already advanced by English writers, *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 384); but this is no argument whatever against the antiquity of the rest. We have not, to my knowledge, any true historical notice of this Rajah Il, beyond the mere opinion of the Mohammedan above mentioned, who supposes him to have been a contemporary of Shah Momim-Arif, who reigned some nine hundred years ago in Persia. There might possibly have existed such a person as Rajah Il of Deogur, but he could scarcely possess a very extensive territory; since, according to the very few fragments of Indian history still remaining to us, the whole country, previous to the Mohammedan invasion in 1002, was parcelled out into a number of petty principalities, (Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 32,) and consequently would contain no one prince at all capable of erecting such stupendous monuments.

class of buildings; nor did it remain satisfied with excavating temples and habitations in the heart of rocky mountains; but it also elaborately fashioned the outside of the rocks themselves into the form of an architectural monument, and thereby produced effects still more great and surprising than in those temple grottoes we have just now described, although even these latter are not wanting to increase the magnificence of the other kind.

India contains one specimen of this new class which is so pre-eminently distinguished above all the rest, that a particular description of it alone will be sufficient. Such are the "Seven Pagodas," or ancient monuments so called, at Mavalipuram on the Coromandel coast,[69] of which extraordinary buildings it will hardly be too much to assert, that they occupy a most distinguished place in the scale of human skill and ingenuity. But we must in this case also, before we can offer any remarks on their style of architecture, previously ascertain the extent of our acquaintance with them.

This, in truth, is at present but very imperfect. Those travellers who have visited them, appear to have seen little more than the parts immediately adjacent to the coast; few indeed would venture to penetrate into the interior, over rugged barriers of rock, and through jungles infested with tigers and noxious reptiles, and certainly no single individual could possibly make the attempt with safety. The first account of these buildings was communicated in the Asiatic Researches, by Mr. Campbell;[70] but only from recollection of a visit made eight years before. He was followed (in the same collection) by Mr. Goldingham;[71] and a few years subsequently by Mr. Haafner.[72] Neither of these travellers, however, have given any illustrative designs; and in the large work of the Daniells, only two plates are devoted to the subject, which were afterwards copied by

[69] Situate in 12° 30′ North Lat., one day's journey south of Madras. They are called "The Seven Pagodas," because there appears to be a greater number of temples when seen from the sea; some of these project into the water, and others are actually submerged.

[70] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 145. [71] Ibid. vol. v. p. 69, sq.

[72] Haafner, *Reise längst der Küste von Coromandel*, vol. ii. p. 192, sq. He is the only one who pretends to have made his way into the interior of these pagodas, though it must be confessed, the account of his travelling adventures frequently savours rather too much of the marvellous.

Langlès.[73] From these and some other detached accounts, arose the instructive description of these ruins compiled by the late Mr. Ehrmann, and inserted in the Geographical Ephemerides.[74] This in its turn produced a valuable dissertation by the late Baron Dalberg,[75] communicated in the same periodical work. These essays, however, even at best, serve only to show how limited and imperfect our knowledge is, the whole extent of which may be comprised in the following statement.

The ruins of Mavalipuram do not merely consist of a few subterranean temples, but the whole has an appearance of a royal town, almost completely hewn out of the rock. A large, and probably the most considerable portion, appears to have been swallowed up by the sea; but a few miles inland are seen, on the summits of a rocky hill, a vast collection of grottoes, halls, apartments, and other buildings, all worked in the solid stone: not all of these, however, are temples; for among other structures, we meet with one supported by two or three rows of pillars, which seems to have been a choultry, or place of accommodation for travellers: in another part of the hill is a kind of couch formed out of the rock, and which some imagine to represent a king's throne. Besides these excavations, there are other remnants of architectural works, properly so called; these consist of massy walls formed of hewn stone, immense blocks of which are piled one above the other, similar to those buildings termed Cyclopean: and, again, the whole of the top of the hill is strewed with bricks. This is the sum total of our acquaintance with the ruins of Mavalipuram. The two drawings, to be found in the work of the Daniells, are merely exterior views, one of them representing the entrance of a grotto, the walls of which are ornamented with sculpture—the other, two temples excavated in the rock, the style and workmanship of which is peculiarly striking, and might almost be compared with some of our Gothic churches. The sides of the rocky hill are here also in every direction covered with reliefs in sculpture, which the Daniells have but imperfectly designed, or rather only sketched, if we except a few more elaborate specimens of

[73] *Monumens de l'Inde*, plates xxiii. xxiv.

[74] *Allgem. Geograph. Ephemeriden*, 1809, Sept. [75] Ibid. 1810, May.

colossal figures, such as elephants and lions: we must therefore confine ourselves here to the brief accounts which Mr. Goldingham has given of these sculptures. According to him, then, they represent for the most part statues of Hindu deities, with four or more arms, and furnished with their various attributes, as the Brahmanical thread, and different animals consecrated to their service, etc., all which points of resemblance leave no room to doubt the fact of these divinities being borrowed from the same system of mythology as those in the rock temples already described; indeed Mr. Goldingham had previously come to the same conclusion, after comparing the sculpture of Mavalipuram with that of Elephanta, and particularly the double statue of an hermaphrodite, and the dwarfs. These circumstances, as well as the representation of the Lingam, are quite sufficient to prove that the worship of Siva prevailed here also, conjointly with that of Vishnu, in so far as the latter is said to have appeared on earth in the character of Krishna. And, according to the same authority, similar figures of men and animals are found here also, and even whole scenes taken from the Mahabharat, representing among other subjects, the fable of Krishna's sojourn among the Gopis or shepherdesses; we therefore know where to find a key to the interpretation of these sculptures: but this desirable object can only be attained by the traveller who is enabled to investigate these ruins with the Mahabharat in his hand. Even the inscriptions over the several statues, and which have been copied by Mr. Goldingham, do not, however, furnish us with any explanations, because the character has not yet been deciphered, and consequently we know nothing of the language in which they are composed. If this peculiar alphabet really were identified with that in which the inscriptions at Kennery are written, it would prove the same character to have been in common use on both sides of the peninsula.[76]

[76] LANGLÈS, *Monumens de l'Inde*, p. 50, has remarked a similarity between the characters used at Mavalipuram and those at Kanara (without doubt he means Kennery). But for my part I can discover no resemblance between the drawings made of the former by Goldingham, and those of the latter copied by Gough. On the other hand, I fancy they are more like those found at Ellora, communicated by WILFORD in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 141. At all events there is a general resemblance in the form of the character, though the individual letters are not exactly the same.

The buildings at Mavalipuram are partly in an unfinished state, and furnish evident proofs of having been interrupted by some terrible convulsion of nature, such as an earthquake, which has rent the solid rock, and perhaps ingulfed a considerable portion of the town in the sea, under which the ruins are still seen, extending a great way out. But all recollection of the time when this catastrophe happened is completely lost; which is another probable ground of the high antiquity of these structures, on which moreover the finger of Time has imprinted other strong marks of age, in the defacement and obliteration apparent in many of the sculptures. Nevertheless, imperfect as our knowledge of these interesting monuments certainly is, I still conceive myself entitled to make the following observations.

1. Mavalipuram was at the same time the chief seat of religion, the residence of kings, and in all probability a town of considerable commercial importance. The monuments still remaining, attest the certainty of its having been at some former period a place of very great extent; and supply us also with additional evidence of the intimate connexion that subsisted in these countries between religion and commerce.

2. Hindu tradition itself assigns a very high antiquity to these buildings, in attributing their erection to the kings Yudhishthira, of the family of Pandu, and Bali (both of them related to Krishna, and principal characters in his mythological history);[77] their age therefore extends back to the fabulous period, which is of course independent of all accurate chronological determination. But upon comparing these monuments with one another, it appears highly probable that they do not themselves all belong to one and the same period, but were constructed at long intervals of time, both on account of their great extent, and particularly the variation observable in their style of architecture. Two of these rock pagodas appear to have, as it were, a vaulted roof, but terminating in a sharp angle, similar to a Gothic arch.[78] Near to these are observed others constructed

[77] POLIER, *Mythologie des Indous*, vol. i. p. 122, 338.

[78] CHAMBERS, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 151. See the drawing in LANGLÈS, plate xxiii. GOLDINGHAM, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 74, quotes a

merely with blocks of stone laid across one another in a pyramidal form, like the oldest specimens of architecture above ground. Does not this variety of structure, which a more intimate acquaintance with these ruins, and a greater number of well executed drawings, would doubtless increase, tend to prove that the monuments of Mavalipuram are of very different degrees of antiquity; and likewise that the city itself must have had a duration of several hundred years?

3. The sculptures at Mavalipuram have reference as well to the religious worship of Siva as of Vishnu, principally however to that of Vishnu. On the other hand, as far as our present knowledge extends, we find not the least trace of the service of Buddha. This circumstance, together with the high state of perfection in which the sculptures are finished, must necessarily lead us to infer that these monuments, though of great antiquity, are yet however by no means the oldest in India.

4. But they are also very remarkable for the close relation in which they stand to the great epic poem of the Mahabharat. The sculptured representations on the walls, are for the most part borrowed from the fabulous legends therein recounted; and, according to the testimony of the Brahmans, the very name of the place is mentioned in that poem, under its Sanscrit appellation of Mahabalipura, "The city of the great Bali."[79] This fact, if true, together with that of the inscriptions having become unintelligible, would seem fresh evidence in favour of its high antiquity. We must not, however, confound Mavalipuram with the wonderful city Dwarka,[80] celebrated in the Ramayana, which was situate in the middle of the ocean, not on the coast: and in

traditionary report, according to which it would appear that, about a thousand years since, a certain northern prince wished to execute some splendid work of architecture, but could not agree with the Hindu architects about the price; and that the latter, being in number upwards of five thousand, fled away in consequence, and in the short space of five or six years completed these superb monuments, after which the above-mentioned prince recalled them. BARON DALBERG, in the *Allgem. Geograph. Ephemerid.* vol. xxxii. p. 7, has repeated this tradition, but, through inadvertence no doubt, has omitted the word Hindu. I remark this expressly, lest it should be inferred, in consequence of the omission, that a certain kind of architecture had been introduced into India from the north.

[79] CHAMBERS, in *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 146, 155.

[80] The conjecture of BARON DALBERG, *Ephem. Geogr.* vol. xxxii. p. 12.

the Hindu legend, Vishnu is represented as marching from Dwarka to Mavalipuram.[81]

5. In the same country where we now discover the ruins of Mavalipuram, Ptolemy places the situation of a town called Maliarpha.[82] He mentions it as a commercial resort, (emporium,) and according to his account there were several others on the same coast of India. The situation and resemblance of name concur in making it very probable that this town can be no other than Mavalipuram; admitting which to be correct, we have consequently an historical proof that it existed in the time of Ptolemy, and was also a place of considerable commercial importance. This, however, is no sort of argument against the supposition that these monuments are of much higher antiquity, especially if we consider Ptolemy to have derived his information from sources long anterior to the times in which he wrote.

Such are the most considerable of the rock monuments that have hitherto been discovered in India:[83] and from the brief examination we have been able to give them, it must by this time be sufficiently evident, that the natives of that country, surrounded as they are with every natural inducement for the undertaking, have carried the art of constructing and ornamenting excavated grottoes to a much higher degree of perfection than any other people; though it does not at all equally follow that the Hindus were accustomed to employ grottoes and caves in general for the purposes of domestic habitation. The structures we have just been considering are only met with in certain portions of the country, and even then not as the common receptacles of the living or the dead, but solely as places of abode for the divinities and their attendant worshippers. Every thing, therefore, concurs to establish the fact, that an all-powerful

[81] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 156.

[82] PTOLEMY, vii. cap. I.

[83] [See an animated description of the ancient temples and ruins of Barolli, in Rajpootana, in the second volume of COL. TOD'S *Annals of Rajasthan.* The grand temple is dedicated to Siva, and stands in an area of about two hundred and fifty yards square, enclosed by a wall of unshaped stones without cement; and contains unrivalled specimens of sculpture, some parts of which, especially the heads, in the language of an eye-witness, would be no disgrace to Canova himself. The whole is in wonderful preservation, being chiseled out of the close-grained quartz, though some of the figures have suffered from Moslem bigotry. "In short," says Col. Tod, "it would require the labour of several artists for six months to do any thing like justice to the wonders of Barolli." TRANSL.]

priesthood must have formed them, in order to serve as indestructible sanctuaries and central points of religious attraction, and not improbably also with a view of securing political influence. When we consider indeed, as will appear still more evident in the sequel of this inquiry, the very intimate connexion that formerly subsisted in India between religion and politics, what more effectual method, we would ask, could be adopted for working upon the feelings of the multitude through the medium of religion, than by erecting such stupendous fabrics, where the pomp and splendour of art might co-operate with the awful solemnities of religious worship? Dead, as it were, and unmeaning as they must appear when considered abstractedly and by themselves, they receive in the eyes of the historian a kind of reflected animation and significance, when he views them in connexion with the religion and mythology of the people, as preserved to us in their epic poetry: the conviction immediately flashes across his mind, that the one must have given birth to the other; and while he hears the voice of their religion speaking in the language of remote antiquity, he scruples not, therefore, in the absence of all accurate chronological testimony, and as long as no direct proof of their more modern origin has been given, to assign these time-honoured works of art to the same age that produced the former.

After having treated of rock monuments, whether subterraneous or above ground, there still remains a third and most numerous class of buildings to examine, which are altogether the production of human art. These are of different kinds. But as we are engaged only with ancient structures, we shall not stop to inquire into the disputed age of a few mountain fortresses, which are the only other monuments exclusive of the rock temples that prefer any claim to antiquity; we must therefore confine our researches to those temples that have been called by Europeans, Pagodas,[84]

[84] *Vihara* in Sanscrit, LANGLÈS, p. 4. [Vihara properly means a Bauddha or Jaina temple: see Wilson's Dict. *in voc.* The word pagoda is a corruption of *Bhagavati*, "holy house," one of the several names by which Hindu temples are known. Others have derived it from the Persian *Putkedeh*, "House of Idols;" which, as it appears to involve a term of contempt, is not at all probable. They are also called in Sanscrit, *Sabha*, "a house;" *Prasrda*, "palace;" or *Devalayá*, "abode of the gods." See BOHLEN'S *Alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 82. TRANSL.]

an appellation previously unknown even to the Hindus themselves.

Many of these buildings have been copied in the works already so often alluded to. But whoever wishes to regard them as authentic sources of information in the study of India antiquities, will soon find reason to employ great circumspection and cautious mistrust when he would determine their age with even the semblance of probability. The grand desideratum of a perfect historical account of Hindu architecture, becomes immediately evident.[84] And unless he chooses blindly to follow the accounts given by the Brahmans, who perhaps make a merit of deceiving him, he will be obliged to stop short at every question involving the antiquity of any particular edifice. This is a chasm in history which no one can reasonably expect to be filled up by the present investigation. A professed architect alone could possibly supply the deficiency; but even he I am persuaded would derive very little assistance from consulting the copper-plate illustrations we possess; it is only by a personal inspection of the places themselves, and after long and repeated observation in several parts of India, that he would be enabled at last to furnish the required history. And yet, notwithstanding the imperfect state of our knowledge of this subject, I cannot avoid submitting a few remarks to the judgment of my learned readers.

The Architecture of India, as the excavated rock temples sufficiently inform us, was the daughter of Religion; and continued to remain so even in the case of structures raised above ground. This character was completely developed only in pagodas, and other buildings connected with them: not however in private dwellings. What, properly speaking, are the Hindu cities of the present day? What is the Black Town (so called) of Calcutta, Madras, and other places, any more than a collection of huts such as the climate requires, formed of bamboo and similar materials, and surrounding a pagoda? But while their architecture was inseparably connected with religion, the one remained as imperishable as the other. Without doubt certain periods might be named, in which the erection of splendid architec-

[84] See CAPT. M'KENZIE'S remarks on this subject in *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 443.

tural works became more rare and uncommon; as, for instance, during the subjection of India to foreign power; but even then the religious zeal of the Hindus was only repressed, not at all extinguished. Temples have been constructed at all times throughout India, and continue to be so still; we should therefore be cautious in attributing a high antiquity to pagodas in general, though it is very likely that in several instances a particular pagoda may have just claims to that title.

Supposing, then, that we have now satisfactorily proved the existence of a sacred architecture in India from the earliest periods, it still remains for us to ascertain, how far it continued free and independent of external influence; or otherwise, to what extent did its foreign masters succeed in altering its distinctive character? Previous to the Mohammedan invasion, which took place about the commencement of the eleventh century, we have no certain information whether any foreign invaders ever permanently established themselves, and became naturalized in India: though it is probable that a portion of the country might have been occasionally subject to the neighbouring governments of Persia or Arabia. And notwithstanding there is equal probability that distinct Arabian colonies might have been settled at an earlier period on the coasts of the peninsula, yet up to the present time no traces, I believe, of Arabian architecture have been discovered in India, similar to those still found in many parts of Spain. But since the establishment of the Mongols in the country, and the erection of their splendid empire, the study and practice of architecture flourished among them also, and an infinite number of palaces and mausolea, particularly on the banks of the Ganges, still remain as proofs of their ingenuity and taste. The progress of architecture among that people in India, would no doubt furnish subject-matter for a most highly interesting chapter in a general history of this art in the East; but I feel myself incompetent to undertake such a task. In the mean time, though I certainly cannot dispute the reciprocal influence which Hindu and Mongol architecture may have exercised upon each other, yet, nevertheless, to me it appears much more probable that the Mongols borrowed something from the Hindus, than that this latter

people were indebted to the former: and even admitting the willingness of the Hindus to copy foreign models, would their religious principles have allowed them to do so? The Mongols profaned and overthrew their sacred edifices, and is it likely that the Hindus would reconstruct them in the architectural style of their enemies? I am much more inclined to believe, that Indian architecture in all its principal traits has preserved its character pure and uncontaminated by foreign admixture; while at the same time I allow, that in the subordinate details, particularly in the ornamental part of their buildings, the Hindus may very possibly have adopted some hints and improvements from their conquerors. Hence, therefore, arises the very natural question as to wherein consists the peculiar characteristics of Hindu architecture? To this, it is believed, the following remarks will furnish an appropriate solution.

1. The architecture of the Hindus originated with the pyramid, in which form the oldest pagodas are built. This is the principal feature which distinguishes the buildings of India Proper from those of the Ultra-Gangetic continent, and probably also the greatest portion of the rest of Asia; where the architectural character betrays evident marks of having been borrowed from the form of a tent.[85] It is obvious to remark how this difference of origin must have respectively influenced the general character of both architectures, as well as their particular details.

2. The pyramidal form essentially excludes the notion of an arch, and by consequence the employment of vaulted roofs. It is certainly true from the description above given of the temple grottoes, that the Hindu architects were no strangers to the idea of vaulted roofs; but, as we have before remarked, it does not at all follow therefore, that they either did in fact, or even knew how to apply this principle in the construction of buildings properly so called. Some modern writers indeed directly question their ability to form an arch;[86] whereas in the drawings we have of their oldest specimens of architecture, a considerable number are ob-

[85] Let the reader compare, especially for the opposite continent, Ava, Pegu, etc., the drawings of Birmese temples and monasteries, represented in SYMES's *Travels*.

[86] See particularly LANGLÈS, p. 54.

served to terminate in a cupola;[87] does not this circumstance therefore imply their being able to construct a vaulted roof; or are these cupolas only modern additions to the original fabric? The designs given us of these buildings, however, as we shall soon have occasion to remark, do not even agree among themselves; we must consequently leave this question for architects, and persons supplied with more accurate sources of information than ourselves, to discuss.

3. This pyramidal architecture, moreover, renders the employment of columns and pilasters altogether unnecessary; and yet, nevertheless, they were already well known from their use in subterranean structures; and as they could not be applied to buildings constructed on the principle of a pyramid, they consequently found a suitable place in those of another description; and even in the latter case they evidently appear to be copied from the models already furnished by the grottoes themselves. In the proportions and ornaments of their pillars, the Hindus remained very far behind the Egyptians and the Greeks, but in the richness of decoration bestowed on their pilasters, and, among other things, in their execution of statues resembling caryatides, but not used for support, they far surpass both those nations.[88]

4. As the pagodas were the resort of many thousand pilgrims, the necessity became obvious of constructing edifices of another class in the neighbourhood, in the number of which, the choultries, or houses of accommodation, ought first to be reckoned. These might be termed caravanserais, were no false idea of a similar destination likely to arise from the similarity of name. The Hindus regard the erection of such buildings in the light of a religious duty, or at least place it in the number of good works; we shall therefore be less surprised at meeting with such a vast quantity of them, or at their being usually most numerous in the vicinity of a celebrated pagoda. It is in the construction and ornament of these choultries, where religion has prescribed no definite plan to be followed, that Hindu architecture seems to have exercised itself in all its perfec-

[87] As, for instance, in the pagoda of Tanjore.

[88] Compare the specimen of a richly ornamented pilaster given in LANGLÈS, plate vii.

tion and freedom of restraint.[89] It is here also that pillars and pilasters find their most appropriate situation: as to vaulted choultries, I have not been able to meet with any such specimens in the drawings of Hindu monuments at present known: whether this fact entitles us to infer that the art of vaulting, without being altogether unknown to the Hindus, was yet employed but in a few instances, and probably in forming cupolas only, I shall leave to professional judges to determine. A tank or reservoir of masonry, filled with water, is always in the neighbourhood of a choultry.

5. In the construction of pyramidal pagodas, we may, I think, easily remark the various degrees of progressive improvement made in the art. The most ancient specimens appear to be those which are built after the manner of structures called Cyclopean, with naked blocks of hewn stone piled one over the other in the form of a pyramid, and destitute of all ornament. The next step taken, appears to have been exterior embellishment, and the introduction of various kinds of architectural decoration. The art subsequently proceeded to represent the figures of gods and animals in sculptured relief on the outer walls, and soon after, whole scenes from the great epic poems were added. The interior of these pyramidal temples is usually awful and gloomy; the light of day is excluded, and only a single lamp serves to make the darkness visible, and show the several objects under a doubtful light. In progress of time the architecture appears to have successively laid aside its massive and unwieldy form; the pagodas assumed a lighter aspect, and concluded their improvements with the addition of grand entrances or portals in the interior of the sanctuary. The whole extent of this portion of the pagoda was furnished with one, two, or even more enclosures; within which other buildings and necessary works were erected, such as large halls with a flat roof, supported in the Egyptian manner by several rows of pillars; edifices appropriated to the reception of colossal images of holy animals, and other apartments containing the necessary furniture for processions with the statues of the gods from one sanctuary to an-

[89] See the magnificent choultry of Madura represented in LANGLÈS, plate vi.

other, together with tanks of holy water for the purposes of ablution, etc. If we possessed an authentic history of these pagodas, we should probably find that in the first instance the sanctuary was isolated and stood by itself, as is proved beyond a doubt in those of Egypt, until devout individuals erected the adjacent buildings, which in point of splendour and decoration frequently eclipse the pagoda itself.

Before I proceed to mention the particular pagodas which are distinguished for their antiquity, I ought to premise an observation of no gratifying import to the historian of Hindu architecture. In that portion of the country, which must ever be considered as the cradle of Indian religion and civilization, the ancient monuments have for the most part been destroyed by the fanatical bigotry of the Mohammedans. Bengal Proper contains the fewest remains of antiquity of any; more are discoverable in Behar, and especially in the holy city of Benares. On the other hand, Coromandel, being much less exposed to similar devastation, presents us with the greatest number of celebrated religious structures, both on the coast and in the interior of the peninsula. "Here," says Lord Valentia,[90] "almost every village has its respective pagoda, adorned with a lofty portal of stone, and by no means contemptible in point of architectural merit, where the Brahmans reside either at their own private expense or supported by the liberality of government. The high roads leading to these holy places are thickly studded with choultries for the reception of crowds of pilgrims; and which are also taken care of by the Brahmans." Thus in India we meet with the direct reverse of what has happened in Egypt; whereas in the latter country that portion of it which had been the cradle of its greatness, I mean the upper part, still presents the most considerable remains of architectural skill, while lower Egypt is proportionably deficient: on the contrary, in upper India, where it is probable they were first erected, these monuments have mostly disappeared; and whatever may be the age of particular structures which the peninsula still preserves to us, we may rightly conjecture they are not the oldest India has ever possessed.

[90] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 355.

In the number of those pagodas, which, according to their style of architecture and the testimony of the natives themselves, appear to be the most ancient, we must first reckon Deogur or Dowlatabad, in the vicinity of Ellora. This is formed, similar to those at Mavalipuram, of a group of three pagodas, and is built in a pyramidal form of blocks of hewn stone laid one over another, without any sculptures.[91] On the summit of each of them is raised the trident of Mahadeva, a certain proof that they were dedicated to that god. The Hindus themselves are unable to determine their age any further than they reckon them among the most ancient, an opinion which appears to be confirmed by their position and style of building. Is there not indeed the highest probability that they must have had some connexion with the neighbouring rock excavations already described, and that they may belong to the period, when, as we have before observed, Ellora was most likely the central point of Hindu religion and civilization? We shall have another occasion of reverting to this subject hereafter.

The celebrated pagoda of Tanjore presents a perfectly similar specimen of architecture: it is also constructed of hewn stone piled in large blocks one above another, without any exterior decoration, and without a cupola.[92] The pyramid is two hundred feet high, and according to the opinion of Lord Valentia, is the most beautiful work of this kind in India. The interior contains a hall only lighted with lamps, and which is a place of assembly for the Brahmans. All determinate accounts of the time of its construction are wanting, and this circumstance, coupled with the peculiar style of architecture, warrant us in referring it to a period of high antiquity. The presence of the Lingam denotes its consecration to Siva, and this is confirmed by a colossal statue of his bull, *Nundi*, which appears in an adjacent

[91] They are represented in HODGES, plate xxiii.; and in MAURICE'S *History of Hindostan*, vol. vi.

[92] The engraving of this pagoda, given in MAURICE'S *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. plate iii., after a drawing by Hodges, essentially differs from that given by LANGLÈS, plates ix. x., after the Daniells. In the latter, the pyramid is adorned on the outside with false windows, almost like the obelisk at Axum, (VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. iii. plate vii.,) and terminates in a small cupola. But Valentia himself confesses (vol. i. p. 305) that the Daniells have embellished too much. I therefore follow the engravings given by Maurice.

building supported by pillars in the true Indian style.[93] The statue is formed of an entire block of brown porphyry, sixteen feet in length, by twelve feet high; and although much inferior in size to the colossal statues of Egypt, is nevertheless a proof that the Hindus were acquainted with the method of transporting unwieldy masses. This bull is, no less than the god himself, an object of religious veneration; and it was amid the din of cymbals and flutes in the vicinity of his apartment, as well as the pagoda, that those solemnities were observed which involuntarily recall to our minds the Bacchanalian orgies of the ancients.

The pagodas of Ramiseram are remarkable for their situation on an island between the continent and Ceylon, from whence Rama made his celebrated expedition against Ravana, which forms the subject of the Ramayana. They consist of a group of pagodas, of which Lord Valentia has given a description but no drawings.[94] The largest is dedicated to Rama, the second to his consort Sita, and a third, which is the smallest, to Mahadeva. They are still regarded as the most ancient sanctuaries of the nation, and no foreigner is allowed to enter their precincts. The statues of the gods must be washed only with water from the Ganges, which is brought for that purpose by pilgrims and fakirs. The whole is surrounded with an enclosure, the principal gate of which is forty feet high; a grand entrance, constructed in the form of a truncated pyramid, leads to the principal pagoda, and reminded Lord Valentia of the ancient monuments of Egypt. It is here that we recognise all the characters of primitive architecture, which consists in piling up rough hewn blocks of stone one above another, first perpendicularly and then in a horizontal direction. The exterior of the pagoda is painted red, and adorned with a surprising number of sculptures. The interior is here also lighted with lamps, "but the whole building," says the same noble traveller, "presents a magnificent appearance, which we might in vain seek adequate language to describe."

Among the number of those pagodas which are remark-

[93] In LANGLÈS, plate x. But here also, according to Lord Valentia, the drawing made by the Daniells is incorrect.

[94] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 340.

able for their antiquity, that of Madura, under all circumstances, appears to deserve mention. It is like the others, of a pyramidal form,[95] and the exterior is adorned with architectural embellishments, such as pillars and false windows. But at the same time it may serve to show how cautious we should be in pronouncing upon the antiquity of these structures; the buildings which surround the pagoda, especially the choultry, are altogether of modern origin; the latter, for instance, was constructed in the year 1623. It is nevertheless highly remarkable as furnishing a specimen of Hindu architecture at that period, and as a proof that, although probably in the subordinate details somewhat may have been borrowed from the Mohammedans, yet the general character of the whole, as well as the ornaments, appear to be truly Indian.[96]

One of the oldest, and at the same time most holy pagodas of India, is that of Jaganatha, or as it is more commonly pronounced, Juggernaut, a surname of Krishna, to whom it is dedicated. It is situate almost at the northern extremity of the Coromandel coast, and is known to Europeans by the name of the "Black Pagoda," because its dark colour being relieved by the sandy shore makes it a conspicuous object to mariners a great distance off.[97] This structure is also of a pyramidal form, and a number of smaller pagodas are found in its vicinity, the largest of which is one hundred and twenty feet high;[98] with respect to its age, opinions are very much divided. The Brahmans reckon it among the most ancient of their holy places;[99] on the contrary, Langlès will have its antiquity extend no further back than from seven hundred to eight hundred years.[100] It is, however, highly remarkable as it concerns the religious history of the Hindus, if the assertion be correct, that at the epoch

[95] See LANGLÈS, plate v. p. 3, copied from the Daniells.

[96] See a drawing of this magnificent choultry in LANGLÈS, plate vi.

[97] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 55.

[98] LANGLÈS, plates i. xxv. xxvii., gives the best illustration of this pagoda that I know of, together with a ground-plan, after a design which had been communicated to him.

[99] POLIER, vol. ii. p. 162, reports the legendary account of its foundation by Rajah Ainderdon, in the time of Krishna's sojourn upon earth.

[100] LANGLÈS, *Notice Geographique*, vol. i. p. 120, etc. His reasons for this opinion appear to be very weak, as is almost always the case when he chooses to support mere conjecture.

of its foundation the distinctions of caste were abolished, and superiors might eat in company with their inferiors without incurring pollution.[1]

We have already remarked above, that although Indian architecture remained constant to its primitive forms in the construction of temples, yet, nevertheless, its progressive improvement in the sculptures with which they were adorned, as well as in the style of the adjacent buildings, and particularly the enclosures surrounding the consecrated precincts, was very conspicuously developed. In the first instance, for example, an additional number of pagodas were built in the immediate vicinity of each other; a practice which evidently had its rise (as in the case of the temple grottoes) in the wish to provide, near the habitation of the god, a similar place of abode for his wife or his companions: subsequently other buildings were erected, and in particular those flat-roofed halls, formed like the Egyptian specimens of blocks of hewn stone, and supported by several rows of pillars. The next step made was to surround the whole sacred enclosure with a wall of hewn stone, which frequently comprehended a space of very considerable extent, and for this reason again required entrance gateways on a large and magnificent scale. As it is obviously inconsistent with my present purpose to give a detailed account of every one of these pagodas, I shall therefore confine myself in this place to a description merely of those of Siringam with its sevenfold enclosure;[2] of Kanjeveram,[3] dedicated to Siva and his consort Parvati; and above all, to that of Chalambron,[4] in the district of Tanjore, which may with great propriety be considered the model of all the others. A twofold enclosure surrounds the sanctuary of this pagoda,[5] the outer one

[1] According to POLIER, vol. ii. p. 167, this custom subsists even at the present day.

[2] LANGLÈS, p. 25. The outermost enclosure comprehends the space of a square league. The four sides exactly correspond with the cardinal points, and each of the four grand entrances is surmounted with a pyramid richly adorned with sculpture.

[3] See a drawing of this pagoda in LORD VALENTIA'S *Travels*, plate xii.; and in LANGLÈS, plate xxviii.: it is particularly remarkable for presenting a row of statues of animals, which seem, as it were, to officiate as guards of the temple.

[4] This pagoda is situate two leagues from the coast, and nine in a southern direction from Pondichery.

[5] See a detailed description given in LANGLÈS, p. 26, sq., together with a ground-plan in plate xv.

forms a complete rectangle, two hundred and twenty fathoms in length, by one hundred and sixty broad, is exactly opposite to the four cardinal points, and is composed of bricks, faced however with stone; the second enclosure is built wholly of the latter material. Each side is furnished with a magnificent gateway, formed of large blocks of stone, and decorated with pilasters thirty-two feet high, surmounted moreover with a pyramid of one hundred and fifty feet in height, the architecture of which evidently resembles that of the pagodas, though it is of a lighter character, and is ornamented from top to bottom with sculptures representing gods and animals.[6] Within this second enclosure, are the holy buildings and offices, and a portion of the area is occupied by a third enclosure, round the interior of which runs a colonnade; this contains three chapels, one consecrated to the Lingam, another to Vishnu, the third is without any religious symbol. A large tank, appropriated to the purposes of ablution, occupies the centre of the area; this is also adorned with a colonnade and steps of stone, by which the pilgrims descend into the holy water, there to employ themselves in religious contemplation. On the right side is the principal temple, dedicated to Parvati, whose statue stands immediately facing the entrance: this building also has its separate enclosure, which is surrounded with an interior colonnade; and a peristyle, supported on six rows of columns, leads to the temple, the sanctuary of which is lighted by numerous lamps, and before the entrance is seen a statue of the bull *Nundi*. The pilasters which form this entrance are bound together at the top by a chain of stone, the links of which are very ingeniously formed of a single piece. Both colonnades and pillars are decorated from top to bottom with sculpture. Adjoining the temple towards the south, is a large hall with a flat roof, supported by one hundred columns; and on the north is a perfectly similar building, only of smaller dimensions. But the most wonderful structure of all is on the other side of the large tank; this is a sanctuary or chapel in the middle of an enormous hall, three hundred and sixty feet long, by two hundred and sixty in breadth, and supported by upwards of one thousand

[6] See the drawing in LANGLÈS, plate xvi.

pillars,[7] each thirty feet high, and disposed in regular order; the roof is flat, and like the Egyptian temples is formed of immense blocks of stone laid horizontally. Every part of it is ornamented with sculpture representing scenes taken from the Mahabharata, and other general subjects of Hindu theogony. These different halls, together with their chapels, were destined to receive the statues of the gods, when conveyed to them on huge cars at the celebration of the annual festivals. Not less than three thousand Brahmans were employed in the religious services of this sanctuary; and how prodigious therefore must have been the influx of pilgrims, whose pious liberality was sufficient to maintain such a number of priests, as the temple possesses no landed property itself!

I have considered it necessary to give a somewhat more particular account of this temple, in order that the reader might be furnished with a kind of scale, by which he might judge of other similar specimens of Hindu architecture; and at the same time, with a view of confirming the remark previously made, as to the different periods of time in which the large Indian monuments were erected, and the degree of caution which is necessary in determining their respective ages. With regard to the origin of the sanctuary above described, the Brahmans adduce positive testimony from Sidambara Purana,[8] (or history of this temple,) according to which it was built by the three monarchs, Durjohn, Choren, and Pandu; and finished about the year 400 of the Cali Yug, or 617 before the Christian era.[9] The names of these rajahs belong to the mythological period celebrated in the Mahabharata,[10] and therefore we should receive with mistrust any chronological testimony which places them within the sphere of historical record; to say nothing of the very great uncertainty we are in respecting the genuineness and even the contents of the Sidambara Purana itself. There

[7] Although the number of these pillars may not, perhaps, amount exactly to one thousand, yet it cannot be far short of that sum, as is probable from comparing the hall with one hundred, which latter number has been actually ascertained. Before the entrance are erected lofty standards with colours flying.

[8] Sidambara is a name of Parvati, to whom the pagoda is dedicated.

[9] According to the usual calculation. See LANGLÈS, pp. 36, 37.

[10] For an account of Durjohn [Duryodhana], who lived in the time of the war between the Pandus and Corus, see POLIER, vol. ii. p. 140, sq.

is sufficient evidence, however, that the Hindus themselves regard this pagoda as one of the most ancient. It would indeed be difficult to find another where the gradual rise and progressive increase of the adjacent buildings is more strikingly exhibited, according to the remark of an eye-witness;[11] and it is very probable that this pagoda, together with its appendages, would alone be sufficient to give a sketch, as it were, of Hindu architecture throughout the most distant periods of time. One of the large entrance gateways, according to the report of Lord Valentia, was not many years ago rebuilt by a pious widow, at an expense of not less than 40,000 pagodas; (almost equal to £16,000;) and even at the time of his visit to the place they were still employed on one of the colonnades, which was not yet roofed in.[12] On the other hand, the principal pagoda, according to the same traveller, bears such evident marks of the oldest style of architecture, that he scruples not to place it even anterior to those of Tanjore and Ramiseram. It is, however, scarcely possible that the rich sculpture of the colonnades, representing for the most part subjects taken from the Mahabharata, could be the production of an infant state of the art; and whoever attentively examines the drawings made of those elegant and profusely decorated pyramids over the principal entrance, together with the rich pilasters, and the ornamental chains of stone that so tastefully connect them, will hardly be able to persuade himself that the art could have commenced with such works as these.

It would be unnecessary to enter into further detail here respecting the other pagodas,[13] as the object I proposed has been sufficiently answered already; which was to show, by a comparison of the accounts that we possess of these monuments, incomplete as they are, the evident marks of progressive improvement which Hindu architecture presents to our view. Let us expect that some artist and critic (for a

[11] VALENTIA, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 370: according to whom, the principal temple appears to be the most ancient: an opinion which the inscriptions there found, in an unknown character, would seem to confirm.

[12] VALENTIA, *Travels*, see above, l. c.

[13] I ought, however, to mention the pagoda of Trichinopoly, which, deviating from the pyramidal form, is reported to be of square construction, and to contain traces of the worship of Buddha; LANGLÈS, p. 22, plates xii. xiii. But the accounts, as well as the drawings of this temple, are too unsatisfactory for enabling us to deduce any further conclusions from them.

union of these two qualities is indispensable) will ere long complete these researches in the country itself, and fill up the deficiencies while he rectifies the mistakes of this brief and imperfect outline. We can then only hope to arrive at more accurate conclusions respecting the comparative age of the monuments themselves.

But our knowledge of Indian antiquities and architecture has been greatly enriched since the last edition of this work, by the discoveries made in Java, by the late Sir Stamford Raffles, who distinguished himself no less as a zealous antiquary than as the governor of that island. His administration, which lasted only five years, has served to make us more intimately acquainted with Java than even the two hundred years' possession of it by the Dutch. In the course of his travels he penetrated into the interior of the island, and discovered the greatest portion of those remains of antiquity, which he has devoted a separate chapter of his valuable work to describe.[14] The interior of Java, especially the south-east part, abounds in monuments of Indian architecture and sculpture; which not only prove these arts to have once flourished here, but also in as high a degree of perfection almost as on the continent itself. All these monuments, however, belong to the class of buildings properly so called; for, to the best of our present knowledge, no such structures as grotto temples have yet been discovered in Java. The largest edifices are those in the neighbourhood of Branbanan, almost in the centre of the island; these consist of five parallelograms contained one within the other, and comprising a number of no less than two hundred and ninety-six small temples or chapels; the principal one is in the form of a pyramid, and before the entrance stand several human figures of colossal size, appearing to act as guardians of the temple. The whole is without doubt consecrated to the purposes of Brahmanical worship, and from its interior arrangements reminds us of the above-mentioned pagoda of Siringam, with its seven-fold enclosure.[15] Whether indeed any certain proofs of the worship of Buddha are to be found in the island, particularly at Boro-Bodo, is still a matter of doubt.[16] The buildings are partly constructed of hewn

[14] RAFFLES's *History of Java*, vol. ii. pp. 1—65. [15] See above, p. 94.
[16] RAFFLES, vol. ii. pp. 10, 29. The Brahman who accompanied Sir Stamford, maintained the negative side of the question, alleging that the artificial head-dress of woolly hair, which in other cases is one of the insignia peculiar to Buddha, is also common to devotees on certain expiatory occasions. However this may be, the whole plan of construction, and the sculptured representations at Boro-Bodo, so nearly resemble those in Ceylon, that, under all the circumstances, I cannot help considering the former to be a Buddhist temple.

stone, and partly of brick; the latter kind are of course less ancient than the former; though the age of none of them extends so far back as those found on the main land. According to Sir Stamford none of them are anterior to our era, while for the most part the largest of them appear to have been erected between the sixth and ninth centuries. They consequently belong to the middle ages, and are not indeed for that reason less worthy the attention of the inquirer, as tending in all probability to throw some light on a period of Indian history hitherto so perfectly obscure and unintelligible. In other respects Java is the only one of the great Indian islands where, to the best of our present knowledge, any monuments are discovered which exhibit traces of the formerly prevailing Brahmanical worship; nothing of this sort has yet been found either in Sumatra or Celebes.[17] We must, however, be cautious in pronouncing decisively on the subject, as these islands are by no means sufficiently explored, and there may possibly exist monuments in the heart of impenetrable forests, which the rank and luxuriant vegetation of those climes would often conceal from the eye of a traveller, though almost in their immediate vicinity: who, indeed, would venture to determine what may be contained in the interior of Borneo, the largest island on the globe, and which is altogether unexplored? Might we not expect the most important results, were that spirit of discovery so peculiar to our times, and which undauntedly explores barren and desolate wastes, to direct its attention with the same activity and zeal to this most mysterious, and probably the richest of all nature's domains.[18]

Although, however, up to the present day, we are often

[17] RAFFLES's account of Celebes, vol. ii. in the Appendix, p. 281.
[18] [A late traveller in this island observes, that "in the very inmost recesses of the mountains, as well as over the face of the country, the remains of temples and pagodas are to be seen similar to those found on the continent of India, bearing all the traits of Hindu mythology; and that in the country of Waahoo, at least four hundred miles from the coast, there are several of very superior workmanship, with all the emblematical figures so common in Hindu places of worship." See DALTON's account of the Diaks of Borneo, *Asiatic Journal*, N. S. vol. vii. p. 153. TRANSL.]

left in uncertainty respecting the age of Hindu temples, yet there are other monuments which speak with more clearness and precision on this point, and which therefore cannot be passed over in silence. These are the inscribed pillars, or tablets, for an interpretation of which we are indebted to British sagacity and skill. It was the ancient custom in India to transmit the memory of any important event to posterity by means of inscriptions written on pillars,[19] as well as to engrave on metal or stone tablets, royal grants of land, by way of title deed, and as a security to the possessor. Of those which have been hitherto deciphered, and containing also chronological dates, the most ancient is a conveyance of land, engraved on a plate of copper, found at Monghir in Bengal, and according to Wilkins, bearing date the twenty-third year before the birth of Christ.[20] It only mentions indeed the thirty-third *samvat* or year; we must therefore infer that the calculation here used is to be understood of the era of Vicramaditya, which commenced with the death of that prince, fifty-six years before Christ.[21] The particular object of this inscription is to record the liberality of a certain renowned conqueror named Deb Pal Deb, who overran all India, from the sources of the Ganges to Rama's bridge at Ceylon, which is celebrated in the Ramayana.

Of the same age, probably, is another inscription, found on a pillar at Buddal in Bengal, and also deciphered by Wilkins;[22] which is destined to convey to posterity the names of Gurava Misra, who erected it, and those of his ancestors. It however contains no date, but the characters strikingly resemble those of the preceding inscription;[23] it also makes mention of a king Pal Deb, probably the same person as already mentioned, and is like the other in Sanscrit, and not only mentions several mythological heroes of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, but also the name of the poet Valmiki, who composed the latter.

Of not much later date, I imagine, than the 67th year of the Christian era, is a third inscription, found on an obelisk[24]

[19] *Asiatic Res.* vol. iii. pp. 46, 47. [20] Ibid. vol. i. p. 123.
[21] Ibid. vol. i. p. 142: see the note of Sir W. Jones. [22] Ibid. vol. i. p. 131.
[23] Compare the specimens of character used in both inscriptions, given in the *Asiatic Researches.*
[24] According to Col. Polier, *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 379, this obelisk contains five inscriptions in Sanscrit; the first in honour of Visala Deva, bears

erected over a monument commonly attributed to Firoz-shah, who reigned at Delhi between the years 1351 and 1388; although another, which professes to be a more correct copy of the inscription, maintains the date to have been mistaken in the first instance, and that instead of the above-mentioned year, A. D. 67, we must read A. D. 1164, which makes it comparatively modern. The inscription itself is in honour of the rajah Visala, or Vigraha Deva, whose victorious arms were extended as far as the snowy mountains in the north *(Himadri)*.

The most ancient inscription of any that he had yet examined, Wilkins considered to be one found in an artificial grotto, with a vaulted roof, at Gya (the modern Nagarjeni) in Behar;[25] it is without any date, and written in a character essentially different from the preceding ones, but which Wilkins conceived to be the oldest of all that he had seen: the language, however, is pure Sanscrit, and purports to be an invocation addressed to the goddess Durga, or Parvati, the wife of Siva, to whose temple a devout prince named Ananta Varma had made a grant of land.

Of a fifth inscription, remarkable for its date and contents, Wilkins has furnished a translation, without however subjoining any specimen of the character, or any observations of his own:[26] it was found engraven on stone, at a place

date 1230. The second, of which we are now speaking, is dated 123 of the era of Vicramaditya (i. e. 67 after Christ). It is expressly added, (*Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 480,) "The date is here perfectly clear, at least it is clear that only the three figures are written, without even room for a cipher after them." After such positive testimony who could doubt the truth of the fact? and yet in the same work, vol. vii. p. 175 of Colebrooke's essay, we read, "The date instead of being 123 of the era Vicramaditya, or A. D. 67, as appeared from the former copy of Col. Polier, was clearly ascertained from the present, (made by Capt. Hoare,) to be 1220 of the above era, or A. D. 1164." Here, then, we see two authorities directly opposed to each other: Polier, however, had procured not merely a copy, but, to use his own words, (vol. i. p. 379,) "exact impressions," of the inscription: our readers, therefore, must decide which of these two accounts is most worthy of credit. The circumstance of the first inscription being dated 1230 might possibly give rise to some doubt on the matter, as both that and the second are in honour of one and the same prince: but Polier expressly remarks that this date also may be read 123, as the double circle, which stands for the cipher 0, may be nothing more than an ornamental flourish or termination; in which case both inscriptions are of the same date, that is, A. D. 67.

[In deciding between Polier and Colebrooke we must recollect that the former was not acquainted with Sanscrit. French Transl.]

[25] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 279.
[26] Ibid. vol. i. p. 284. He does not mention the author of the inscription. For the two following, see vol. i. p. 357; vol. iii. p. 39.

called Buddha Gaya, in a wild and solitary part of Behar; where once upon a time Amara Deva, during his twelve years' penance, had a vision of Buddha when he appeared on earth at the commencement of the Cali Yug. This Amara Deva was one of the nine jewels, as they were called, or wise men, who adorned the court of the celebrated king Vicramaditya, whose prime minister he also was. The inscription testifies him to have erected a temple or sanctuary to Buddha, in the year of the era Vicramaditya 1005, that is, A. D. 949.

Another inscription in Sanscrit, and translated by a learned Hindu, contains a grant of land made to certain holy pilgrims by the rajah Arikesari Deva, whose ancestors and their heroic exploits are here celebrated in a poetic strain. It is dated in the year 939 after the death of king Saca, that is, 1018 A. D. The subjoined specimens of the character are very much like that of the first inscription mentioned above, as answering to the date of A. D. 23; several of the letters are exactly similar; the language also is pure Sanscrit.

Another inscription of an age still more modern contains, in like manner, a grant of land made by rajah Krishnaraya, who pretended to be sprung from Buddha, and bears date 1448 of the same era, called *Sacabda*, which answers to 1526 of ours. Two or three others without date we shall pass over in silence.[27] The inscriptions published and explained in the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, are as usual engraved on copper-plates, nine in number; and represent, like the preceding, documentary conveyances of land, or proprietary rights. They are written in Sanscrit with the Devanagari character, and the oldest is of a date corresponding to A. D. 1173. The introductory formula contains a panegyric on the person who makes the grant; and as it sometimes recapitulates his genealogical descent, (as in the case of an inscription without date published in the twelfth volume,) this circumstance might probably throw some light on the succession of the several families who reigned in India during the middle ages.

The inscriptions, therefore, that have been hitherto explained, (supposing this explanation to be correct,) extend

[27] *Asiatic Res.* vol. ii. p. 167; vol. v. p. 132.

but a few years beyond the commencement of our era; while on the other hand they reach down even to the termination of the middle ages. They can consequently furnish no sort of conclusions respecting the earlier Indian antiquities; but, nevertheless, exclusive of information on other separate points of history which are irrelevant to our present purpose, they lead to some important consequences respecting the language, the peculiar characters used in writing it, and the chronological system of the ancient Hindus.

The inscriptions that have been deciphered are all of them composed in Sanscrit, and that generally pure and uncorrupt; whence it follows, that, although the Sanscrit might not have been at that period the vernacular tongue of the whole of India, yet, that in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, especially in Behar, it certainly was the written, and most probably the spoken language of the people. We further learn from these inscriptions, that two kinds of chronological computation were in common use; one reckoned from the death of rajah Vicramaditya, the other from the death of rajah Saca; these modes were, however, in all probability confined to different parts or provinces of India. The commencement of both these eras is sufficiently ascertained, that of Vicramaditya begins fifty-six years before, and that of Saca about seventy-eight years after the birth of Christ: and according to the inscriptions both methods were still in use, the former until the middle of the tenth, and the other as long as the sixteenth century. The objections brought forward by Bentley, in the Asiatic Researches,[28] relative to the age of Vicramaditya, do not so properly concern his era, as the question, whether the above-mentioned nine wise men, or poets, particularly Amara Sinha, Calidas, and Varaha Mihira, flourished at the court of an earlier, or a more modern prince, named Vicramaditya? A subject to which we shall soon have another occasion to refer.

The alphabetical character in which the above inscriptions are written, is either that sacred species known by the name of Devanagari, (writing of the gods,) or one so nearly

[28] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 243.

connected therewith, as to be easily deciphered by an acquaintance with the former. The successful inquiries of learned Englishmen have, therefore, incontrovertibly demonstrated that the use of this character extends even beyond the commencement of our era, and has been perpetuated down to the present day; but we are still as far as ever from possessing a general key to all the Hindu alphabets. The inscriptions discovered in the grottoes and rock excavations at Salsette, Mavalipuram, and other places, are not at all capable of being interpreted by any modes of Hindu writing at present known, whether ancient or modern, not even excepting the Devanagari itself. They, moreover, appear to be very different from each other, which would make it probable that, even in the earliest times, a variety of alphabets were in common use throughout India. But since notwithstanding, as we have previously remarked,[29] a key to the alphabets used in the inscriptions at Ellora has actually been discovered, and they are proved to be written in Sanscrit and not in any unknown language, what should prevent us from indulging the reasonable expectation that the others also are capable of being deciphered with equal success? The task indeed would be comparatively easy, did we but possess an accurate inquiry into the connexions subsisting between the various alphabets of India, considered with reference to their age and probable origin.

There is, perhaps, no country throughout Asia, where the art of writing has been in such general use as in India, as indeed there is none other that possesses such a vast number and variety of alphabets. But on this point the opinions of learned men differ so much, that they are not unfrequently in direct opposition to each other; let any one, for example, compare the assertions of Sir W. Jones with those of Father Paulino: according to the former the Devanagari is the alphabet originally employed to write the several Hindu dialects, and which is still in universal use from the borders of Cashgar to Ceylon, and from the Indus to Ava, and is even the original source from whence the alphabets of Western Asia were derived.[30] On the contrary, says Father Paulino, "whoever made such an assertion could never

[29] See above, p. 77.

[30] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 423.

have seen the other Indian alphabets, or at least, never have compared them attentively with the Devanagari."[31] He then goes on to enumerate four different alphabets in which Sanscrit is commonly written, the Devanagari, used at Patna and in the neighbouring country; a second employed by the Brahmans in their schools at Benares; a third called the Telinga character, common to Orissa and the interior of the peninsula as far as Golconda; and fourthly, the Malabar Sanscrit alphabet, which is exclusively used in that country, as well as on the Coromandel coast, to write Sanscrit. This contradiction, however, is more apparent than real, for Sir W. Jones was so perfectly well acquainted with those different alphabets, that even in his very first essay on the subject, he expressly distinguishes the Devanagari from that used by the Brahmans of Bengal.[32] The Devanagari, (which is by no means confined exclusively to the expression of Sanscrit, but is as common to other languages of India as the use of Roman characters is with regard to those of modern Europe,) is found in the same essay explained in the order of the several letters; and since we have been possessed of the grammars and profound researches of Carey, Wilkins, Bopp, and Frank, an additional and sufficient degree of light has been thrown over the elementary characters of this alphabet. It presents us with sixteen marks to denote vowels, as the long and short are separately distinguished, and thirty-four to represent consonants; although, according to Wilkins, these fifty characters may be reduced to twenty-eight simple articulations, that is to say, five vowels and twenty-three consonants.[33] The Devanagari is, then, the character still most generally adopted for expressing the Sanscrit: and carefully executed copies of the ancient inscriptions have not only proved that it was commonly used in very distant times for the same purpose, but also, that the forms of its letters have subsequently undergone considerable modification and change; by no means, however, such a complete transformation as not to admit of being deciphered by means of study, and a critical acquaintance with the language, together with a comparison of the ancient with the modern Devanagari.

[31] *Gramm. Samscrd.* pp. 6, 7.

[32] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 9.

[33] WILKINS, *Gram.* pp. 2, 3.

Nevertheless, as long as the history and relative connexion of the Hindu alphabets still remain to be further examined and elucidated in the country itself, we must confine ourselves here also to certain general remarks, which a comparison of them appears to suggest.

1. All the inscriptions hitherto discovered in India, even the most ancient, which are not yet deciphered, consist universally of literal characters, without the least appearance of hieroglyphics. Again, the small number of alphabetical signs, which are therefore continually recurring, prove beyond a doubt that the writing in question is not syllabic like that of the Chinese. Moreover, the reading of the Vedas, which is enjoined as the most sacred duty of a Brahman, presupposes the use of literal characters, which in their turn must necessarily be anterior to Hindu civilization itself, as the latter is mainly grounded on the art of writing.

2. The inscriptions hitherto deciphered are read from left to right, which, according to Wilkins, is the general rule for all languages of the Hindu class;[34] they also contain separate marks to represent the vowels as well as the consonants.[35]

3. The alphabets of India which have come to our knowledge, as well as the inscriptions found in excavated temples, could never have been immediately designed, as is the case with the cuneiform letters of Western Asia, for the purposes of engraving on stone, or for inscriptions exclusively. The traces of these letters are generally of a circular character, and are for that reason less convenient to engrave; while the quantity of minute flourishes peculiar to their form, renders that operation still more difficult. We observe, therefore, that although the Hindu monuments are not universally without inscriptions, yet these latter are only seldom used; and when met with, are always very short. The whole character, indeed, of these alphabets, seems rather to imply their being invented, and usually employed, only for the purposes of writing, properly so called. India moreover supplies a vast quantity of suitable materials, such as

[34] WILKINS, *Gram.* p. 2.

[35] SIR W. JONES had before expressly asserted both these facts (*Works*, p. 116). And herein, therefore, the Indian alphabets essentially differ from the Semitic family, while at the same time they coincide with those of a cuneiform character.

the palm leaf for instance, and although we cannot exactly ascertain the period when this came into use, it is, however, perfectly certain that it must have been employed from very remote antiquity.[36] Again, to say nothing of the popular report attributing the Devanagari, as the name itself implies, to the invention of the gods, Hindu religion and civilization are mainly founded on the holy books; the size and contents of which are a sufficient proof that no other than literal characters could have been used in their composition.

The course of our inquiries into the mode of writing peculiar to the ancient Hindus, naturally leads us to an examination of their languages, in so far as they still exist in works of literature, and particularly the Sanscrit.

Supposing, then, that India was originally inhabited by one people speaking one and the same language, yet, nevertheless, when we consider the vast extent and diversified nature of the country, it must inevitably follow, that in course of time this one language would be divided into a great number of dialects; so different probably from each other that only a remote resemblance could be traced. Upon recollecting, however, the many foreign immigrations that have occurred, principally too of conquerors retaining their own native language, we shall find less reason to be astonished at the variety of dialects which prevail in India: at the same time the difference between the original and foreign idioms is so strongly marked, that it is impossible to confound the two; and this diversity of character appears, not only in the case of those dialects which still subsist, but also in those which are no longer spoken.—To the former class belong the Bengali, current in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, the Mahratta, the Telinga, used in the interior of the peninsula, the Tamul spoken on the Malabar, and the Hindustani on the Coromandel coast: to the latter are confined principally the Sanscrit and the Pracrit.[37]

[36] See the inquiries of Father PAULINO on this subject, in his *Samscrdamicæ Linguæ Institutio*, p. 327, sq., where it is also proved that the use of cotton paper in India extends beyond the commencement of our era.

[37] See on this subject especially, Colebrooke's treatise on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages, inserted in the *Asiat. Res.* vol. vii. p. 199. I adopt throughout the orthography of this learned scholar in spelling the word Sanscrit, of which he gives the derivation at page 200. According to him Sanscrit signifies *polished* (language), in contradistinction to Pracrit, which means *vulgar*.

None of the other ancient languages of Asia have in our days attracted such general attention as the Sanscrit; though it is only within the last fifteen years that its study may be said to have taken firm root on the continent. The credit of having given the first impulse, is perhaps justly due to Father Paulino,[38] formerly a missionary in India, however unfavourable in other respects have been the opinions pronounced on his merits.[39] The state of war and continental blockade effectually prevented all access to the Grammars and other works on Sanscrit, published in Bengal and England, in which latter country a professorship had already been founded at Hertford, with the express purpose of teaching the languages of India; nor was it until the re-establishment of peace in Europe, that we at last became acquainted with these and other valuable works on the subject.[40] In the mean time, however, the philological zeal of Germany was excited; and two young scholars, Bopp[41] and Frank,[42] supported by the liberality of the Bavarian government, made a successful voyage to England, with a view of consulting the fountain-head of Sanscrit literature. They were closely followed in these studies by the Schlegels and others; and we can now no longer doubt that the seed thus sown, and already budding forth, will, at no distant period, grow to maturity, and produce an abundant harvest.

The grammatical treatises of the above-mentioned scholars,

[38] Or, as he styles himself, Frater Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo, Carmelita excalceatus Malabariæ Missionarius.

[39] *Grammatica Samscrdamica*, Romæ, 1790. The same writer also noticed the similarity existing between the Sanscrit, Persian, and German languages, in his treatise, De Antiquitate et Affinitate Linguæ Samscrdamicæ, Zendicæ, et Germanicæ, Romæ, 1798. Subsequently appeared his Vyacarana, seu locupletissima Samscrdamicæ Linguæ Institutio, Romæ, 1804, containing a Sanscrit Grammar and Lexicon.

[40] A Grammar of the Sungscrit Language, composed from the works of the most esteemed grammarians, to which are added examples for the use of the student, and complete lists of the Dhatoos or Roots, by William Carey, D. D., teacher of the Sungscrit, Bengalee, and Mahratta languages, in the College of Fort William, (price eight guineas,) 1808. Judging from its high price, this should be a work of considerable extent, though I have not yet seen it. A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language, by Charles Wilkins, L. L. D., London, 1808; the work that I have principally consulted.

[41] Bopp, On the Conjugation-system of the Sanscrit, as compared with the Greek, Persian, Latin, and German, together with Episodes translated from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. See *Annals of Orient. Lit.* P. i. pp. 1—65.

[42] Chrestomathia Sanscrita, quam ex Codd. MSS. adhuc ineditis, Londini exscripsit, et in usum tyronum, versione, expositione, etc., illustratam edidit Othmarus Frank, Monachii, 1820.

in conjunction with the assistance furnished by translations, although still limited and imperfect, are nevertheless sufficient for enabling us to give some general opinion on the subject. And even admitting that the claims of Sanscrit upon our admiration have been sometimes enthusiastically overrated, yet it is hardly possible to avoid considering it as one of the richest, most harmonious, and refined languages in the world. With respect to its character for harmony, the vowels are almost all pure, there being only two diphthongs in the whole alphabet; and the thirty-eight consonants, as well simple as compounded, are for the most part labials and linguals:[43] it would indeed be difficult to instance another language exhibiting so just a proportion between the vowels and the consonants, in which it is not even exceeded by the Spanish; beyond this point we can scarcely speak with confidence, so long as we have no other guide to our judgment than the sound of a dead letter. At the same time we can safely assert it to be one of the richest and most refined of any. Poetry, in all its various forms, whether epic, lyric, or dramatic, appears to have been the peculiar appanage of Sanscrit, as is sufficiently evinced by the many excellent poets of either class, who for so many ages have made it the vehicle of their compositions: it also admits the employment of rhyme, without however being fettered by its restrictions, nor is it unacquainted even with alliteration, while it seems to have appropriated all the most delicate species of metre for which the Indian ear is susceptible.[44] And though perhaps it may not possess the charms of rhetorical composition, (which the temper of Indian governments would not admit,) it is nevertheless abundantly

[43] [This appears to be a misapprehension, as there are but thirty-four consonants at most; and these are distributed into five classes, viz., gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or linguals), dentals, and labials. The diphthongs, properly speaking, are four, *e* and *o*, as well as *ai* and *au*, being usually reckoned among the number; though to be sure the two first differ not in sound from the simple vowels in the words *there* and *stone*; but as the author had previously restricted the vowels to five, viz. *a*, *i*, *u*, *ri*, and *lri*, (see p. 105,) we must necessarily include *e* and *o* under the diphthongs. TRANSL.]

[44] On the metrical art of the Hindus, we now possess the learned Essay of Colebrooke, On Sanscrit and Pracrit Poetry, inserted in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 389, etc., and which is exclusively devoted to this subject. Sanscrit literature contains several copious works on Prosody, as that of Pinjala and others. The most common metre is that of the slokas, or stanzas consisting of four verses of eight syllables each.

recompensed with a poetic prose,[45] which the best writers were perpetually endeavouring to embellish and refine: it has moreover reached a high degree of scientific cultivation, and the richness of its philosophy is no way inferior to its poetic beauties, as it presents us with an abundance of technical terms to express the most abstract ideas. It appears to have received its grammatical structure at a very remote period of antiquity, as the Hindus carry their oldest grammarians far back into the fabulous ages,[46] while at the same time the study of grammar seems to have furnished their learned men with a never-ending source of occupation and amusement. The inflection of nouns in Sanscrit is different, according as the word terminates with a vowel or consonant; the declensions are eight in number, and completely designate each case by a variation of the terminating syllables; among these occurs a triple ablative.[47] The numbers are singular, dual, and plural. The three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, are also distinguished by the termination; but there appears to be no common gender, as in our Occidental languages.[48] The inflection of verbs, also, is accomplished by means of different terminations; they are divided into ten classes or conjugations, and admit in addition to the active, passive, and deponent, an imperative and optative form: the tenses also are variously modified by the employment of three preterites, and two futures, together with several participles, and like the nouns they admit the distinction of singular, dual, and plural num-

[45] [See Colebrooke's Essay on this subject, p. 449. In this kind of prose compound words are principally used, which are considered a great beauty. Mr. Colebrooke mentions four kinds of prose; viz. 1. Simple prose, admitting no compound terms. 2. Prose in which compound terms are sparingly admitted. 3. Prose abounding in compound words, some of the inordinate length of one hundred syllables; and, 4. Modulated prose, frequently exhibiting portions of verse. TRANSL.]

[46] For instance, Panini, whose Grammar serves as the text, on which later grammarians have commented. An excellent review of the History of Hindu writers on Grammar, is inserted in the seventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 202, etc., by Colebrooke.

[47] [This is incorrect; the author seems to have confounded the instrumental and locative cases with the ablative, from which, however, they are perfectly distinct, as well as from each other. TRANSL.]

[48] [In remarking on this passage the French translator observes, "There are actually more nouns of common gender in the Sanscrit than in any other known language;" and indeed, WILKINS, in his *Grammar*, p. 614, sq., gives copious lists of nouns which are of any two genders respectively, and even of all three together. TRANSL.]

bers.[49] In all these points the attentive observer will remark a striking resemblance to the construction of Western languages; while in its extraordinary capabilities of forming compound expressions, the Sanscrit evidently has the advantage; for by the elision of certain letters it can unite a number of words together, almost to an indefinite extent, a licence which, especially in reading the poets, often serves to retard the progress of the learner, but to the experienced eye of a native presents no obstacle whatever.[50]

The Sanscrit, according to the Hindus, is the language of the gods;[51] in it are composed for the most part their religious books, and the writings which form their classic literature; it is not therefore without reason that it has been called a holy tongue. At present it is a dead language, understood only by the pundits, who themselves have been obliged to make it their previous attentive study. This circumstance has induced some writers to question the fact of its ever having been a living or vernacular tongue, and to suppose, on the contrary, that it was a mere invention of the Brahmans, having for its object the interest and preservation of their religion.[52]

This is, however, a gratuitous supposition, which the present state of our acquaintance with the Sanscrit will furnish ample and satisfactory means to contradict; besides, it is not very easy to define what is precisely meant by the expression of inventing a language: and indeed admitting that such an invention were even possible, yet still its further development could only be accomplished through the medium of vernacular speech: for how can we imagine it at all likely that a literature, which is one of the richest both in poetry and prose, should have been formed in an unspoken language, or how could the works contained in it have been, I will not say preserved merely, but even have acquired their high degree of classical reputation through-

[49] All this is borrowed from Wilkins's Grammar, compared with that of Bopp.

[50] These prodigious compounds, some of them extending to one hundred and fifty-two syllables, (see *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 360,) seem rather an artificial embellishment, peculiar to the written style, than to have had any influence on the spoken language. [See also *Asiat. Res.* vol. vii. p. 202; Colebrooke on the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages. TRANSL.]

[51] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 199.

[52] Ibid. p. 201.

out the country? A language which was once spoken is still capable of being preserved in its literature, as is the case with the Latin and the Greek; but this very literature could only have been produced when the respective languages were vernacular.

Asia supplies us with several examples of languages that have been formerly spoken but are now dead, still subsisting in their literary compositions; we need only mention the old Persian dialects, although none of these, in point of richness and extent, deserves even a remote comparison with the literature comprised in the Sanscrit. Where the religious opinions of any people are founded in holy books, the language also in which these are written, however in progress of time it may be corrupted, and even become actually obsolete, will yet never be altogether forgotten; especially when a privileged caste of priests are made the sole depositaries of their contents, together with the particular forms of worship enjoined in them. We ought moreover to recollect, that among the Eastern nations, the connexion between literature and religion is usually very close, in some instances indissoluble; and this is in a high degree the case with the Hindus; consequently when the Sanscrit ceased to be any longer a vernacular language, its literature still found a never-failing support in the religion of the country.

The question whether the Sanscrit was an aboriginal Indian language, has been variously answered. Sir W. Jones is of opinion that the principal Asiatic nations and dialects were derived from Persia; and also that conquerors from the latter country invaded India and brought with them their own language,[53] to which cause he attributes the striking resemblance between the Sanscrit and the Zend, one of the most ancient Persian dialects. Father Paulino, who is so fond of contradicting Jones in every thing else, is on this point, however, unanimous with him.[54] The name of a later antiquary, Dr. Leyden, to whom I shall soon have another occasion to refer, would certainly add much weight to this

[53] *Works*, vol. i. p. 26, etc. And with respect to the Zend especially, pp. 82, 83, in his Discourse on the Persians; "I was not a little surprised," says Sir W., "to find that out of ten words in Du Perron's Zend Dictionary, six or seven were pure Sanscrit."

[54] In his treatise, De Affinitate Linguæ Samscrdamicæ et Persicæ.

opinion, provided we were sure that the extent of his philological acquirements embraced a sufficient knowledge of the Zend also. But so long as all our acquaintance with the Zend is merely derived from one imperfect vocabulary, and beyond which the learning of the above-mentioned orientalists themselves did not extend, we may be allowed to defer pronouncing any opinion on the subject till we are in possession of further information. Whether the Sanscrit was introduced into India by foreign invaders, is a question which we are equally unable to determine upon any certain historical principles, because the date of the supposed occurrence is too far beyond the range of authentic history; neither indeed does its solution appear to be of any great practical importance. Those writers even who assume the fact, must at the same time be obliged to confess that the Sanscrit could only have acquired its exquisite refinement in India itself, and among the people who inhabited it. Now it is unquestionable that the proper country of any language is that where it was cultivated and refined, not the one from whence it was originally brought. So in the case of the German, which modern philologists, with every appearance of probability, have derived from the Persian; yet no one will therefore be disposed to question the fact of the German language having been formed in Germany alone: it is probable, indeed, that the resemblance between the Sanscrit and the Zend, owing to the neighbourhood of Persia, may be much greater than that between the German and the Persian; but still, according to all our notions on the subject, the Sanscrit could only have been perfectly developed and refined in India, just as the German only in Germany; and all the writers and poets who have contributed to the refinement of Sanscrit belong to India, with the same propriety as those of Germany do to the latter country.

Although, however, it is impossible to doubt the fact of the Sanscrit having been formerly a living language, yet it still remains for us to determine whether this was the case all over India, or whether it was only spoken in particular districts, and where? as also, how it came to be the language of literature, and what was the period of its most perfect development? and further, when, and from what causes, did it cease to exist as the medium of vernacular in-

tercourse? These, it is true, are questions to which we can then only expect to furnish a full and satisfactory solution, when we have a critical history of the nation itself; in the absence of which, therefore, we must be obliged to content ourselves with conjectural probabilities, instead of absolute historical facts.

In asserting the Sanscrit to have been once a living language, we are far from concluding, therefore, that it was ever spoken in one single part of India, much less over the whole country, with the same degree of refinement and purity as we now find exhibited in the classical works of Hindu literature: we only maintain the literary Sanscrit to have been formed on the basis of a highly polished and improved colloquial idiom. That in this sense of the word, at least, the Sanscrit was formerly vernacular to a great portion of India, may be inferred with the highest probability from a comparison of the other still existing Indian dialects, and the various degrees of relation in which they stand to the Sanscrit. According to some learned English writers, who were not likely to be mistaken on such a point, there is at present a language spoken in Cashmir so nearly resembling the Sanscrit, that it is impossible to avoid deriving it from that source. Colebrooke affirms that the Bengali contains few words which are not evidently borrowed from the Sanscrit.[55] And, according to the same writer, the present dialect of the Punjab is nothing more than a corruption of the Pracrit; which in its turn is a peculiar dialect of the Sanscrit, and next to that language most successfully cultivated by the poets. Do not all these circumstances, then, unite in authorizing the probable conclusion, that in the northern parts of India, especially on the banks of the Ganges and in Behar, the scene of so many of the oldest Hindu poems, the Sanscrit was at one time the vernacular language of the people? We have, besides, already proved, from an examination of the inscriptions, that it was used in this very country for the purpose of inscribing on public monuments. Mr. Colebrooke further conceives himself to be fully borne out in asserting the Hindustani, which is spoken in certain parts of the interior, to be a veritable de-

[55] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 224.

scendant of the Sanscrit.[56] On the other hand, it appears uncertain whether a similar origin can be justly attributed to the Mahratta, as well as the dialects prevailing on the coast, such as the Telinga, spoken on the banks of the Krishna and Godavery, and the Tamul on the Malabar coast; and, although we are informed that many words in these languages are derived from the Sanscrit,[57] yet this will not prove their whole structure to be so likewise.

But the researches of the learned Dr. Leyden, in whose death the interests of Hindu philology received a severe blow, have satisfactorily proved the Sanscrit to have extended much further, and that it must have been prevalent in the Ultra-Gangetic continent. This country, over which is spread the religion of Buddha, though perhaps considerably modified, is also in possession of a sacred language, called Bali, or Pali, in which the holy books are written. According to the investigations of the above-mentioned scholar, who lived a long time in that part of the world, and to whom we are indebted for the most accurate accounts of the nature, analogy, and derivation of the several dialects prevailing in those countries, there is every reason to believe that the Bali is a legitimate daughter of the Sanscrit, as well in its terms as in its grammatical inflection.[58] Dr. Leyden, indeed, considers it, together with the Zend, as the very oldest offspring of the parent tongue; and asserts it to be the predominant language of religion from Malacca to China. It would therefore follow that the Bali was propagated in these countries at the same time with the worship of Buddha, but whether as an independent language, or merely a corruption of Sanscrit, consequent among nations situate at a distance and using different idioms, cannot certainly be determined.

Admitting, then, the above-mentioned dialects to be really derived from the Sanscrit, and as moreover the oldest works of Hindu literature are composed in that language,

[56] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 221.

[57] Ibid. p. 228.

[58] On the Language and the Literature of the Indu Chinese Nations, by J. LEYDEN, M. D. in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. x. pp. 158—288. In this essay the author enumerates thirteen dialects current in India beyond the Ganges, of which he points out the nature and analogy; and finishes with an account of the Bali, the sacred language of those countries. [Consult also with respect to the Bali the researches of Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen. FRENCH TRANSL.]

it follows, therefore, that in one sense at least its high antiquity has been proved, simply because we know of no other language in India more ancient than the Sanscrit. But it still remains to inquire at what time it received its full and perfect development; and when, and from what causes, did it cease to be a living language? To the first of these questions, the ensuing remarks on Hindu literature in general will furnish an appropriate answer. With respect to the second, we can only adduce conjectures more or less capable of proof.

The inquiries of Sir W. Jones and his literary friends brought them to the conclusion, that the century immediately preceding the commencement of our era must be considered, if not as the earliest, yet at least one of the most brilliant periods of Hindu literature;[59] for it was at this time, according to native tradition, and in the court of the rajah Vicramaditya,[60] (whose era commences with his death, fifty-six years before Christ,) that nine of the most celebrated Hindu poets flourished, particularly Calidasa, who wrote the Sacontala, and Amara Sinha, the author of a dictionary called the Amara Cosha. An English critic, already mentioned, of the name of Bentley, contends against this opinion, and endeavours to prove that Vicramaditya and the nine gems of his court belong to a much later age, that is to say, to the twelfth century of the Christian era; and that he succeeded one rajah Bhojah, who died in the year 1182, after a reign of one hundred years.[61] This chronological statement, however, which assigns such a modern prince of the name of Vicramaditya, at whose court those nine poets are supposed to have flourished, is founded solely and entirely upon the bare assertion of a learned Hindu, which Bentley eagerly took up because it confirmed his doubts respecting the age of the poet Varaha, which he objected upon astronomical grounds to place so early as the reign of an elder Vicramaditya, as is commonly supposed. But this report of a Brahman who produces no authority, and may very possibly have forged it in order to meet Bentley's views,

[59] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 310, 311.

[60] Dow, in his History of Hindostan, and Polier write this name Bickermagit. [The indistinct pronunciation of the vulgar. TRANSL.]

[61] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 243.

is so much the less calculated to bias an unprejudiced reader as it is indirectly refuted by history itself: for the supposed age of the later Vicramaditya is that in which the conqueror Mohammed Ghauri overthrew the dynasty of the Ghaznavide sultans, who reigned in Northern India.[62] Is it at all likely that at such an epoch a number of poets flourished at the court of an Indian prince, and obtained a classical reputation throughout the country, while the very name of this prince is not even mentioned in history? Moreover, the hundred years' reign attributed to his predecessor rajah Bhojah, seems to have originated in a mistake, as it is not the predecessor but the successor of the elder Vicramaditya, called also rajah Bhojah in Indian history, who having come to the throne after the disturbances that ensued upon the death of the latter, is said to have reigned not a hundred, but fifty years;[63] and the coincidence of the two names must appear no less extraordinary and improbable than the pretended long reign.

But, whatever may be the opinions respecting the true age in which these nine poets flourished, it is impossible to regard that alone as the most ancient epoch of classical Sanscrit poetry. The great epic poems had already been composed many years previous, and what we shall soon have occasion to say respecting the influence which these works have exercised upon the civilization of India, will it is hoped be sufficient to prove, that the classical period of Sanscrit literature must be referred to a much higher antiquity than the reign of Vicramaditya. The strongest general evidence in favour of this supposition may be drawn from the advanced state of cultivation exhibited in the language and literature itself, which could only have been produced by the successive labours of many generations; and also from the additional circumstance of the Vedas, which are the indispensable requisite of the Brahman caste, being all composed in Sanscrit, and consequently furnishing a decisive proof that the language must be as old as the establishment of that caste.

But the question is, whether, from being once a living language, the Sanscrit has gradually degenerated in the

[62] In the year 1183, A. D.

[63] Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. pp. 26, 27.

mouth of the people who spoke it, or has its disuse been owing to the same causes which contributed to the decay of the Latin in Europe, and which now only survives in the cognate tongues? These, however, are points of inquiry, which, considering the perfect chasm that appears in Indian history during nearly the whole first ten centuries of our era, it would be impossible to determine satisfactorily. It is indeed probable that a more accurate knowledge of Sanscrit literature in general, may succeed in clearing up some of our difficulties; but till then we must be content with adducing merely a few dates, which at best scarcely serve to throw a partial ray of light amidst the universal darkness in which the subject is involved.

The proper country of the Sanscrit, according to our notion, that is, the northern parts of India, is exactly that portion of the country which has been most exposed to invasion by foreign conquerors, from the time of Alexander down to Nadir Shah. This circumstance would naturally enough, we might suppose, have some influence upon the language; but since no conquerors ever permanently settled themselves in the country, at least before the time of the Mohammedan invasion, this does not appear to have been the case. Unfortunately the Greeks have left us no sort of information respecting the languages of India, either at or subsequent to the time of Alexander; nevertheless the inscriptions we have already examined, sufficiently attest the fact of Sanscrit being throughout that whole interval the exclusively written language of the country. The first accounts we have of the popular dialect of India, date no higher than the commencement of the eleventh century, at which period the Mohammedan invasion took place. At this time, we are informed, the Bhasha, which is nothing more than a colloquial variation of the Sanscrit, was commonly spoken in Bengal.[64] "The term Bhasha," says Colebrooke,[65] "is employed by all the Indian philologists, from Panini downwards, to denote a popular dialect of the Sanscrit, in opposition to the obsolete language of the Vedas; and is further used in common acceptation to designate any modern dialect of India, particularly if it be corrupted from

[64] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 25.

[65] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 225.

the Sanscrit." From this account it would follow that the corruption of the Sanscrit as a popular dialect must be long anterior to the invasion of India by the Mohammedans. But since, however, the oldest Hindu grammarian, Panini, distinguishes the Bhasha or colloquial speech from the written language, does not this lead us to conclude that such distinction must have existed from time immemorial; and further, that we cannot with so much probability regard the colloquial form as a corruption of the written Sanscrit, as that this last is rather a polished and improved variation of the popular language? It is certainly very possible that the colloquial dialect may have been considerably altered since the period of the Mohammedan invasion; but from what we have already observed respecting the modern Bengali, and its striking resemblance to the Sanscrit, it would appear in all probability to be that identical Bhasha reported to have been spoken when the Mohammedans first invaded India, subject only to the natural corruptions introduced by foreigners. As to the rest, Mr. Colebrooke[67] makes a very important observation, which is, the fact that the ancient dialect, Vraja Bhasha, formerly spoken in the country of Mathura, where Krishna made his appearance, is still used in great purity over a considerable portion of the Duab, and on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges; and that the amorous adventures of that god with the Gopis, usually form the subject of the national songs composed in this dialect. Indeed the nearer we approach the north, the more frequent traces do we find of Sanscrit preserved in the common language of the people.

The remarks, hitherto made, will serve in some sort to pave the way to our inquiries into the second grand source of Hindu archæology, viz. the literature of India. Here also we must premise the usual questions, as to the extent of our acquaintance with this subject, our ability to form any decisive opinion, and what general conclusion we may be allowed to draw from a comprehensive survey of the whole.

The expression, however, Hindu literature, appears to be rather vague and indefinite: with us the denomination will chiefly comprise the literary productions written in Sans-

[66] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 231.

crit, considering the high degree of interest which this language has excited in Europe, though it is by no means the only one which the Hindus have cultivated and refined as a written language. The same distinction has been enjoyed by several other dialects, some of them no longer spoken, such as the Pracrit,[67] which may be considered a more soft though less polished variation of the Sanscrit; and even those which still exist are not at all deficient in works of prose, and especially poetry, which are even in some degree considered classical by the nation. But on account of the decided pre-eminence of Sanscrit literature over all the rest, this appellation has been more exclusively applied to the compositions written in that language: it is besides regarded by the Hindus as a holy tongue; their most ancient books on religion, the Vedas, and all that has any reference to the same subject, are uniformly composed in Sanscrit, which is also the language of their oldest and most celebrated epic poems. The reunion of all these qualities, therefore, concurs to direct our attention with more particular respect to that part of Hindu literature which is comprised in the Sanscrit.

The sum of our acquaintance with these productions is no longer confined to a mere knowledge of their titles;[68] but includes also translations, and copious extracts, together with impressions of the original text. From them we learn how rich the Sanscrit is in works of poetry and prose, and yet a more accurate examination of the particular details will but show our knowledge of the whole extent of this literature, notwithstanding our acquisitions, to be still limited and imperfect.

[67] JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 206. The Pracrit, which is little more than the language of the Brahmans, melted down by a delicate articulation to the softness of the Italian.

[68] As far as these are concerned the most important information has been contributed by Messrs. Hamilton and Langlès, in their Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanscrits, de la Bibliothèque Impériale, avec des notices sur la plûpart de ces écrits, etc., à Paris, 1807. This list contains the titles, and partial extracts of one hundred and seventy-eight works in Sanscrit, and fourteen in Bengali. To these we must not omit adding, Catalogus Librorum Sanscritanorum, quos Bibliothecæ Universitatis Havniensis vel dedit vel paravit Nathanael Wallich, M. D. Horti Botanici Calcuttensis præfectus. Scripsit Erasmus Nyerup, Bibliothecarius Universitatis. Hafniæ, 1821. This valuable collection comprises the titles of almost all the Sanscrit works printed in Bengal, accompanied with short though interesting literary remarks by the editor.

The Vedas are reputed to be not only the most ancient composition in Sanscrit, but in the whole circle of Indian literature; and even in a certain sense as the real source from whence the latter was derived. On every occasion they are mentioned as the holy books, which it is the especial duty of a Brahman to study, as the fountains of religion, and in short as the gracious communication of Brahma himself.[69] The first question therefore we have to discuss will be, what is our knowledge of the Vedas, and of their contents?

Europe possesses one copy of the Vedas in the original Sanscrit, which is probably complete, and is preserved in the British Museum.[70] But they have not yet been translated; indeed their vast extent will scarcely perhaps admit of this being ever perfectly done. Some of the hymns have been rendered by Sir W. Jones in English verse,[71] and Bopp has furnished us with translations of several other passages;[72] the former however are not so properly to be called translations, as poetical imitations; we are nevertheless indebted to that learned Orientalist for more exact information in his essay on the literature of the Hindus.[73]

These, however, and some other scattered notices or fragments, alone, would be far from enabling us to pronounce even a general opinion on the subject of the Vedas, had we not also the assistance of Mr. Colebrooke's essay,[74] who was the first that undertook a critical examination of these holy books, and yet nevertheless was obliged to pass over without notice several important sections, owing to the very great difficulty of procuring a complete copy of the Vedas even in India itself.

The collection of sacred writings, which we call the Vedas, though forming one perfect whole, is however divided

[69] See the essay translated from the Sanscrit, On Indian Literature, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 340; with the commentary.

[70] This manuscript, contained in eleven very large volumes, was brought from India and deposited in the Museum by Col. Polier, the same gentleman to whom we are indebted for an account of the Mythology of the Hindus, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. See *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 347.

[71] JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 313, sq.

[72] Subjoined to his Conjugation-system of the Sanscrit.

[73] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 349.

[74] In the *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. pp. 377, 497: On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus. I follow Mr. Colebrooke in writing Vedas, not Vedams, Veds, or Beds, as the word is sometimes spelt.

into four parts, each of which is considered a separate Veda, and is further distinguished by a particular name. These are the Richveda, the Yajurveda, which is again subdivided into the white and black, the Samaveda, and the Atharvaveda.[75] The last is generally regarded by critics as of later origin than the others, but nevertheless, without wishing to maintain the authenticity of the whole, it seems highly probable that a portion at least of the fourth Veda is as ancient as any of the rest.[76] The reason why it has not been so frequently mentioned as the three former, is perhaps owing less to its supposed difference in point of age than to the nature of its contents. The names of the three former Vedas are descriptive of the different nature and destination of the several prayers which they respectively contain, and which are wont to be recited on solemn festal occasions. The term Rich, therefore, denotes their being in verse; Yajus is applied to prose; and Saman to the purposes of chanting. The fourth Veda also contains prayers, but they are not employed in the same festal ceremonies as the others, it is consequently of a distinct character by itself.

Each Veda consists of two parts, viz. prayers (Mantras), and precepts (Brahmanas). The whole collection of hymns, prayers, and invocations, which appertain to a Veda, is termed its Sanhita. All the rest belongs to the Brahmanas, comprising certain precepts which inculcate religious duties, together with maxims explanatory of those precepts, and arguments which relate to theology; the latter are called Upanishads. The above classification, however, of the contents of the Vedas, is not always strictly followed. Some Upanishads are portions of the Brahmanas, properly so called; others are found only in a detached form; and one is a part of a Sanhita itself.[77]

The Vedas, then, consist principally of hymns and prayers; those of the first are chiefly panegyrical, and are comprised in ten thousand verses, or rather stanzas, of various measures; they are put in the mouth of holy men, (Rishis,) who are therein mentioned, along with the divinities, to whom the prayers are addressed. The composers are very frequently Rishis themselves,[78] and count among their number Brahmans, and sometimes even royal personages. The same Veda contains, also, invocations and gratulatory poems in honour of certain princes who had liberally rewarded the authors. The hymns and prayers of the second Veda, written partly in verse and partly in metrical prose, form but a small portion of its contents compared with the first. The hymns refer chiefly to certain sacrifices, during which they were to be recited, especially at the solemn one of a horse: the prayers are to be employed at the inauguration of kings, and are attributed some to Rishis, others to various gods.[79] The hymns and prayers of both this and the preceding Veda are intended for recitation, but only according to certain invariable prescript forms: on the other hand, the hymns of the third Veda, composed altogether in verse, are destined exclusively for chanting. The fourth Veda, in fine, contains upward of seven hundred and sixty hymns and prayers, which are for the most part of an imprecatory character. The divinities, however, to whom they are addressed are by no means those who subsequently make such a brilliant appearance in the Hindu heroic mythology, but consist rather of personified natural objects, such as the firmament, fire, the sun, the moon, water, air, atmosphere, the earth, etc., designated under various appellations.[80] The peculiar sacrifices to be offered them, the incense and holy drink, made of the juice of *Soma* or moonplant,[81] afford abundant matter for the numerous prayers which are to be recited during each ceremony; and of which, according to a singular principle laid down by the Brahmans, it is not at all necessary

[75] In Persian they are called Rig, Yagir, Sam, and Atherbam. See the *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 408. The Ezour Vedam, ou ancien commentaire de Vedam, traduit par un Brame du Sanscritam, published by Voltaire in 1778, and so long considered one of the genuine sources of Hindu wisdom, is nothing more than a modern forgery, as Mr. Ellis has lately proved in his Account of a Discovery of a modern imitation of the Vedas. *Asiatic Res.* vol. xiv. p. 1. The name Ezour is corrupted from Yajus, or Yajur.

[76] COLEBROOKE, l. c. p. 381. It is certainly of very great age, for even the oldest epic poems make mention of four Vedas as already existing.

[77] COLEBROOKE, l. c. pp. 387, 388.

[78] COLEBROOKE, l. c. p. 392. What follows, is borrowed from the same writer.

[79] Several of these prayers are translated in Mr. Colebrooke's three important essays, On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmans especially, inserted in the fifth and seventh volumes of the *Asiatic Researches.*

[80] See particularly COLEBROOKE, *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 398, and compare the specimen of a translation given by Bopp.

[81] Asclepias acida, or Cynanchum viminale.

to comprehend the sense! The only requisite, they say, is to know what holy person is speaking, the divinity whom he addresses, the particular event which is the occasion of the hymn, the syllabic measure or rhythm, and the different modes of recitation, whether word for word, or alternately backwards and forwards, to which latter method some occult virtue is usually attributed.[82]

The second part of each Veda consists of Brahmanas and Upanishads. All those portions which do not belong to the Sanhita, are collectively termed Brahmanas, of which the Upanishads constitute the major part: the latter appellation does not signify mysteries, as it has often been translated, but the knowledge of God, and that indeed in a twofold sense, as describing not only the knowledge itself, but also those writings in which it is explained and taught.[83] The Upanishads are consequently the true foundation of Hindu theology, as they contain special inquiries into the being of God himself, the world, and the nature of the soul, etc. Each Veda, we must allow, contains also Upanishads, but in the first two they form only a small proportion; whereas the Samaveda comprises the most detailed and abstract researches of the above description; and even in the fourth, or Atharvaveda, they occupy more than half of the whole book.[84] These Upanishads are composed in various forms, ordinarily in dialogues between the divinities, Rishis, and the elements, etc.; frequently, however, they assume a didactic character, and as they very often diverge into a precative form, it is evident that we cannot always draw an exact line of distinction between them and the Mantras: some of these pieces have been translated by Sir W. Jones,[85] but it is to Anquetil du Perron, the learned Orientalist, who brought the Zendavesta to Europe, that we are indebted, if not for a complete translation, yet at least for extracts so very considerable as to occupy no less than two quarto volumes of his Upnekhat.[86] With such assistance as this, one might be led to suppose that very little was further wanting to complete our knowledge of Hindu theology. In

[82] COLEBROOKE, l. c. p. 389, 390.
[83] Ibid. l. c. p. 472. [84] Ibid. pp. 461, 471.
[85] JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. Extracts from the Vedas.
[86] *Upnekhat studio* ANQUETIL DU PERRON, Paris, 1801. Upnekhat is the Persian form of the word Upanishad.

the first place, however, this Upnekhat is nothing more than a Persian abridgement, and the translation is made from the latter tongue instead of the original, and how can we guarantee the fidelity of the Persian translator? Besides, had the editor even intended that his book should be completely unserviceable to nine-tenths of his readers, he could scarcely have adopted a more convenient plan for the purpose than the disorderly arrangement he has observed. The Upnekhat contains, it is true, selections from all the four Vedas, but they seem to be made at random, sometimes from one and sometimes from another; by far the greatest part are taken from the fourth: the consequence is, that there can be nothing like a systematic and complete view of the whole. Again, the extracts are rendered into such literal and therefore unintelligible Latin, that he has very frequently been obliged to subjoin in a parenthesis an additional version somewhat more explanatory than the one made word for word. Now let any one conceive the difficulty of wading in this way through a subject which of itself is sufficiently abstract and obscure, and he would not be at all surprised to find that, with the exception of the author and his printer, no person had yet been able to read through the whole of Du Perron's Upnekhat: and supposing any one actually has had the patience to achieve a complete perusal, I would then ask him whether he understood it? For my part, I must confess my own repeated attempts have proved unsuccessful, and I must, therefore, leave to the inquirers into religious history the difficult task of elucidating its obscurities.[87]

These discussions, however, will serve to furnish a general reply to the question, as to the contents of the Vedas? It is indeed no small advantage to know what these books comprise in the whole of their subject, as well as in their constituent parts, (though each of the latter still require a separate and particular examination,) for even our present

[87] [There is a notice of this work in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. i. p. 412. The critic therein does full justice to M. du Perron's knowledge of the Persian, but questions his knowledge of the Sanscrit, or rather, announces his total ignorance of that language. Ritter also remarks that the Upnekhat contains so many mistakes and false interpretations as to be quite useless in a work of investigation. See *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 75. A milder sentence is pronounced by the Count Lanjuinais in the *Mag. Encycl.* tom. iii. TRANSL.]

imperfect acquaintance with these sacred writings is, nevertheless, of itself sufficient for enabling us to draw certain weighty conclusions.

First, then, the Vedas are, for the most part, collections of small detached pieces by different authors, whose names are frequently therein cited, as is the case with the hymns.[88] They cannot, therefore, be all of the same age, and although, for reasons which shall appear in the sequel, we must necessarily refer them to a remote period, yet it must have required a long interval of time to produce and unite them together in one collection as they now appear. And as they consist principally of hymns and prayers, it would seem highly probable, even independent of such being the actual report, that at first they were preserved by means of oral tradition, until the assistance of letters enabled them to be transmitted with greater certainty to future ages.[89]

2. In order to give them their present arrangement and connexion, the Vedas must evidently have required the labours of some compiler who incorporated the detached pieces into one work. And in effect Hindu tradition has assigned the task to Vyasa, whose age goes far back into the fabulous periods. Vyasa, however, is nothing more than a common term applicable to any compiler in general;[90] we are therefore still in the dark. Mr. Colebrooke attributes the surname in question to Dwaipayana, whom he supposes to have compiled the Vedas. But even of this latter personage we know nothing further, and Mr. Colebrooke himself confesses[91] the total absence of any chronological data for ascertaining the exact period when they were either composed or set in order. There is, however, the less reason to be surprised at this uncertainty, the case is the same with the books of Moses and the Zendavesta.

[88] Each Veda, for instance, is furnished with an index of "unquestionable authenticity," which describes the contents of the several pieces, and adds also the names of the composers. *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 392; where Colebrooke mentions the most important. Among the royal authors noticed in this list, we meet with none that are found in that of Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. i. p. 296, sq.

[89] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 378. The Greeks who accompanied Alexander, had already remarked the Indian custom of reciting these hymns; and it was in singing one to the praise of the gods that the Brahman Calanus so readily mounted the funeral pile. Arrian, *Op.* p. 147. Is it possible to doubt the fact of their being taken from the Vedas?

[90] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. pp. 378, 392, 488.

[91] Ibid. p. 489.

They have been preserved to our times, but the true account of their origin is involved in the deepest obscurity.

3. With respect to the age of the Vedas, we are in possession of several weighty reasons for referring it to very remote antiquity. They are without doubt the oldest work composed in Sanscrit; as is sufficiently attested by the obsolete idiom in which they are written, and which interposes such frequent and serious obstacles in the way of translating and explaining them. Another proof is derived from the circumstance that all, even the most ancient Sanscrit writings, allude to the Vedas as already in existence, and cite numerous passages from them almost at every page.[92] What a considerable portion, indeed, of Hindu literature is principally founded upon them, we shall soon have occasion to observe. And lastly, to each Veda is subjoined a treatise explanatory of the regulations of the calendar, which defines the exact time appropriated to certain religious ceremonies. It is adapted to the comparison of solar and lunar time with the vulgar or civil year; and was evidently composed in the infancy of astronomical science.[93]

4. But the strongest proof of the antiquity of the Vedas, in my opinion, is the fact that they exhibit no traces whatever of the present existing sects of Siva and Krishna; which is expressly remarked by Colebrooke.[94] "In no part of the Vedas," says he, "excepting only the latter sections of the Atharvaveda, which must therefore be regarded as spurious, have I been able to discover the slightest vestige of the worship of Rama and Krishma, considered as incarnations of Vishnu." Does not this entitle us to infer that the Vedas must be long anterior to the origin of those sects, which are themselves, however, of remote antiquity, as we have already shown in our examination of the monuments of Hindu architecture. At the same time, moreover, the above

[92] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 482.

[93] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 489. This calendar is termed Jyotish, and the cycle, (Yuga,) therein employed, extends only to five years; the months are all lunar; but in the middle and end of the period, an intercalation is effected by doubling one of them. Colebrooke (p. 493) quotes a passage from the calendar of the second Veda, which contains a determination of the solstitial point at that time, and which coincides with the fourteenth century previous to the commencement of our era. These inquiries, however, more properly belong to the province of astronomy.

[94] Ibid. p. 494.

remark serves to explain the reason why the different sects of India do, nevertheless, regard the Vedas as the authentic source of their respective dogmas; just in the same way as the various denominations of Christian believers do, all of them, severally uphold the authority of Scripture.

5. Admitting, however, the Vedas to be of very great antiquity, is it not probable that during the lapse of ages, and since they were committed to writing, several important changes and interpolations may have crept into the original text? What appears to confirm such a supposition, is the fact that, according to Hindu report, Vyasa had numerous disciples, each of whom again had their own respective scholars, who successively instructed others in their turn; insomuch, that at length the vast number of alterations made in the text, and variations in the manner of reading and reciting it, gave rise to no less than one thousand one hundred different schools of scriptural knowledge.[95]

Now, without estimating such a report at more than its real value, we are fully authorized in suspecting the existence of considerable interpolation; though our conjecture, it is true, can only be ascertained by a comparison of several copies of the Vedas. In the first place, however, these alterations, for the most part, would only concern the outward form of pronunciation, which is so much the more likely, as that appears, from what has gone before, to have been the principal object in making them. And secondly, these very alterations can hardly be of modern date, but must have existed for centuries; or in other words, the text of the Vedas, whatever changes and modifications it may formerly have experienced, has continued in its present state from very remote antiquity. This is proved, both by the numerous quotations occurring in the oldest writings, and which perfectly agree with the modern copies of the Vedas, and also from the circumstance of their being furnished with ancient scholia; which, as the learned natives of India pretend, is the only security against falsification, owing to the scholiast's taking care to explain every word, and comment on the sense of every passage.[96] And lastly, the strict rules prescribed for reading or chanting the Vedas

[95] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 382.

[96] Ibid. p. 480, sq.

in a certain defined rhythm or tone, would render every attempt at interpolation very difficult, if not impossible, as it must be immediately detected.

6. As the Vedas, like the Zend-Avesta, are for the most part conversant about ceremonial laws, they imply consequently the existence of a certain form of religious worship; which being obliged to the observance of peculiar rites and invocations, would of course be confided to a sacerdotal caste. Now the worship in question concerns a religious system, which, according to the unanimous opinion of all those who have studied the subject, has for its foundation the belief in one God.[97] This divinity however was manifested in the grand phenomena of nature, which were themselves again separately invoked as deities under various denominations; we might, therefore, in this sense, consider the religion of the Vedas as a kind of natural religion. But at the same time, and this constitutes its national peculiarity, it is interwoven with a tissue of the most refined speculations, which particularly abound in the Upanishads. In those abstruse and mysterious disquisitions, on the infinite, on the origin and nature of things, on the emanation and absorption of beings into the Godhead, the Hindus, naturally addicted to profound contemplation, would discover abundant food for the intellect, and frequent opportunities of indulging their taste for abstract reverie to the wildest extent. That portion of the Vedas which is contained in the Upanishads is not we must confess very easy to understand; but still a moderate degree of application and study, would no doubt succeed in illustrating the principal traits in the intellectual character of this remarkable people, and their proneness to abstract speculation.

7. The Vedas were consequently the real source of the religion, it is true, but certainly not of the mythological system of the Hindus. The origin of the latter, as will be shown in the sequel, was the Indian epic poetry. The divinities, to whom are addressed the invocations contained in the Vedas, though many in number, are yet only personifications of natural objects, and according to the commen-

[97] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 396. Sir W. Jones, Father Paulino, and the reports of the Danish missionaries, all agree on this point; which is further confirmed by numerous passages in the Upanishads.

tators may be reduced to three,[98] viz. Fire, Air, and the Sun; and these again in their turn are to be considered nothing more than particular manifestations of the one original Being. In some passages, indeed, we occasionally meet with the groundwork of certain fables, subsequently expanded by the poets, but no trace whatever of the favourite legends peculiar to those sects who adore Krishna, or the Lingam;[99] whence it necessarily follows, that the religion of the priests was always distinct from that of the common people; though it cannot be denied that both stood in some mutual degree of relation and connexion one with the other; to explain which will be the special business of an inquirer into the religious opinions of India.[100]

The Vedas, then, which are the sources of the sacerdotal religion, can by no means be considered as such with regard to the popular system of belief: the common people are not even once permitted to read these books; whereas it is the duty, as well as the exclusive privilege of a Brahman, to study and explain them; and the reputation of being versed therein is considered an honourable title of renown. The caste next in immediate order is only allowed to hear them read, or at most barely to read them; while the inferior, comprehending the general mass of the people, are absolutely forbidden both: so that the Brahmans appear to have always had it in their power to communicate as much or as little of the Vedas to the other castes as they thought proper. But is it possible that such abstruse dogmas as those contained in the Upanishads could have been adapted to the purposes of popular instruction, even supposing the willingness of the Brahmans to make them so? Is it not rather

[98] COLEBROOKE (*Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 396) has given the passages in the original, together with a translation. Compare the first of his three treatises On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, *Asiatic Res.* vol. v.; which contains the daily prayers and exercises of a Brahman. These are addressed to the Sun, Fire, and Water, etc., and not to Vishnu or Siva, etc., though the names of the latter occur two or three times. But much more frequently is Brahma mentioned as the first and unchangeable; "Brahma is truth, the one immutable being," etc., p. 362. It was only after the establishment of the sects of Siva and Vishnu that the worship of those deities superseded that of Brahma; the last is of a purely spiritual character; the two former are altogether sensual.

[99] COLEBROOKE, p. 389, note.

[100] The treatise of Colebrooke just mentioned, though it does not absolutely distinguish the two religions, contains nevertheless the most important evidence for establishing the fact.

agreeable to the common order of things, that, in a nation whose priesthood was in the exclusive possession of the holy books, a natural distinction should exist between the sacerdotal and popular forms of religion? The truth and importance of this remark will derive additional illustration from the results of our inquiries into the religious system of ancient Egypt.

8. It is, however, far from probable, that the ancient dogmas and form of religion peculiar to the Vedas, should have been preserved even among the Brahmans in all their original purity. How indeed were this possible, when the obscure and obsolete idiom in which they are written, especially the three first, renders their study extremely difficult even to Brahmans themselves,[1] to say nothing of the small number of copies to be found in the country? Mr. Colebrooke observes,[2] "A very great proportion of what the Vedas teach has already become obsolete; other religious precepts and ceremonies have been substituted in its stead; a ritual founded on the Puranas, and customs borrowed from the impure source of the Tantras, have in great measure antiquated the liturgy of the Vedas. The worship of Rama and Krishna has replaced that of the elements and planets." This remark will, therefore, serve to throw some light on the origin of religious sects among the Hindus: a variation in the manner of reading and explaining the Vedas would naturally produce a variety of different schools, and we have already noticed[3] the great number which were established by the Brahmans in consequence; but the same cause will not account for the different sects which have arisen among the common people. The latter have reference to the worship of certain divinities, not to be found in the Vedas, but derived solely from the Indian epic poems. It was long ago remarked by the Father of Grecian history, that Homer and Hesiod furnished the deities of popular mythology; and in the same manner the great epic poets of India have in great measure supplied the numerous gods which fill the Indian Pantheon. We must not, however, forget to observe, that these poets themselves belonged to the Brahman caste; a circumstance which might explain not only, in general, the intimate connexion always subsisting between the religion

[1] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 497. [2] Ibid. vol. viii. pp. 495, 496.
[3] See above, page 128.

of the priests and that of the common people, but also more particularly the reason why, upon the corruption of the old Vedantic system among the Brahmans, the two forms became confounded, and as it were assimilated together.

With respect to the origin of the several Hindu sects, we are not at all in a condition of giving any correct historical account of them, or of assigning the respective dates to each. Those of Siva and Vishnu are at present the most generally prevailing ones, but they are not alone: by their side flourish that of Ganesa and many others.[4] The intrinsic character and objects of worship peculiar to the sect of Siva, which adores the Lingam, afford a reasonable presumption in favour of its being the most ancient, and probably the original creed of the common people: whereas that of Vishnu, on the contrary, worshipped under the name of Krishna, owes its origin merely to a reformation, undertaken for the purpose of refining the grossly sensual worship of the former. The sect of Krishna, however, stands in such intimate connexion with the epic poem, which has for its principal subject the history of the incarnation of Vishnu under the character of Krishna, that we may correctly term it a poetical religion, as will appear still more evident when we come to examine the subject of Hindu epic poetry in general. The attempts of Sir W. Jones to fix the origin of the last-mentioned sect, one thousand two hundred years before the Christian era, repose upon no more solid grounds than his argument for placing the appearance of Buddha two centuries later, both one and the other being founded solely on the traditionary reports of certain natives of Cashmire.[5] All that we know with certainty of Buddha is, that he was the founder of a sect, which must formerly have prevailed over a considerable part of India, but whose tenets and forms of worship were in direct opposition to those of the Brahmans, and engendered a deadly hate between the two parties, which terminated in the expulsion of the Buddhists from the country. One may easily conceive, therefore, how many questions of great historical importance still remain to be solved in the course of our inquiries into this subject, in addition to our ignorance respecting the time

[4] See especially on this point Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 279, sq.

[5] JONES'S *Works*, vol. i. p. 29.

when the sect was first established. Notwithstanding the various conjectures which have been advanced by learned men on this point, Mr. Colebrooke, who cannot be supposed inferior to any Sanscrit scholar living, nevertheless only ventures to surmise that the Buddhists, though certainly of more modern origin than the Vedas, are yet, however, anterior to the sects of Siva and Krishna.[6] That they must be of considerable antiquity is, I imagine, quite apparent, from the fact that a great number of the oldest rock temples, as we have already remarked, were dedicated to Buddha. But what is a still more important proof in support of their age is, that the Buddhists are actually mentioned in the Ramayana, (though we believe only in one passage,[7]) and are there classed along with atheists, that is, the opponents of Brahma who reject the doctrine of the Vedas. It would follow, therefore, that at the time when the Ramayana was composed, the Buddhists were not merely in existence as a religious sect, but were considered also the adversaries of the Brahmans. What relation, however, there might have subsisted between the respective dogmas of these two sects, together with the history of the persecution and expulsion of the Buddhists from India, is at present involved in impenetrable obscurity. Mr. Colebrooke would make the difference between the two consist in the Buddhists wishing to do away with animal sacrifices, or at least, to diminish the frequency of their occurrence: by which the Brahmans would lose their perquisite of the flesh of the victims.[8] But without presuming to question the correctness of this opinion, there is a still more important point, I

[6] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 495. His reasons for attributing a greater age to the Vedas are again brought forward in his Observations on the Jains, ibid. vol. ix. p. 293, etc.

[7] *Ramayana*, Part iii. § 76, p. 452. "As an atheist fallen from the path of rectitude! as a thief, so is a Buddhist!" The whole of this section, in which the Brahman Javali is represented under the assumed character of an atheist and a Buddhist, in conversation with Rama, is very interesting. What principally excites the abhorrence of the Brahmans is the rejection of funeral sacrifices to be offered by surviving children, and by consequence, the depreciation of matrimony.

[The passage of the Ramayana just quoted, is one of a great many in which the translators through improvident haste have misconstrued the sense: moreover, it is not at all improbable that the whole is an interpolation. Vide SCHLEGEL'S Preface to his edition of the *Ramayana*, tom. i. p. 55. FRENCH TRANSL.]

[8] COLEBROOKE, l. c.

think, to which we ought rather to direct our attention. The religion of Buddha yet prevails throughout Ceylon, over the whole of India beyond the Ganges, (except the countries where Islam has been introduced, as for example the Malayan peninsula,) in Tibet, and even in China, where the religion of Fo, which is the popular creed, is reported to be synonymous with that of Buddha.[9] These assertions, it is true, require the support of more accurate inquiries and comparisons than have hitherto been instituted into the subject, but supposing them to be founded on fact, we have an immediate and striking proof of the difference between the Brahmans and the Buddhists.

In all the countries above mentioned the distinction of castes is perfectly unknown; is it because probably rejected by the doctrine of Buddha? With regard to the higher castes, particularly that of the Brahmans, the fact is clear; the inferior ones are not of so much importance. This, then, sufficiently explains the hatred of the Brahmans towards the Buddhists. There is, however, an additional circumstance, no less remarkable, to be observed: wherever the Buddhist creed prevails, the sacerdotal caste of the Brahmans has been replaced by a monastic order of priests, established throughout the respective countries under various denominations, being called Talapoins in Ava and Pegu, and Gylongs in Tibet. In the latter country these monks possess the sovereign power; in some others, as in Ava, (the Birmese Empire,) and in Ceylon, they either have or had formerly considerable political influence. But as this monastic corporation preserves its existence, not by the enjoyment of hereditary rights, but solely by the accession of fresh members, they must consequently be obliged to the observance of perpetual celibacy, and be immured in a cloister all their lives.[10] The Brahman, on the contrary, is not only permitted but absolutely enjoined by his religion to marry, and he must be the father of a family before he can be allowed to offer sacrifice, or be admitted to the privileges of holy expiation. The hope of leaving children

[9] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 104.

[10] Two monasteries of this description are reported to exist in Ceylon, viz. those of Malvathe and Asgiri; DAVY, p. 47. With regard to those of Birmah and Tibet, see the accounts given by Symes and Turner in their respective Travels.

behind him is the very point on which all his happiness depends, not merely in reference to this life, but to the next also, on account of the funeral sacrifices which his children are religiously obliged to offer, and which involve the eternal welfare of the soul of the deceased. Under such circumstances as these, what violent disputes must necessarily have arisen when the Buddhists first began to propagate their obnoxious doctrines!—disputes probably more outrageous than those occasioned by the introduction of celibacy into the Christian priesthood. We have, as yet, no accounts of the persecution and expulsion of the Buddhists from India, and this circumstance of itself would allow us to infer, with great probability, that those events must have taken place at a very remote period of antiquity. And though some modern writers bring the date of these occurrences as low down as the first and second centuries of our era,[11] their opinions seem to have no better foundation than mere conjecture. It is, however, very true that some traces of them are supposed to have been found in India, which are as late as the middle ages;[12] but they are, nevertheless, of very doubtful authority: and even should we admit the probability that a feeble remnant of this sect might still be discovered to exist in some one part of the country, yet the admission would not be at all conclusive against the fact of the Buddhist persecution and consequent expulsion having taken place at a much earlier date.

The Vedas are regarded by the Hindus as the source not only of their legislation, but of all their scientific knowledge. The intimate connexion, indeed, which usually subsists among Oriental nations, between religion, laws, and science, especially where these form the exclusive appanage of a sacerdotal caste, has already been demonstrated in our work on the Persians; and will receive additional proof from the

[11] [See a learned discussion of this subject in WILSON's preface to his *Dictionary*, pp. 15, etc., and 33. Mr. W. considers it probable that an utter extirpation of the Buddhists was effected between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, and that the Jains performed an important part in their expulsion. With regard to the peculiar doctrines of the Buddhists, see MR. HODGSON's Memoir, in *the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, tom. ii. pp. 225, 257. TRANSL.]

[12] Partly in the inscriptions above explained, see p. 100, and partly in the accounts of two Arabian travellers through India in the ninth century, translated by RENAUDOT, p. 109.

result of our inquiries into the Egyptians. Before, however, we can attempt to illustrate this question, we must examine how far we are in possession of the requisite data which will enable us to pronounce an opinion in the case.

It was the legislative system of India which first attracted the attention of its English conquerors, and justly too, in preference to any thing else. For though by no means in itself an uninteresting subject to them as antiquarians, yet considered with reference to their political situation it was essentially necessary for them to become acquainted with the laws of a people whom they wished to govern. Now as the Hindus themselves attribute a very high antiquity to their laws, so a particular examination of this subject must necessarily involve an inquiry into a very principal branch of Sanscrit literature. The learned founder of the Asiatic Society made it the favourite object of his studies, and published the Institutes of Hindu Law, accompanied with a preface.[13] This was followed soon after by a work of much greater extent, from the pen of Mr. Colebrooke, and entitled A Digest of Hindu Law.[14] We are scrupulous to preserve the respective titles of these two works, as Sir W. Jones has already made use of them to express their comparative relation.[15] The first, however, on account of the high antiquity assigned it, is more important for our purpose of giving a general outline of Hindu legislation than the Digest, of which only the titles of contracts and the right of succession have hitherto been published.

The Laws of Menu comprise in twelve chapters the principles both of public and private right. In ascribing their composition to Menu, the first of the mythological kings, the grandson of Brahma and father of Bhrigu, nothing

[13] Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Menu, according to the gloss of Culluca, containing the Indian System of Duties, religious and civil, verbally translated from the original Sanskrit; with a preface by Sir W. Jones, Calcutta, 1796.

[14] A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions, with a Commentary by Jagannatha Tercapanchanana, translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., in three volumes, London, 1801. In this work we are presented, first, with the text of the ancient Hindu jurists, Menu, Sankha, Vrihaspati, and others; then follow the interpretations of the commentators. That part which treats of the law of succession is particularly important, as it contains also the laws of family relations, of man and wife, parents and children, etc.

[15] *Institutes, etc.*, preface, p. iv.

more is meant, according to Hindu expression, than that they are of Divine origin, and the most ancient code of law belonging to the nation. They were communicated by Bhrigu to the Rishis, or sages, who consulted him for that purpose.[16] These laws are so closely allied to the Vedas, particularly the first three, which are quoted almost at every page, that we may with great propriety refer them to that source, and consider the Vedas to be the parent stock of Hindu legislation in general.[17] The Institutes of Menu are consequently posterior to the sacred books just mentioned; nevertheless it will be very easy to persuade ourselves in reading them, that they cannot be all the work of one person, scarcely indeed of one generation, but that they must have been some considerable time in practical use before they were collected together and committed to writing. They form a strange medley of barbarism and civilization, and although several portions of the code, especially the penal laws, betray the infancy of political science, yet upon the whole it exhibits remarkable proofs of a very advanced state of society for an Asiatic nation. The distinction of castes appears to have been already organized, the ceremonial laws of religion in full practice conformably to the doctrine of the Vedas, and the dominion of the Brahmans perfectly established, although the sovereigns were not yet chosen from that caste. The various relations of proprietary right are already very numerous and complicated, and money is considered as the usual medium of exchange, with reference to which most of the penal laws are determined. This is, by no means, such a system of legislation as would be supposed coeval with the nation itself.

On the other side, however, we are in possession of considerable evidence, both internal and external, for attributing a high degree of antiquity to the Code of Menu. Several proofs already adduced in support of the age of the Vedas, will apply with the same force to the laws in question. And first with respect to the language in which they are written; this is metrical Sanscrit, and in an obsolete idiom,

[16] *Institutes, etc.*, preface, p. viii.

[17] Ibid. p. xviii. The Vedas are the foundation of law, which in itself, and notwithstanding it was given by Menu, is nevertheless entirely explained in the Vedas.

similar to that of the Vedas, though not so ancient. According to Sir W. Jones, when compared with the language of the classic poets, it is analogous to the Latin of the Twelve Tables as compared with that of Lucretius.[18] Further, the laws of Menu are exactly conformable to the Vedas in all that concerns religion and its ordinances; we find the same divinities, always excepting those celebrated by the poets. Thirdly, we meet with no traces of the sects already alluded to, into which the Hindus were subsequently divided. And in conclusion, the long list of commentators and scholiasts who have endeavoured to explain these laws, would alone serve to prove their great age, and justify the common opinion of the Hindus in regarding them as the most ancient code they possess.[19]

Notwithstanding this general evidence, however, in favour of the antiquity of the laws of Menu, we have no positive testimony with regard to the precise time when they were collected and embodied in their present shape. Sir. W. Jones endeavoured to prove that they might have been compiled about eight hundred and eighty years before the commencement of our era; and that, at most, their age cannot exceed one thousand two hundred and eighty years before that period. In order to arrive at this conclusion, he supposes that the Yajur-Veda, according to the list therein given of masters and scholars, in connexion with certain astronomical data, relative to the determination of the solstitial point, may be referred to the year 1580 before the birth of Christ.[20] He observes further, that judging by analogy from the alterations which have taken place in the Latin language, as evidenced by a comparison of the fragments we possess of the laws of Numa with those of the Twelve Tables, it must have required upwards of three centuries to produce similar modifications in the style of the Vedas, so as to become what it is in the Code of Menu; and by consequence he places the latter one thousand two hundred and eighty years before the Christian era. Although we cannot, for obvious reasons, enter into a particular examination of this hypothesis, requiring as it does not merely an acquaintance with astronomy, but a critical knowledge of Sanscrit as spoken at the most distant periods, yet our readers will easily perceive upon what vague and uncertain grounds it rests; and without taking into consideration the supposed analogy existing between the intervals of time required to produce the respective changes in the Sanscrit and Latin, it is evident that these very changes, owing to the most different causes, are sometimes quick and at others slow in their operation; a striking example of which is afforded in the history of the German language.

[18] Preface, p. vi.

[19] The whole collection of these glosses and commentaries by the ancient Munis, or sages, on the Laws of Menu, is called the Dherma Sastra, or System of Law. One of the most celebrated of these sages is Culluca, whose commentary has been published together with the text, etc.

[The original text of Menu with the commentary was first printed by Babu Ram, at Calcutta, in 1813. The splendid and accurate edition of Mr. Haughton followed at London, in 1825. This was in great measure the basis of a third lately published at Paris by M. Loiseleur Deslongchamps; and, lastly, a fourth edition has just appeared at Calcutta, under the authority of the Committee of Public Instruction. TRANSL.]

[20] *Institutes, etc.*, preface, pp. v. vii.

With regard to the question how far the Hindus have pursued the study of philosophy, it would be impossible to furnish a complete answer with the aid of their writings on this subject alone; and indeed could we do so, the task is more properly within the province of the writers upon philosophy in general. All that we know of the Hindu philosophical Sastras, is confined to a few extracts, for none of them have yet been completely translated. The only one of these treatises which Sir W. Jones studied in the original, and which is commonly ascribed to Vyasa, is short and very obscure, though consisting of some beautifully modulated sentences.[21] The most accurate information on this subject is given in the Ayin Acbari, which treats of nine different schools, and quotes the several writings on which they are respectively founded.[22] The work however itself will only possess a secondary authority in the eyes of an antiquarian who wishes to consult the first and most authentic sources, though it may nevertheless serve to furnish a general notion of Hindu philosophy; and particularly to determine the question whether it be distinct, or derived from the religion of the Brahmans. Now it is scarcely possible to doubt after a perusal of the Ayin Acbari, that the bond of union between Hindu philosophy and religion was as close as the

[21] JONES'S *Works*, vol. i. p. 103.

[22] *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 406, etc.

peculiar interests of an exclusive priesthood would allow us to expect, and that consequently the Vedas were as much the real source of the one as they certainly were of the other. This is further proved by the circumstance of the principal school of Hindu philosophy being referred to Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and the preceptor of Jaimini, whose work, entitled Vedanta, both in its appellation and contents, gives evident proof of being derived from those holy books.[23] The Upanishads by their mysticism and obscurity afforded exuberant subject-matter for the display of abstract speculation, and of course gave rise to a variety of opinions, which subsequently produced the various sects enumerated in the Ayin Acbari. It is here that the character of the Hindus for profound and subtile investigation, so closely allied to their fondness for a contemplative life, is exhibited in the most conspicuous manner. But this indissoluble connexion subsisting between Hindu philosophy and religion, must at once forewarn us not to expect the same free development of philosophical spirit among the natives of India as among those of the West.[24] The philosophy of the Hindus appears to have taken the same course as the scholastic of the middle ages; it is quite as subtile, and like it attaches a preference to the study of dialectics; while the various schools seem to be founded on distinctions equally minute and refined with those which divided the schoolmen of Europe. The Hindus, nevertheless, have cultivated practical philosophy, and have not altogether neglected that called moral, but their writings of the latter kind appear to contain nothing beyond naked maxims or dogmas enveloped in fable; and up to the present time at least, we have met with no works which deserve a comparison with those of the Grecian moralists.

In the same way that the Vedas are the real source of

[23] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 165. Whoever will compare the respective accounts of Sir William and the *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 428, etc., relative to the precepts of Jaimini, will easily see how uncertain must be the judgment which we could venture to pronounce on the philosophical systems of India.

[24] [See COLEBROOKE's essays on this subject in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 92, 439, 549, where the reader will find ample proof that the philosophers of India allowed themselves as great, if not greater latitude of thought and expression than their brethren of the West; and that their speculations are by no means always in the most orthodox conformity with the Vedas. TRANSL.]

Hindu philosophy, so are they considered with respect to the other sciences and arts contained in the four Upavedas; that is to say, medicine, music in the larger sense of the term, as comprehending both poetry and dancing, the art of war, and architecture; under which last the mechanical arts in general are included. These are held to be derived immediately from the Vedas.[25] None of the Upavedas have yet been published, and of the above-mentioned arts, music is the only one respecting which we are in possession of learned inquiries drawn from original sources. The essay of Sir William Jones on this subject,[26] which has been translated by Baron Dalberg, and enriched with valuable remarks and additions,[27] will serve to show how nearly the music of the Hindus was connected with their religion. With the same view we need only repeat an observation already made, namely, that one portion of the hymns contained in the Vedas is exclusively devoted to the purposes of singing.

The study of the Sanscrit grammar may also be considered as forming a particular branch of the philosophical system of the Hindus. As in the other departments of science, so in the case before us, the credit of having invented grammar is usually attributed to a single author, named Panini, whose sutras, at least in India, are regarded as the most ancient grammatical treatise extant; and which, in the absence however of any correct data for their opinion, the natives assign to those remote periods when inspired sages appeared on earth as the instructors of mankind in arts and sciences. Panini is said to have been the grandson of Devala, an inspired lawgiver; of his work on grammar we know nothing beyond the account given of it by Mr. Colebrooke.[28] According to this learned scholar, the perfect coherence of all the parts of Panini's work

[25] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 358, On the Literature of the Hindus. The term Upavedas denotes inferior or supplementary Vedas, translated by Sir William *subscriptures*.

[26] SIR W. JONES, On the Musical Modes of the Hindus, *Asiatic Res.* vol. iii. p. 55, etc.

[27] *On the Music of the Hindus*, by BARON DALBERG, 1802; together with a Collection of Indian National Songs.

[28] COLEBROOKE in *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 202, sq. The grammatical sutras of Panini were published at Calcutta, in the year 1809, but without a translation I believe.

evidently proves it to have been the composition of one person; nevertheless, it seems to imply the pre-existence of other inquiries of the same description, and Panini himself frequently quotes other grammarians who preceded him; and yet the general report in favour of its great antiquity appears to be fully confirmed by an examination of the work itself, for not only has it been commented on by a long series of grammarians belonging to very distant epochs,[29] so that we might in some measure consider it as the general text-book of all the Hindu grammatical compositions extant; but it is still more remarkable for the conciseness and obscurity of its precepts, which must have rendered the addition of commentaries a work of indispensable necessity.[30] It is probable, indeed, that a more accurate acquaintance with the relation in which Panini's rules stand to the language of the Vedas and the later classic poets, may enable us to determine their age with greater certainty.

The study of grammar would naturally be followed by the compilation of dictionaries. The most celebrated of which is the Amara Cosha, by Amara Sinha, who flourished at the court of Vicramaditya.[31] A manuscript copy of this work is preserved in the Royal Library of Paris;[32] and since the whole has been published and translated,[33] we are better able to form some correct opinion of its merits. The Amara Cosha is a vocabulary written in verse, and explaining in seventeen sections, the names of gods, men, the stars, elements, sciences, mountains, rivers, etc.; and is in its turn the subject of numerous commentaries explanatory of the derivation of words, by reducing them to their several primitives.[34]

[29] The most celebrated of these, Patanjali himself, belongs to the fabulous ages. In his *Maha Bhashya*, or great commentary, each of Panini's three thousand nine hundred and ninety-six rules is examined and explained at large.

[30] COLEBROOKE, l. c. p. 205.

[31] Ibid. l. c. p. 214.

[32] LANGLÈS, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanscrits, etc.*, p. 22.

[33] *Amarasinha*, sectio prima, de Cœlo; Roma, 1798. This first part contains chiefly explanations of the names of Hindu gods; whole passages, and sometimes a number of verses, are cited. The entire work was subsequently printed in Bengal, under the title of Cosha, or Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, with an English interpretation by Colebrooke; Serampoor, 1808.

[34] COLEBROOKE, l. c. According to LANGLÈS, l. c. p. 25, the number of Sanscrit radicals does not exceed ten thousand. [In general the number of radicals in the ordinary lists is about one thousand seven hundred; as repeated in different classes they exceed two thousand. In Wilson's Dictionary the number is somewhat more than one thousand nine hundred. TRANSL.]

It has been already remarked in the commencement of this inquiry, what little reason we have for expecting to find any thing like critical history among the Hindus; and yet the subject requires a little more accurate investigation. The meaning we intended to convey in making the above remark, was the fact that Hindu, or in other words Sanscrit literature in general, presents us with no historical composition in the sense in which we commonly understand that expression, considered either as legitimate history or a simple enumeration of events.

With respect to the first of these assertions, it is incontestably true that no historical work has yet been discovered in India; even the pundits themselves have not been able to quote a single exception:[35] would they have omitted to do so had the case been otherwise? or could they possibly have concealed them from the ardent research of British scholars? would not national vanity or a thirst of gain induce them to exhibit these literary treasures were they in existence? Should any doubt however remain on the subject, it will soon be removed when we come to treat of the Hindu epic poetry. It is indeed hardly possible that critical history should ever exist among a people who had no sort of taste for that kind of literature, and consequently held it in little or no estimation. It is not with the soberness of historic truth, but with the meretricious ornaments of poetical fiction, that the Hindus are chiefly concerned; and hence it is that a narrative, to please them, must be directed less to inform the understanding than to captivate and amuse the fancy. To what extent, indeed, the great Indian epic poems may be founded on real matter of fact will appear in the sequel; and even admitting that they are, yet the facts themselves have been so metamorphosed by the poets as to present scarcely any documents available for the purposes of history. It will, therefore, be no exaggeration

[35] In the numerous collection of Sanscrit MSS. belonging to the Royal Library at Paris, there is not one properly historical work. This is expressly asserted by LANGLÈS, *Catalogue des MSS. Sanscrits*, p. 13.

[Mr. Wilson's translation of the Raja Taringini, or History of Cashmir, has clearly demonstrated that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindusthan, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertions may bring more relics to light. See Col. Tod's preface to his *Annals of Rajasthan*, and *Asiatic Res.* vol. XV. TRANSL.]

to assert, that the Hindus never had the least idea of what we term an historic style. Many of the inscriptions, already alluded to,[36] will furnish striking evidence of the truth of our assertion: for in them even the most simple facts, such as a grant of land, for instance, cannot be recorded without putting into requisition the whole apparatus of poetry; and the achievements of princes there mentioned, are set off in such a style of pomp and amplification, as among us would scarcely be allowed even in a poet. Can we, therefore, reasonably expect any thing like critical history from a people with whom prevailed such a taste as this?

Assuming, then, that the Hindus possessed no regular historian, yet surely, like other Oriental nations, they might at least have had their writers of annals. In default of a Polybius, or a Gibbon, the banks of the Ganges might have cherished an Abulfeda, or a Mirchond? We shall certainly not deny the possibility of such an occurrence, though we have as yet heard of no proof in support of the conjecture; and were the case otherwise, can we imagine the Hindus less eager to recommend their annalists to the notice of a foreigner than the Arabians or Persians; we must consequently take it for granted that the pundits are acquainted with no such historian; and if even these learned natives are unable to inform us, where else shall we seek or expect to find any exception? In the mean time, however, we must reserve the further elucidation of this point to the commencement of the following section, where it properly belongs; the more as it can only be determined in any satisfactory manner when we shall have previously discussed the subject of Hindu epic poetry: it will then appear in what sense we must consider the history of this people as nothing more than a poetical history.

The geography of the Hindus bears the same poetical character as their history. They possessed several works in this department of science, some of them composed in Sanscrit, and others in the popular dialects, of which Wilford has given a circumstantial account in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches.[37] According to him, many of the

[36] See above, p. 100, the inscriptions cited from the *Asiatic Res.*

[37] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 267. An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West: of which however only the first part, viz. Of the Geographical Systems of the Hindus, is inserted in this volume. WILFORD himself says, p. 269, "With regard to history the Hindus really have nothing but romances, from which some truths occasionally may be extracted, as well as from their geographical tracts." It is, therefore, the more surprising that he should have endeavoured to prove the sacred Indian isles in the West to be—Great Britain! Unfortunately the zeal and assiduity of this writer were guided by no just rules of critical discernment, else what might not his great abilities have accomplished!

Puranas, or mythological poems, contain particular sections on geography, which are termed Bhuchanda, (section of the earth,) or Bhuvana Cosa, i. e. the treasure of terrestrial mansions. These are the sources from whence the Hindu geographical knowledge found in books which treat of this subject, is derived.[38] Such treatises are however very rare, as the Brahmans are averse to their being generally circulated. "The people," say they, "have the Puranas, what do they want more?" Even Wilford himself was unable to procure two of the most important, both attributed to a royal hand, the one to Vicramaditya, the other to Munya.[39] The geography of the Hindus, considered in a scientific point of view, may be said to resemble that of the Greeks, which was borrowed from the writings of Homer and Hesiod, or the cyclical poets; though it does not follow that all is a poetical fabrication. The Hindu poets were naturally acquainted with their own country, and much of what appears in their writings, relative to its geography, may be explained on historic principles. Thus we cannot mistake the Holy River of India, the Ganges, with its seven branches of equal sanctity; the countries bordering on its course, especially Magada or Bahar, the scene of Krishna's fabulous history; the Himalaya mountains in the north, the island of Lanca or Ceylon in the south, as well as particular towns, such as Ayodhya or Oude, Canoge, and some others. But the geographical names in Sanscrit are usually very different from the modern appellations, and even the English commentators have been obliged to confess their ignorance of most of them. This circumstance alone is therefore sufficient to involve the ancient geography of India itself in very great obscurity. But as to their ideas respecting countries beyond the limits of their own, which the Hindu geographers

[38] "It is true," says WILFORD, "that in addition to the poetic there is a modern system of geography, but this is certainly the worst of the two." l. c. p. 272.

[39] WILFORD, l. c. p. 268.

represent as seven islands or peninsulas [Dwipas], and with regard to their notions as to the form of the earth, the researches and drawings[40] hitherto published on this subject, are quite sufficient to prove them to be founded solely in the imagination of their poets.

The discussion relative to Hindu astronomy and its age, we must leave altogether for professional men to determine, and shall confine ourselves to a mere literary notice of the science. This depends chiefly on the true age to be assigned to the Surya Siddhanta, the principal work on Hindu astronomy, and which the pundits extol as the most ancient of its kind. Its high antiquity however has been disputed by Bentley, who endeavoured to prove that the work in question, which is attributed by those learned natives to Varaha, one of their ancient sages, or at least a contemporary of Vicramaditya, was composed by Varaha Mihira in the eleventh century.[41] This assertion met with an opponent even in England, against whom Bentley defended himself in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and took that occasion of attacking the age of a considerable portion of Sanscrit literature in general; an argument to which we shall have another occasion of referring. Connected with this subject is the opinion of a learned German scholar,[42] who supposes the Hindus to have derived their astronomical science from the Arabians; this assertion will also require a more particular examination as we proceed.

Our inquiries hitherto have been occupied chiefly with the scientific literature of the Hindus, in assumed contradistinction to their poetical; though it must be observed, that a separation between the two cannot possibly be made with such definitive accuracy as in the case of European literature. All Hindu works of science, not even excepting such as by their subject would seem inapplicable to the purpose, are nevertheless composed in verse. The vocabulary of Amara Sinha may serve for an example. It is true the Sanscrit contains also a few compositions in prose, but it seems that even these, at least those of any classical reputation, are composed in language nearly approaching to metre, a kind of style which some English scholars have termed *modulated prose*.[43] These modulations are without doubt of a rhythmical, or perhaps of an assonantial character; a point which a more accurate acquaintance with the language itself can only enable us to determine. For the present we may content ourselves with defining the expression poetical literature, to include those compositions which by their very nature and contents, as well as outward form, belong in a legitimate sense to poetry.

[40] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 376.

[41] Compare Bentley's essay, On the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, inserted in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 546, and his reply to the criticisms of the Edinburgh Review, in *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 195, On the Hindu system of Astronomy.

[42] M. Inspector Schaubach, in his two essays, De Astronomici studii apud Indos, etc.; and Ueber die Chronologie der Inder, (On the Chronology of the Hindus,) in Zach's Monatl. corresp. 1831, for Feb. and March.

The various branches of poetry, such as the narrative and the dramatic, the lyric as well as the didactic, and the apologue, have all flourished in Sanscrit literature, and produced the most excellent fruits. Upon comparing, however, the several kinds with each other, we shall not long hesitate in deciding to which of them the preference belongs. The Hindus themselves award the prize to their great classical epic poems, which they consider as so many branches of their sacred literature. They, as well as the Vedas, are assigned to the most remote periods, and like them are supposed to be of divine origin. To the influence of epic poetry, the civilization of the Hindus is principally owing, as the former was the parent of their mythological system, which in its turn was the chief source of the other kinds of poetry as well as of art. The subject is consequently of very great importance, and deserves our special consideration; but, as a preliminary step, we must here also first determine the limits of our acquaintance with the Hindu epic, and ascertain our capability of forming a just opinion of its merits. Although neither the one nor the other are yet so complete and extensive as we could wish, and indeed as we had reason to expect, still our present knowledge is quite sufficient for enabling us to define its character with some degree of positive certainty.

The literature of the Hindus is rich in epic poetry;[44] and

[43] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 319, 327, as for instance in the Bhagavat, see above, p. 110.

[44] See COLEBROOKE's treatise, On Sanscrit and Praerit Poetry, *Asiatic Res.*

their most ancient classic works, of this kind, like the poems of the Ionian bard, have produced a number of imitations. But as in the Greek the Iliad and the Odyssey far outshine all the rest, so do the Ramayana and the Mahabharata eclipse all similar productions in the Sanscrit.[45] Of these two classical works we are more perfectly acquainted with the Ramayana; the two first books of which have been translated into English prose by the learned missionaries of Serampore,[46] and however we might otherwise regret the absence of the charms of verse, we have from that very circumstance less reason to doubt the scrupulous exactness of the translators. And we are the better enabled to give a general notion of the contents of the entire poem, as the

vol. x., in which are given the titles and contents of several epic poems, together with some specimens.

[45] POLIER, in his *Mythologie des Indous*, vol. i. p. 115, incorrectly places the age of the Marcandaya Purana anterior to both these great epics. The subject of this poem is the victory of the goddess Bhavani, mother of three great Deyotas, or, as she is frequently called, Durga, (one of her many names, see MAYER'S *Mythological Lexicon*, under *Durga*,) over the giant demon Moisasur [Mahishasura]. LANGLÈS, in his *Catalogue des MSS. Sanscrits*, p. 54, gives an abstract of the one hundred and twenty-four sections composing the Marcandaya Purana, from which it appears that the history of Durga is only an episode of the whole poem. The mistake of Polier however is excusable, on the ground that this episode is circulated in India as a separate and independent poem, under the title of *Chandica*. And yet it is not very easy to tell what induced him to believe it more ancient than the two great classical epics, particularly as it is never placed in the same class with them.

[46] The Ramayuna of Valmiki, in the original Sungskrit, with a Prose Translation and explanatory Notes, by William Carey and Joshua Marshman. Vol. i., containing the first book, Serampore, 1806, 4to, pp. 656. [Vol. ii., containing a part of the second book, Serampore, 1808, pp. 528.] Vol. iii., containing the latter part of the second book, Serampore, 1810, pp. 493. The whole poem consists of seven books, each containing a certain number of sections, the first sixty-four, the second eighty.

A new and critical edition of this poem has just appeared under the title of, Ramayana, id est, Carmen Epicum de Ramæ rebus gestis, poetæ antiquissimi Valmicis opus. Textum, Codd. MSS., collatis recensuit, interpretationem Latinam, et annotationes criticas adjecit Aug. Gul. a Schlegel. Voluminis primi pars prior; Bonnæ ad Rhenum, 1829. This volume contains the text of the first, and a considerable portion of the second book. [Inedited note of the author.]

[The difference between these two editions is such, that many hundred verses occurring in that of Serampore are not to be found in that of Bonn; to say nothing of various other discrepancies. But the versions followed by the learned editor of the latter, are the most ancient, and every way preferable to those of Bengal adopted by the Serampore missionaries. See a detailed account in Schlegel's elegant and erudite preface, p. 22, etc.; the whole of which will amply repay an attentive perusal; while the typographical merit and general appearance of the work itself reflects infinite credit on all parties concerned. TRANSL.]

proper beginning (for the translation commences only with the fifth section) is replaced with an original abstract of the whole, which is probably of later date than the poem itself, though not the less valuable on that account.

The subject of this poem is the victory of the divine hero Rama over Ravana, prince of the Rakshasas or evil genii. It is possible, indeed, to consider the Ramayana as an allegory, representing the triumph of the good principle over the bad; but the question whether an epic poem be allegorical or not, depends less on the subject itself than on the manner of treating it. Now this in the Ramayana is not of an allegorical, but of a purely epic character; at least according to the Hindu notion of an epic poem. The Rakshasas had gotten the upper hand of the benevolent deities, by whom however they could not be overcome, as the latter were bound by a promise of making their adversaries invulnerable. None therefore except a mortal, but a mortal of no ordinary mould, could subdue Ravana. In this emergency the gods address themselves to Vishnu, one of their superiors, praying him to become man. Their petition is granted, but in such a manner that Vishnu divides himself into four parts, and assumes the mortal shape of four brothers, of whom Rama is chief. The principal hero therefore of the poem, is a god-man; he overcomes Ravana and puts him to death, and after this exploit returns back to his celestial mansion accompanied with the subjects whom he had governed in this lower world. Such, in few words, is the chief subject of the Ramayana, while the development and method of handling this simple argument, is so remarkably rich and copious as to suffer little from a comparison in this respect with the most admired productions of the epic muse; an opinion which a perusal of the first book only, as represented in the translation, will abundantly serve to confirm. It begins with a description of the city Ayodhya, formerly the residence of the wise and pious monarch, Dasaratha, in the person of whose son Rama was about to appear. "This city was founded by Menu, the first sovereign who ruled over mankind. Its streets and avenues were admirably disposed, and the principal ones well watered. Its walls of various hues resembled the chequered surface of a chess-board. It was filled with merchants of all

sorts, with male and female dancers, with elephants, horses, and chariots. It was decorated with precious stones, filled with riches, amply furnished with all manner of provisions, beautified with temples and palaces, whose lofty summits equalled the mountains, and adorned with baths and gardens thickly planted with mango trees. The air was embalmed with incense, with the perfume of flowers, and the sweet-smelling savour of sacrificial offerings. It was inhabited by the regenerate,[47] profoundly instructed in the Vedas, endowed with excellent qualities, full of sincerity, zeal, and compassion; like the great sages, and perfectly masters of their passions and desires. In Ayodhya there was no covetous person, no liar, no deceiver, no one of an evil or implacable disposition. None of its inhabitants lived less than a thousand years; none of them but left behind a numerous offspring; none gave the Brahmans less than a thousand rupees; none flinched from performing the duties attached to their respective situations; none of them went without earrings, garlands of flowers, necklaces, perfumes, or richly ornamented apparel." Dasaratha their sovereign, already aged nine thousand years, would have been the most fortunate of princes if he had possessed children. With the advice of his Brahmans, he determines to offer the Ashvameda, or solemn sacrifice of a horse. This, which is one of the greatest religious ceremonies of the Hindus, is of such vast importance, according to the prescriptions of the Sastras, that it requires a previous preparation of many years. Hence arises a fresh subject, under the form of an episode, and of all others one most adapted to display the capabilities of the poet. In order to the success of the intended sacrifice it was necessary that a daughter of the king, named Shanta, who had been adopted by another pious prince, should wed a young saint, who led a solitary life in the forests, and occupied himself in studying the Vedas. But it was no such easy matter to draw Rishya Sringa, for that was the name of our youthful hermit, from his retreat. The task was deputed to a number of young maidens, well versed in the arts of seduction, and who were commissioned to entice him in the disguise of sages. Now Rishya Sringa had

[47] The name regenerate, or twice born, is applied to the three superior castes; pre-eminently, however, to the Brahmans.

never yet seen the face of womankind: he hears their song, discovers them dancing through the odoriferous shrubs and creeping plants, conducts them to his cell, and after being intoxicated with the wine they had offered him, is inspired with the flame of mutual passion, is led away captive, and becomes the husband of the lotus-eyed Shanta. On this fascinating picture are displayed all the charms of Hindu poetry. Then follows a description of the great sacrifice, to which princes and Brahmans are invited from afar, and its complete success insures Dasaratha the blessing of male children. This event consequently paves the way for the incarnation of Vishnu, and the poet introduces us to the mansion of Brahma, whither repair the Devas and heavenly sages, who had assisted at the sacrifice, and implore his aid against the impious Ravana. Here Vishnu arrives also. "The illustrious lord of the universe, clad in vestments of yellow, ornamented with golden bracelets, and riding on the eagle Vainataya, like the sun on a cloud, and holding his discus and mace in hand." Yielding to the entreaties of the gods, he promises them an incarnation of eleven thousand years, and the destruction of Ravana, who could only thus be overcome. Vishnu accordingly becomes man, in the persons of the four sons who were born to Dasaratha of his three wives; Rama the eldest of Kausalya, Lakshman and Satrughna of Sumitra, and Bharata the fourth of the beautiful Kaikeyi.[48] Vishnu, however, notwithstanding his incarnation, (so goes the Indian fable,) still retains his divinity in heaven. But at his demand an innumerable host of monkeys are produced as the allies and assistants of Rama in the approaching war. The introduction of monkeys into an epic poem certainly appears rather a strange idea: but their meanness vanishes when we find these animals to be of divine nature. In fact their origin proves them to be children of the gods, produced as they were by the latter at the command of Brahma; supernatural beings endowed with monstrous power, especially their chiefs and princes, Bali, Hanuman, etc.,[49] strong as tigers and lions. We might safely call them satyrs, if the appellation were not likely to convey a wrong idea. The poet, however, by creating such

[48] *Ramayana*, i. 217. [49] Ibid. i. 223—231.

agents as these, has contrived to open a fertile source of incident for the sequel of his poem. The action of the piece now, passing over the infancy of Rama, transports us to the time when he and his brothers were old enough to marry. At this period a certain sage of royal extraction, named Visva Mitra, who by a life of penance had elevated himself to the rank of saint and Brahman, comes into the presence of King Dasaratha. He had made a solemn vow of offering a particular sacrifice, but the opposition of the Rakshasas had hitherto prevented him from doing it in a manner acceptable to the deity.

Now his troublesome assailants could only be subdued by the power of Rama, and therefore he came to implore Rajah Dasaratha that he would allow his son, the youthful hero, to become his assistant. The narrative of the reception of Visva Mitra forms a truly patriarchal scene. The aged monarch cannot resolve to part with his darling child the lotus-eyed Rama; for how should a youth of sixteen be able to cope in battle with those impious demons? but, alas! he was bound by his promise of granting whatever Visva Mitra desired, and the latter severely upbraids him with the infraction of his word. "At the wrath of the sage, the earth quaked, and fear seized even the gods."[50] At this juncture the priest Vasishtha, the monarch's counsellor, interposes his advice, and overrules Dasaratha. The king himself summons Rama and his brother Lakshman, kisses them, and hands them over to Visva Mitra. At their departure, a shower of odorous flowers signifies the approbation of heaven, and the celestial inhabitants themselves celebrate the event with songs of joy. The description of their travels furnishes a new and exuberant subject for the poet's fancy; a number of adventures take place, some of them very artfully connected with the principal story, the enumeration of which occupies almost half the book. In the course of the expedition Rama obtains from Visva Mitra a present of celestial weapons, as in the Iliad Achilles receives the same from Thetis. But the weapons of Rama are of a very different temper, they are every where ready at the beck of the hero, on his pronouncing a certain

[50] *Ramayana*, i. 251.

formula; they are even personified, and hold conversations with their master.[51] Rama now achieves his first exploit by killing the sorceress Taraka. Pursuing their journey the travellers reach the banks of the Ganges, an occasion which serves to introduce a detailed account of its fabulous origin, for Visva Mitra carefully imparts information upon every remarkable object calculated to instruct the mind of the youthful Rama. The Ganges with its seven tributary streams are represented as females, but the fable contains so much of what is revolting to our notions of propriety, that the translators have only ventured a summary allusion to the subject. The holy river descends from the mountains of Himalaya, purifies the world, and goes to replace the waters of the ocean. The Ramayana likewise informs us that the Ganges was of little less consequence to the natives of India than the Nile was to the Egyptians; and that, together with its various branches, it was reputed to be of divine origin; moreover, we find that the transformation of female saints into rivers is no stranger to the genius of Hindu poetry. The thread of our history now brings us near to the marriage of Rama. The travellers having passed the Ganges and journeyed towards the north-east, arrive at the palace of a king named Janaka, who had an enormous bow which no person had yet been able to bend; the monarch was at that moment occupied with the solemnities of a sacrifice; his reception of the new comers is quite as imposing, if not more so, than any recounted in the pages of Homer,; while the distinguishing part of the Hindu character, is the awful veneration with which even royalty itself condescends to address an illustrious Brahman sage. The king, with his hands respectfully joined together, says to the principal of the wise men, Visva Mitra, "O thou godlike, take place among the great sages." Thus invited Visva Mitra sits down; upon which the king, surrounded with his counsellors, and with joined hands,[52] drawing near to him speaks in these words, "O thou heavenly one, to-day am I blessed with the water of immortality! to-day will my sacrifice have the desired effect!"—After which the pious king, with

[51] *Ramayana*, i. 295, 299.

[52] Properly with the palms joined together, which is a sign of devout respect.

a smile of delight, and with hands folded as before, proceeds to inquire, "Who I pray (may eternal prosperity attend thee!) are those noble youths of majestic gait like the elephant, courageous as the tiger and the buffalo, and with large eyes resembling the lotus? who are those heroes radiant in the bloom of youth, of godlike aspect, as if descended from heaven, and armed with daggers?" Upon hearing these words of the mighty king, the sage replies, "They are the sons of Dasaratha, and are come to inquire about thy great bow." The sage having thus spoken, was silent.[53] Now the king had promised that he who could bend this bow should be rewarded with the hand of his daughter, the fair Sita, who had been solicited by all the neighbouring rajahs in vain.

Here follows a long episode[54] recounting the history of Visva Mitra's penances, by means of which the sage, already a king in his own person, though of the Kshatriya caste, was finally successful in being admitted among the Brahmans.

The king then orders the redoubtable bow to be brought; it required the united efforts of eight hundred men to draw the eight-wheeled machine in which it was deposited. With one hand Rama grasps the bow, bends it, and lo! it breaks in the middle, with an astounding noise, like the crash of a falling mountain. It was now determined that Sita should become the bride of the successful hero, while Urmila her sister should wed Lakshman. His father, the king Dasaratha, is invited to the nuptials of his son; and after a four days' journey from Ayodhya, he arrives at the city Mithila, accompanied with his sages, his counsellors, and his army. The marriage is then celebrated, and his two remaining sons also espouse each of them a wife of the family of Janaka, from among his brother's daughters. Rama and his brother with their consorts and the king Dasaratha return home to Ayodhya; the king determines to associate Rama with him in the government, while he sends off his other son, Bharata, to his maternal grandfather, the wise monarch Kekuya; in order to receive under his super-

[53] *Ramayana*, i. 444.

[54] A German translation of this episode is given at the end of Fred. Schlegel's Essay, Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder (On the Language and Wisdom of the Hindus).

intending care the necessary and suitable education of a prince.

From this concise abstract of the first book we may easily perceive what a variety of incident the poet is furnished with in order to fill up an extended narrative. The table of contents relating to the other books,[55] and which is prefixed to the commencement of the poem, informs us, that the intrigues of Kaikeyi, who was desirous that her own son Bharata should succeed to the throne, prevented the elevation of Rama, and that in consequence Dasaratha was persuaded to banish him for a period of fifteen years. Rama, followed by his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshman, leaves Ayodhya, and retires into a forest, where he lives in penance. But the king soon repents his misguided action, and is unable to bear the loss of his favourite Rama. The complaints of his mother, and the lamentations of the people, unite in distracting the aged monarch; he falls down in a swoon, and immediately expires.[56] His corpse is laid in a vessel filled with oil, and his disconsolate widow Kausalya, the mother of Rama, determines to burn herself with him. In the mean time the state is without a king, and the poet takes occasion to give an animated description of the consequences attendant upon such a loss. The assembled counsellors and Brahmans, with the chief priest Vasishtha at their head, determine on sending messengers to Bharata the son of Keikeyi, who was still at the court of his maternal grandfather, inviting him to mount the vacant throne. The messengers set out, and their journey is described; Bharata, dismissed by his grandfather with rich presents and a numerous retinue, accompanies them home. Then follows a description of the funeral obsequies of Dasaratha; the royal body is clothed in vestments of silk, and being placed on a bier is committed to the flames. Bharata, how-

[55] In the third section. The poem itself commences properly with the fifth.

[56] It is with the death of Dasaratha that the third volume commences.

[This episode was elegantly published in 1826, at Paris, by the celebrated Chézy, under the title of Yadjnadattabada, or The Death of Yadjnadatta, together with a French translation, copious grammatical analysis, notes, and a preface exhibiting a brief view of some of the more striking peculiarities of Sanscrit grammar. The text is beautifully engraved in the Bengali character, and the whole followed by a literal version in Latin by M. Burnouf. It was subsequently edited in the Devanagari character by M. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, in 1829. TRANSL.]

ever, declines accepting the crown, which according to Hindu law belongs of right to the elder brother. Upon this the council of sages and Brahmans resolve to despatch him into the forests in quest of Rama, with the view of proposing him as the successor. Bharata sets out with a splendid retinue, and his travels are described. He passes westward beyond the Ganges, on his way to the residence of a renowned sage, Bharadaraja, who lived in that neighbourhood, and to whom he pays a visit, leaving his attendants and army behind. Bharadaraja, however, who by a course of penitence and devotion had elevated himself to the dignity of a Rishi, insists upon his numerous suite also coming and partaking of the entertainment he should provide for them. A description of the banquet then follows, which in a certain degree is a feast of enchantment; for the power of the saint is so prodigious, that all nature seems to be at his command. Here again is another opportunity of displaying all the richness of the Hindu epic. The rivers and forests appear to bring tribute to this wonderful Bharadaraja: a magnificent palace is raised, furnished with tables, richly decked with provisions of every kind. The princes and sages take their place, and next to them the commander of the army. Celestial music enlivens the scene, while thousands of beautiful damsels and dancing girls are sent by Brahma himself. The whole army prolong the feast until the morning, when, at the command of the sage, the enchantment is dissolved, and every thing returns to its usual order, as if the whole had been no more than the illusion of a dream.[57] Bharata now pursues his journey and arrives at the forest, where he finds Rama, with his brother and Sita, in the guise of penitents. He offers him the sovereignty, but Rama steadily refuses to accept it, until he has completed his engagement of fifteen years' penance. He surrenders to Bharata the royal insignia, the golden slipper,[58] and the umbrella, promising to resume them after the expiration of the above period. Bharata, in consequence, returns to the orphaned city of Ayodhya; he does not, however, stay there, but takes up his residence in Nadigrama, from whence he administers the empire in the name of his brother;[59] while Rama with his wife and brother continue their penance in the woods. In the mean time Ravana prince of the Rakshasas conceives a violent passion for the beauteous Sita; and by stratagem and force succeeds in carrying her off to his city of Lanka, situate in the island of that name. The complaints and heroic achievements of Rama fill up the remaining books; he enters into an alliance with Hanuman chief of the monkeys, who engages to go in quest of Sita. Hanuman proceeds to Lanka, obtains an interview with her, and after delivering a message from her lord, hastens back to rejoin him. The grand expedition against Lanka is now undertaken; a bridge is constructed across the sea; the allied armies pass over, and lay siege to the fortress of Lanka. In the description of this war, the poet's imagination seems to have taken its highest flight. The scene of battle is not confined to the surface of the earth, for the hostile armies are represented engaging in the air itself. Rama and Ravana encounter one another on their war chariots; a combat ensues, which makes the earth tremble for seven days, until the prince of the Rakshasas, Ravana, is overthrown. Rama and Hanuman now make their entrance into Lanka, find Sita, and as Rama had thought proper to question her fidelity, she proves her innocence by submitting to the ordeal of fire. Brahma and the other deities appear and give them their benediction. Dasaratha also arrives; and afterwards the whole party repair home to Ayodhya, where no further obstacle remained to the elevation of Rama. He does not, however, continue on earth, but after committing the reins of government to his brother Lakshman, returns with all his people to heaven, his real abode.

The above sketch comprises only the main incidents of the Ramayana, as it would be impossible to unravel the whole contexture of the poem, and its endless variety of fiction, with no better assistance than we can derive from a

[57] *Ramayana*, iii. 304.

[58] A peculiar kind of high shoe was also in use among the Persians, and considered a mark of royalty.

[59] Here ends with the second book the translation of the Ramayana. The contents of the remaining five, perhaps the most beautiful of all, are only known to us through a brief summary prefixed at the commencement of the poem.

meagre table of contents. There are many points, therefore, which require a critical investigation.

We can, then, as little doubt the existence of a great epic poem entitled the Ramayana, as we can doubt that there is such a book as the Iliad. The Ramayana, however, is not the only poem known under that title; there are several others[60] which are probably imitations, or, at least, variations of the same principal subject. But the one now before us is distinguished from all the rest by its being the production of Valmiki; and it is the general opinion that his composition is the original upon which the others have been formed. Nevertheless, the question relative to the poet himself, and the history of his poem, is involved in much greater obscurity than the works of Homer. The epoch assigned to Valmiki is very indefinite; he belongs to the same time as Rama himself, and is one of the great Munis or sages, who lived in the society of the gods.[61] In the last book of his poem he introduces himself as speaking in character; he is therefore something more than Homer, in that he is the confidant and familiar acquaintance of the gods themselves. This being the case, how can we reasonably expect any thing like chronological accuracy with regard to his life and works? Yet the Ramayana itself is certainly very ancient, and must have been composed at a time when Hindu poetry, altogether independent, and uncontaminated with foreign alloy, flourished in all its native purity and splendour. But whether the poem in its present state was the immediate offspring of one poet's imagination, or whether it has gradually become what it now is by the incorporation of many successive compositions, cannot be so easily determined. The Ramayana, it is true, exhibits a certain degree of epic unity, though from the frequent intermediate narrations put in the mouth of sages and heroes, the Hindu poem is of a more episodical character than the Greek. But ere we can proceed to offer any general remarks on this subject, it will be necessary first to examine another great heroic poem of the Hindus, the Maha-bharata.

[60] See LANGLÈS, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanscrits*, p. 14, where several other poems with this title are enumerated.

[61] He is so described in the first section of the poem.

Our long-cherished expectations of being presented with an English translation of this celebrated work[62] from the pen of Dr. Wilkins, have unfortunately not yet been realized. Only one episode, of moderate extent, the Bhagavad-Gita, has hitherto been translated by him; but this, as it contains a dialogue between Krishna and his pupil Arjuna upon religious subjects, introduced into the body of the Mahabharat, belongs rather to didactic than epic poetry, and under that head we shall have another opportunity of referring to it.

The Mahabharat was translated into Persian by order of the emperor Akbar the Great. In this translation each book is preceded by a short table of contents, which the editor of the Ayin Acbari has rendered into English.[63] Rajah Behrut (Bharata) reigned in the city of Hastnapur, (Hastinapura,) the metropolis of India. From him was descended in the seventh degree Rajah Chutterberi, (Bichitrabirya,) who left behind him two sons. The eldest, Dertrashter, (Dhritarashtra,) who was blind, had a hundred and one sons, called the Coros, (Koravas,) of whom the eldest was named Durjohn (Duryodhana); Pandu, the younger brother of Dertrashter, had five sons, Yudister, Bimsin, Arjun, Nekul, and Seddu (Yuddhishthira, Bhima-Sena, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva); these are called the Pandos (Pandavas). After the death of Pandu his blind brother Dertrashter became king: but his eldest son Durjohn possessed himself of sovereign power, seized hold of the government, and apprehensive lest it should devolve upon the Pandos, he endeavoured to destroy them by setting fire to their dwelling, which had been filled with pitch and other combustible materials. Durjohn believed the Pandos were burnt; however, they contrived to escape, and fleeing through the de-

[62] The title Mahabharata is usually translated "the great war." But according to some writers, Bharata, is either the name of a king from whom were descended the families of the Coros and Pandos, or else the name of a city. OBSONVILLE, *Bhagavadam*, p. 129; and SIR WILLIAM JONES, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 443. I have adopted the former interpretation.

[Mr. Wilson in his Dictionary notices a whimsical derivation of this word from Bhara, weight, the poem having been put by the Rishis in a scale and weighed against the four Vedas, which it was found to outweigh, thence its usual prefix of Maha, or great; a special grammatical rule, however, derives it from Bharata, the prince so named, because the war narrated in it occurred amongst his descendants. TRANSL.]

[63] *Ayin Acbari*, ii. p. 100, sqq. I have added in a parenthesis the Sanscrit form of the proper names as far as they could be ascertained.

sert, took refuge in the city Cumpela. They soon became renowned for their valour and generosity, and Durjohn afterwards resolved to divide his kingdom with them. He gave them one half, including Delhi, and reserved for himself the other, with Hastnapur. But Yudister beginning to distinguish himself, the jealousy of Durjohn was excited; and after inviting the Pandos to a feast, he unfairly won from them in a game at draughts the whole of their possessions. As a last stake, they promised, in case they should lose, to confine themselves for the space of twelve years in solitude, and after that term withdraw into private life. Being again unfortunate, they duly kept their promise; but at their return Durjohn behaved with such cruelty towards them that they flew to arms; and thereupon ensued the great war between the Pandos and the Coros. After a long series of mutual hostilities, a general engagement took place on the lake Kurkhet, which lasted eighteen days; Durjohn was slain, and a complete victory at length secured the throne to the Pandos.[64]

[64] The Mahabharat is divided into eighteen cantos, or books, (Parvas,) which, according to the Index prefixed to the Persian translation, contain the following particulars.—Book I. History of the families of the Pandos and Coros. II. Yudister sends his brothers into all parts to make conquests. The Coros arrange a sacrificial feast in order to play at draughts. Preparations for the same. III. The Pandos, having lost at play, retire into the desert, where they continue twelve years. Enumeration of events which happened in the mean time. IV. The Pandos remove from the desert to the city of Behrut, and conceal themselves there. V. They are discovered, and the war breaks out. General engagement on the lake Kurkhet. VI. Combats of heroes. The first ten days of the battle several of Dertrashter's sons are slain. VII. Durjohn holds a council of war. Derna becomes commander-in-chief, but falls in battle five days afterwards. VIII. Events of the two following days. Kurren is appointed chief; one of the greatest heroes of his time. He puts Yudister to flight, but is killed by Arjun. IX. Schul succeeds to the command of the army. His exploits and death. Durjohn hides himself. He is discovered by Bakiken. His death. This is the eighteenth day of the battle. The Pandos are at length victorious. X. Account of the last events of the war. Eight only of the Pandos survive. XI. Lamentations of the women on both sides for the loss of their respective friends. The mother of Durjohn curses Krishna. XII. Acts of Yudister after the victory. He wishes to abdicate, but is dissuaded by Vyasa, Krishna, and Bikum. This book contains many sublime religious and moral precepts, and rules of good government. XIII. Yudister wishes to retire into solitude, but Vyasa dissuades him. XIV. Preparations for the feast of Ismid. XV. Dertrashter and Kundehary, the mother of Durjohn, and Kuaty, the mother of the Pandos, go into retirement. XVI. Extinction of the race of the Yadus and other events. XVII. King Yudister and his brothers retire into solitude in the Himalaya mountains, and the former abdicates the throne. XVIII. Death of the Pandos. Yudister and his brothers mount up into heaven.—I am indebted for a translation of this Index to my learned friend Professor Mitscherlich of Berlin. It agrees almost exactly with the accounts given in the *Ayin Acbari*, ii. p. 100, and consequently serves to confirm their general correctness.

The index from which the above abstract is taken appears to give a general though very succinct view of the whole poem. From an additional notice we learn, that altogether it consists of 100,000 distichs, (slokas,) of which 24,000 are occupied in describing the war between the Pandos and the Coros, while the remaining, and of course by far the greatest portion, comprises episodes and digressions. The index is apparently confined to the mere history of the war and the events which followed it. This is, in fact, the principal subject of the poem, to which all the rest is subordinate; and it is not improbable that the Persian prose version of the Mahabharat may turn out to be merely an abridgement instead of a translation of the Hindu original. What indeed may surprise is the fact that the index makes no allusion to the influence of the gods; except once in the eleventh book, where Krishna is unexpectedly introduced upon the scene: may we not, therefore, reasonably consider this index to the Mahabharat to be an imperfect compilation?[65] What appears strongly to confirm this supposition, is a comparison of the extracts of the same poem given by Polier, in his Mythology of the Hindus. A great portion of this work is borrowed from the Mahabharat; but here arises a considerable difficulty, because the author having also mentioned the Bhagavat Purana as another source from whence he derived his information, it is almost impossible to determine accurately what belongs to the one or the other of these poems. The Bhagavat Purana contains chiefly the history of Krishna, which, however, is also interwoven with the thread of the Mahabharat, as we shall see presently, and as the former

[65] Prefixed to the Mahabharat is a proem, relative to the inauguration of the poet Vyasa, by Brahma and Ganesha, and of which the second part contains also a general index to the poem. But in the English translation of this proem, inserted in the Annals of Oriental Literature, P. I. II. III., this part is altogether left out. *The chapter of contents is here omitted, being of a nature not to be translated.* II. p. 282.—The scarcely intelligible Latin translation of the proem in Frank's Chrestomathia, P. I. p. 122—147, gives only the first half of the English version, and consequently nothing of the index. Had Mr. Frank made choice of this instead of the other, he would have done us some service. In default of the index, therefore, we must be content with the other sources of information alluded to in the text.

poem itself bears witness.[66] Although the war of the Pandos and Coros is properly the subject, yet Krishna, or rather an incarnation of Vishnu under that name, is no less the principal hero of the Mahabharat: he is the defender and assistant of his relations the Pandos; and it is under his guidance, and through his power, that they are victorious. And consequently the legitimate object of the poem would seem to refer rather to the appearance of Vishnu upon the earth in the character of Krishna, and to the victory which by his means the good princes obtained over the bad. It is easy to see how the latter subject, properly speaking, has given the Mahabharat its poetic form, an observation which will appear still more evident from the following extract of the poem itself.[67]

The dominion of the bad spirits had become so excessive, that the earth could no longer endure their violence. Assuming, therefore, the form of a cow, she presents herself before Indra, the lord of the firmament, to complain of her wrongs: he directs her to Siva, who in his turn sends her to Vishnu. Vishnu repairs with her to the temple of Brahma the invisible, on the borders of the sea of milk, and is there commanded to become man, or to appear as an incarnation under the name of Krishna, in the city Matra, (Mathura,) situate on the banks of the Jumna, and in the house of Bosdajo and Deyoki. This Bosdajo was of the family of Yadu, son of Jayat, who had formerly reigned over the land (of India), and from whom were also descended the two branches of the Coros and the Pandos, who were now disputing the succession to the throne. This paves the way for a description of the genealogical descent of the family, which occupies the first book of the poem; and as it embraces the whole circle of Hindu mythology, serves to furnish the poet with a rich variety of subject-matter. With this is intimately connected the birth of Krishna, which, as one may easily suppose, could not take place unattended with miracle, in order to escape the persecutions of Kansa, to whom it had been prophesied that the eighth son of that marriage (and this was Krishna) would

[66] *Bhagavadam*, par OBSONVILLE, p. 303. Bhagavat is one of the surnames of Krishna.

[67] POLIER, *Mythologie des Indous*, vol. i. p. 395, etc.

take away his life. To prevent the accomplishment of this prediction, the whole empire of Daints, or evil genii, was put in motion, but all to no purpose. Even in infancy Krishna performed the most surprising actions; and the history of his youth, his education, and sojourn among the Gopis, or milkmaids, and his adventures with them, opens a wide field of display for the poet's imagination. When grown up, Krishna returns to Matra and slays Kansa, who had put his relations into confinement. The family of Yadu then governed in Hastnapur on the Jumna; and of the line of Pandu there were five princes, all born under circumstances of wonder, and all of them extraordinary beings. Of these, Yudister was the most just, Bhim the strongest, Arjun the most expert archer, Shekdajo the wisest, and Nakul the most handsome. They were not, however, in possession of the throne, for it had been usurped by the tyrant Durjohn of the house of the Coros, who having fraudulently invited the Pandos to play with him, had managed to cheat them out of their kingdom; since which he had never ceased to oppress and persecute them by all the means in his power. Krishna, apprized of the situation of his relatives by a confidential friend whom he had sent to Hastnapur, engages to assist them. In the mean time, Matra was attacked by the Rajah Jerasind, (Ugrasena,) the father-in-law of Kansa, who had solemnly sworn to avenge his death. But he was overcome by Rama the brother of Krishna, and would have been slain, had not the latter vouchsafed him his life. Jerasind, however, took up arms a second time, and with more formidable preparations than before. Then Krishna, to insure the inhabitants of Matra from all danger, summoned up an island from the middle of the ocean, on which by his order the architect of heaven, Biscurma, (Visvakarma,) constructed the wonderful city Dwarka, "whose walls and pavements glittered with gold, silver, and precious stones; its ramparts were formed of solid gold, and the houses of pure crystal. Vessels of gold adorned the portals of every mansion. The bazaars were decked with splendid stalls, the gardens were shaded with trees of Paradise, and refreshed with the waters of immortality. A multitude of temples raised their towering summits, and the smoke of incense from the altars perfumed the

air." To this wonderful city Krishna transports the inhabitants of Matra, where they remain in perfect security. Here also he places his first wife, Rukmini, who like her lord is of more than human origin, being an incarnation of his celestial consort Lakshmi. After this Krishna proceeds to Hastnapur to stand as mediator between the Pandos and Durjohn. The tyrant, however, has recourse to artifice, and prepares a banquet, to which he invites the Pandos, intending to burn them with the house where they are all assembled. But they escaped this violent death, (though Durjohn believed them to be destroyed, as he had confounded them with other strangers,) and withdrew into the solitude of a deep forest, where no one was acquainted with the place of their concealment except Krishna. The heroic exploits achieved by the Pandos, though unknown, during their residence in the forest; the marvellous city Dwarka and its destinies, the machinations and attempts of Durjohn and the Pandos respectively against each other, the assistance afforded to the latter by Krishna and his brother, the final war, and the great battles fought during its continuance, which terminated in the overthrow of Durjohn; all these particulars furnish an inexhaustible source of descriptive embellishment to the poet. He then concludes with an account of the absorption of the wonderful city Dwarka into the ocean from whence it arose, the Pandos recover their dominion in Hastnapur, and Krishna ascends up into his heavenly and original mansion of Vaikuntha.

Whatever judgment we may be disposed to pronounce on the merits of the poem before us, imperfect as that must necessarily be, when we are not even possessed of a simple prose translation, and of course can form no idea of its majestic style and metrical character, yet it will scarcely be possible to deny the Mahabharat to be one of the richest compositions in epic poetry that was ever produced.

Although, however, the summaries and indexes before mentioned are insufficient for enabling us to form a correct opinion of the whole poem, yet with regard to the subordinate parts, two episodes, taken from the Mahabharat, have not long ago been published in the original Sanscrit, and accompanied with an excellent translation, of which the Bhagavadgita, already alluded to, belongs to didactic, and

the other (Nala) to epic poetry; our present business is therefore only with the latter, for which we are indebted to the labours of Bopp, the first scholar who fathomed the depths of Sanscrit literature in Germany.[68] We are now eagerly expecting the fulfilment of his promise of editing several other episodes from the great poem, in the same manner, which will enable us to pronounce a more determinate judgment on the merits of the whole. The episode of Nala is taken from the third book of the Mahabharat. When the Pandos, after having been cheated out of their kingdom by the unfair play of Durjohn, had retired into the forests, the sage Vrihasdana recounts to the eldest of the brothers, Yudhishthir, in order to console him, the history of Nala, who had met with a similar misfortune, but who nevertheless regained his kingdom in the end. Nala king of Nishadha, inflamed with the bare accounts of the beauty of Damayanti, the daughter of Bhima king of Vidharba, had fallen violently in love with her. A golden-winged swan[69] proposes to act as his ambassador. He accordingly despatches the bird with a message to Damayanti; and the princess, surrounded with her women, receives it with great complacency. In the mean while the king her father had invited the neighbouring princes and monarchs to Vidharba, in order that she might select a husband from among their number. Thither also Nala himself hastens to repair. The

[68] Nalus, Carmen Sanscritum e Mahabharata; edidit, Latine vertit, et adnotationibus illustravit Franciscus Bopp, Londini, 1819, pp. 216. The notes are chiefly critical. [Professor Bopp has since published four other episodes of the Mahabharat, under the title of "Diluvium cum tribus aliis Mahabharatæ episodiis præstantissimis, 1829." This publication contains the Deluge, so interesting to compare with the Mosaic account, the Mythic history of Savitri, the Rape of Draupadi, and Arjun's journey to Indra's Heaven, of which last, however, only the latter half is given. Inedited note of the author.]

[69] [The original word has usually been rendered by the very unpoetical term "goose!" but the Hansa of the Hindus bears little or no resemblance to that plebeian fowl. There are three distinctions: the Rajah-hansa, (or royal Hansa,) with a milk-white body and deep-red beak and legs; this is the Phœnicopteros or Flamingo: the Mallikaksha-hansa, (or Hansa with eyes like the Mallika-flower,) with brownish beak and legs; and the Dhartarashtra-hansa, (or Hansa of Dhritarashtra,) with black beak and legs: the latter is the European swan, the former a variety. It is somewhat remarkable, that the Egyptian Nile-Ibis (*Ibis religiosa* of Cuvier) is still called Abu Hansa (Father Hansa) by the Arabs, though it essentially differs from the embalmed specimens of the ancient Ibis, which correspond more with the Hindu bird. See *Asiatic Res.* vol. xiv. p. 29. CRAWFURD'S *Sketches of Hindusthan*, p. 150. SYMES' *Travels*, p. 363. TRANSL.]

report, however, of Damayanti's beauty had even reached the ears of the gods, for Indra too and some others enter the lists of competition. To mislead the princess they assume the form of Nala; but Damayanti contrives to recognise her lover, and, rejecting the celestial rivals, places the bridal garland on his shoulder. The gods approve her choice, load her with presents, and return back again to heaven. Damayanti, accordingly, becomes the wife of Nala, and bears him a son and a daughter. But unfortunately the gods on their return meet with two Rakshasas, Dwapara and Cali, who had also intended to present themselves among the suitors of Damayanti. They learn from Indra that they are too late, and Cali therefore determines to be revenged. He directs his route towards Nishad, where Nala and his spouse were enjoying the fruits of their happy union, and engages Pushkar the brother of Nala to invite him to a game at draughts, while he himself inspires the luckless prince with an uncontrollable desire for play. In vain Damayanti endeavours to withhold her husband; to no purpose does she send her two children out of the way to their relations. Nala has lost every thing, even to the clothes on his back: the latter are actually taken from him. But his faithful consort not only follows him in his distress and exile, but also shares her raiment with him. All this, however, could not satisfy the vengeance of Cali. He disorders the understanding of Nala, so as to make him desert his unfortunate Damayanti while sleeping in the forest! Who can describe her waking despair, and her wanderings in search of her bewildered lord! She meets with a caravan of merchants, but they can give her no assistance; for in the night they are attacked by a herd of wild elephants, and the whole caravan is torn in pieces. Damayanti alone manages to escape destruction, and makes her way to a city, where she is recognised by the mother of King Chadir, her relation, and is sent home to her parents at Vidharba. In the mean time Nala, pursuing his route through the forest, arrives at the residence of Carcothaca king of the serpents, who, giving him another form, sends him to Ayodhya in the character of a charioteer, in order to be instructed by Ratoparna in the art of playing at draughts. In requital Nala gives his instructor lessons in his own assumed art; and in process of time is enabled by this accident to win back the whole of what he had lost, and to recover possession of his wife, his children, and his throne.

Remarkable as this episode appears for inventive merit, it is not at all inferior in point of style; and some passages, especially in the first part, would do credit even to Homer himself.

The war of the Pandos and Coros seems to have furnished as abundant subject-matter to Hindu poets, particularly the epic, as the Trojan war did to the Greek. Several other epic poems, of which we know scarcely any thing at present beyond their names, have all been drawn from the same storehouse, such as the one entitled Magha, which is founded on the death of Sisupala, slain by Krishna in the same war; and that called Kiratarjuniya, which celebrates the victory of Arjuna over Duryodhama, by the aid of celestial weapons.[70] I have considered it necessary to enter into some detail with regard to these poems, in order to give greater effect to the ensuing remarks on the subject of Hindu epic poetry in general, and its influence on the civilization of the people. In comparing their epopee occasionally with that of the Greeks and the moderns, it is by no means my intention to draw any parallel between the two, but merely to throw greater light on the original character of the former.

The action of the Hindu epos is placed in an age far antecedent to all historical computation. The Mahabharat is supposed to be less ancient than the Ramayana;[71] and indeed it describes a later, that is, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu; but according to the pundits, the war of the Pandos and Coros, together with the poem, whose subject it forms, ought to be referred to the 105th year before the commencement of the Cali Yug,[72] (their present era,) an opinion which would therefore place them both in the fabulous times. In this sense the composition of the Ma-

[70] COLEBROOKE, in *Asiatic Res.*, vol. x. p. 405, etc. [The Magha Cavya consists of twenty cantos, and was published in the original Sanscrit, first by Professor Wilson at Calcutta in 1812, and subsequently by two learned natives, accompanied with a commentary, in the year 1815. TRANSL.]

[71] According to a passage in POLIER, vol. i. p. 579, it would appear that the Mahabharat actually contains allusions to the Ramayana.

[72] *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 99.

habharat has been usually attributed to Vyasa, who belongs to the same period.[73] What proportion, however, of the episodes, and other subordinate pieces, are really from his pen, can only be determined with some degree of probability, when we possess the entire poem itself. As to its great age, it will be impossible to entertain the least doubt on the subject, after having remarked that the ancient rock temples are ornamented with sculptured representations mostly borrowed from that source. The Mahabharat and the Ramayana determine the character of the Hindu epos, and to a certain degree also that of the whole range of national poetry. What constitutes their peculiarity, is the fact that they do not confine themselves exclusively to subjects purely human. The personages whom they introduce upon the scene are either absolutely supernatural beings, or, when they appear in human shape, are men of no ordinary kind. The Hindu system of religion has many ways of approximating gods to men, and of elevating men to the rank of gods. The illustrious sages, the Rishis and the Munis, who have purified themselves by continual study of the Vedas, by meditations in solitude, and by a long course of penance, are on a level with the Devas, and not unfrequently even superior to them. They are placed in the same heaven which is the abode of Indra, lord of the firmament, Siva, and Vishnu, to whose court and attendants they belong; they can even arrive at the high rank of Mukti, and enjoy the most perfect happiness in an intimate union with the deity himself. Another still more remarkable characteristic of the poetry of the Hindus is the incarnation of their divinities; which is, as it were, the very foundation of their epopee, and absolutely necessary for maintaining its essential form. These incarnations consist in making the superior and inferior Devas and Devanies assume for a definite period the form of man, be naturally born, and pass through all the vicissitudes of a terrestrial life, in order to attain a certain object, which was only attainable by these means. The ever playful fancy of the Hindus often treats this part of their mythology in a very complicated and artificial manner. The divinities, though in human shape,

[73] See above, p. 120—150.

continue nevertheless to preserve their heavenly relations; as Vishnu, during his appearance on earth under the form of Krishna, was still residing in his celestial abode of Vaikuntha. The same divinity also appears under various human forms at the same time, and while his first incarnation is going on, a second may have already commenced. These monstrous productions of Hindu imagination may no doubt offer their weak side to European criticism; but they are notwithstanding the grand lever of the national poetry, and indeed altogether indispensable in the epic; for it is only by such means that the superior beings of Hindu mythology can be made available for the purposes of the epopee. It depends upon the poet to give them what shape he pleases; and here we may remark, that the expression used above, viz. incarnation, as implying the assumption of a human form, is too limited in that sense for conveying the whole of what is meant by the term. The Hindu deities are not all confined to manifestations of themselves, exclusively human. They occasionally appear in the shape of animals. Many of the characters introduced by the poet, such as Hanuman leader of the monkeys, Yamvent king of the bears,[74] Garud prince of the eagles, and a hundred others, are all incarnations of this kind. It is easy to see how this must have altered the whole character of Hindu poetry, and that a neglect of the purely human form must have been the necessary consequence. Divine personages appear also in the Greek epos, and are represented as exercising an influence upon human destiny; but they appear there only in a subordinate capacity, or rather, to use a technical expression, as forming the machinery of the poem. In Hindu poetry, on the other hand, especially in the Ramayana, the case is exactly the reverse. Those superior beings are here the principal characters upon whose destinies the whole action of the epos turns; and even when simple mortals enter upon the scene, it is always in a subordinate relation to the former. Should any of them indeed be called upon to play a distinguished part, the poet almost in every case takes advantage of his discretionary power of approximating them to the rank of divine beings. We might here ven-

[74] POLIER, vol. i. p. 579.

ture an observation which naturally suggests itself, that, considered in the above point of view, the Hindu epos has a greater resemblance to the religious poetry of the Germans and the English than to the Greek, with this difference, however, that the poet of India has a wider range afforded his imagination than the latter. Not confined to the single personification of the one eternal and invisible being, he can introduce at pleasure among the characters of his poem an innumerable crowd of Devas and Devanies, which again have not the monotonous uniformity attached to our notions of angelic personages, whether good or evil, arising from their want of sex, and the perfect moral excellence or depravity inseparable from their nature. Nevertheless, a certain degree of resemblance between the epic poetry of the Hindus and that of the English and the Germans, particularly the latter, is still incontestable ; and is so much the more curious, as the two kinds must have been formed and developed in complete independence of each other. May we not be allowed to conjecture that during a separation of some thousand years, admitting the former connexion of these nations, they have mutually preserved that sentiment of the divine and the heavenly which afterwards burst forth in their respective epic writers at the same time with the rise of their national poetry? And may we not suppose that Vyasa and Klopstock, Valmiki and Milton, though far removed from each other by the longest intervals of space and time, were nevertheless animated by the same spirit?

That neglect of the purely human character, which we have just noticed among the Hindu epic writers, would seem to explain certain other striking peculiarities of their epopee. The Hindu divinities, for instance, could never represent the perfect exemplar of corporeal beauty, as those of the Greeks did in all their principal modifications. The poet of India, it is true, allows some of them a general share in this privilege, but then he as little scruples to assign them attributes which are altogether incompatible with the true notion of purely human beauty. The blue colour of Vishnu, the many arms and heads with which other deities are represented, and a number of similar deformities, quite foreign to the mythology of Greece, all serve to confirm the

truth of our observation. For the same reason it would appear further, that the Hindu epic poets themselves never knew how to draw the exact line of distinction between the simply wonderful and the outrageously extravagant. Where, indeed, could they draw it, as long as they had to deal with personages of such an extraordinary character, and furnished with such supernatural powers? The prodigious in every shape appears to be their peculiar object of search, even in cases where, according to our notions, it might very easily be dispensed with. In fine, the epic poetry of the Hindus, notwithstanding its rich luxuriance, is upon the whole less calculated to move the passions than ours, inasmuch as we are most strongly affected by purely human sympathies; though it is not on that account altogether without some scenes which are truly pathetic and affecting. But of all the various characteristic marks discoverable in Hindu epic poetry, the most sensible, and the most generally prevailing one, is the influence of a sacerdotal caste. Not only is the principal subject borrowed from religion, but the whole circle of the poem itself turns upon religious images and allusions. Whatever age we may attribute to the Ramayana and Mahabharat, yet it is pretty certain that the epic poetry of the Hindus could only have been developed at a period of time when the Brahman caste was already flourishing in all its splendour. Every thing therein seems calculated with the view of aggrandizing that caste, and this too not always in the most delicate manner possible. Were it allowable to speak of dates, in a case where chronology is quite out of the question, I should be inclined to refer the origin of this poetry to the time when, according to Hindu traditionary report, the sacerdotal caste had obtained the victory over the Kshatriyas, or warrior caste, and consequently, too, over the Rajahs, who belonged to the latter. The profound reverence with which the Brahmans are treated by kings themselves; the limits assigned to regal authority by religion; the scrupulous care to avoid offending a member of that holy order; are all capable of immediate explanation when referred to this source. But, above all, we must not omit noticing the terrible effect attributed to a Brahman's curse, which, sooner or later, was sure to overtake its object. This again was a powerful engine in

the hand of the poet, and one which he did not fail to make use of; while at the same time it tended to increase and maintain the influence of the priests themselves. The religious character of this poetry gives it also an air of peculiar dignity, which, though it does not indeed absolutely exclude all notion of the comic, nevertheless admits it but sparingly and seldom.[75] The personages introduced observe towards each other, and especially towards the Brahmans, a kind of ceremonial, both in their behaviour and in their language, which has some resemblance to the dignified intercourse of Homer's heroes.

The introduction of supernatural beings would occasion serious embarrassment to the epic poet of India, as he felt himself under the necessity of assigning them limited powers both of mind and body; and it was therefore to obviate this inconvenience that he even made his incarnate deities amenable to the laws of fate.[76] Whenever it is destined that a certain event shall take place, at a certain time and under such and such circumstances, the gods themselves dare not attempt to counteract the fulfilment; which would, moreover, be to no purpose if they did. Another contradiction, arising from the assignment of limited knowledge to these superior beings, was very ingeniously removed by substituting an imaginary film, called Maya, or illusion, before their eyes, which prevents their seeing into the future. When this is withdrawn, the incarnate god immediately discovers the most hidden relations of things, and all futurity lies open before him.

In fine, with all these national peculiarities, the epic poetry of the Hindus, nevertheless, bears evident marks of that fabulous story-telling character so generally prevalent in all Oriental compositions. Most of the episodes, although artificially connected with the main thread of the narrative, may yet, however, be detached, and considered as so many independent tales by themselves, as the Ramayana sufficiently proves; and so no doubt would the Mahabharat, were we able to procure a translation of it. This very circumstance rendered the Hindu epic poetry so popular; for it lived not merely written on palm leaves, but spoken in

[75] See a proof of this in POLIER, vol. ii. p. 42, 43.

[76] *Ramayana*, iii. 165; POLIER, vol. i. p. 605; vol. ii. p. 243.

the mouths of all men. The productions of Valmiki and Vyasa, like those of the Mæonian bard, were originally intended for the public recitation of separate pieces, as indeed is the case at the present day.[77] And in exact proportion to the degree of respect and liberality which they every where strictly enjoin towards the Brahmans, so would it be the interest of the latter to make them as completely national as they could. Ought we, then, to be surprised at the powerful influence which the great epic poems of the Hindus have exercised upon the popular religion, upon arts and other branches of poetry—in one word, upon the whole civilization and intellectual development of the nation itself? Can we wonder that the Hindus should place the Ramayana and the Mahabharat immediately by the side of the Vedas?

Next to these great poems rank the Puranas, which also make a part of the Shastras, a general term under which the Brahmans include all their sacred writings.[78] Eighteen of these Puranas are enumerated, of which the last only is known to us, through an imperfect translation. Of the others, we possess little beyond the summary notices to be found in the catalogue published by Hamilton and Langlès of the Sanscrit manuscripts contained in the Royal Library at Paris. Sir William Jones has given a list of the eighteen Puranas; but upon comparing it with the account of M. Langlès, we can discover no kind of agreement between the two, even in the titles themselves.[79]

[77] According to Father PAULINO, (*Gram. Samscrd.* p. 70,) portions of the Ramayana were still sung in his time before the doors of the temples, to the assembled multitude.

[78] The signification of the word Shastras will be found in SIR W. JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 361, "On the Literature of the Hindus," and is equivalent to *divine commandments*. But as it is not precisely agreed upon the number of those books which must be considered as of divine origin, the term Sastras, or Shastras, is consequently used in various limitations by different writers. According to Sir W. Jones, the Vedas, Vedangas, Upavedas, Dhermas, Dersanas, and the Puranas, together make up the six great Shastras. In the Ramayana it is frequently said of a person that "he was learned in the Vedas, Vedangas, and Shastras." See, for example, vol. i. p. 220.

[79] Names of the Puranas, according to SIR W. JONES, *Works*, vol. i. p. 360, are: 1. Brahma Purana. 2. Padma. 3. Brahmanda. 4. Agni. (These four he supposes to relate to the creation.) 5. Vishnu. 6. Garuda. 7. The transformations of Brahma. 8. Siva. 9. Lingam. 10. Nareda. 11. Scanda. 12. Marcandeya. 13. Bhavishya. (These nine treat of the attributes and power of the divinities.) 14. Matsya. 15. Varaha. 16. Kurma. 17. Varena. 18. Bhagavat Purana. Of these the catalogue of Langlès only gives Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, (which is there designated as the first Pu-

The Puranas are mythological poems, in the more extended signification of the term, as comprehending not merely the fabulous histories of the gods, but also a variety of precepts,[80] which are the sources of the popular religion, of history, geography, and other sciences, as far, indeed, as we can expect to meet with science in a work on mythology. "Each Purana," observes Mr. Colebrooke,[81] "treats of five different subjects, viz. cosmogony, or the Hindu doctrine of the creation and renovation of the world; the genealogies of gods and heroes; chronology, according to the fabulous system of the people; and an heroic history, describing the exploits of demi-gods and heroes." Although this opinion is, perhaps, too generally expressed, yet it is certain that the principal subjects alluded to by him are contained in the Puranas, and it is not without some reason that he compares them to the cosmogonies and theogonies of the Greeks, and even attributes to them greater luxuriance and variety.

The Matsya Purana,[82] which is regarded as the first and most important of all, commences with a dialogue between Menu and Vishnu on the creation of the universe, of the gods and demons; it also contains a history of the kings, children of the sun and moon, descriptions of several feasts in honour of various divinities, certain chapters on the habitations of the gods, and different parts of the earth; a history of Parvati, the wife of Siva; the war between the Devas and Rakshasas, etc.

The Brahma Purana[83] comprises, in four sections, a copious Hindu theogony; but owing, perhaps, to some omission in the Parisian manuscript, it wants the genealogy of the kings, which, according to Hamilton, forms an essential portion of every Purana.

The Agni Purana,[84] one of the largest in the collection, is

rana,) and No. 18: instead of the missing Nos. 3, 6, 7, 13, 15, 16, 17, we have the three following, Kalika Purana, Vayu, and Narasinha, the contents of which are not indicated. Sometimes, though the arrangement is by no means general, the two great epic poems already described are also reckoned among the Puranas.

[80] The Puranas, or Hindu Mythologies, by COLEBROOKE, *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 290. Although certainly used for purposes of instruction, the Puranas are by no means, properly speaking, didactic, as some writers have endeavoured to make them.

[81] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 202, not.

[82] LANGLÈS, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanscrits*, p. 53.

[83] Ibid. p. 36.

[84] Ibid. p. 44.

divided into three hundred and fifty-eight chapters, and may be considered as an abridgement of all the science, legislation, and medicine of the Hindus. Some other Puranas, on the other hand, such as those of Siva[85] and the Lingam,[86] are almost exclusively dedicated to the history of certain gods; or, as the Marcandeya Purana,[87] to the lives of renowned saints, devotees, and hermits.

Of the Kalika Purana we have nothing more than a translation of one section, relative to animal sacrifices, among which we find even those of human beings enumerated.[88]

The Bhagavat Purana,[89] the last of all, is at present, however, the only one of which we possess an entire, though very imperfect translation.[90] Its principal subject is the fabulous history of Krishna, who among his many surnames bears the one of Bhagavat, though it also contains a variety of information on other topics. "I should like to know," said King Parikyita to the wise Suka, son of Vyasa, "in what manner the soul is united to the body? How Brahma came into existence? How he created the world? How he recognised Vishnu and his attributes? What time is, and what the respective ages of mankind and the world? How the soul is absorbed into the godhead? What the dimensions and magnitude of the universe? Of the sun and moon, of the stars and the earth? How many kings have ever reigned in the world? What is the difference between the several castes? What are the various forms assumed by Vishnu? What are the three principal powers? What is the Vedam? What is virtue, and good works? What is the object of all these things?"—I considered it useful to select the above passage, in order to give the reader some notion of the contents, and the variety of subjects treated of in the Puranas.[91]

[85] LANGLÈS, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Sanscrits*, p. 49.

[86] Ibid. p. 29.

[87] Ibid. p. 58.

[88] *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 371.

[89] *Bhagavadam, ou Doctrine Divine ouvrage Indien canonique (par* OBSONVILLE). Paris, 1788. The translation is not immediately from the original Sanscrit, but from a Tamul version. According to Hamilton, it is merely an abridgement, of which the beginning is tolerably correct, but the remainder swarms with mistakes of every kind. LANGLÈS, *Catalogue*, p. 2. [Recent discoveries have proved that this so-called translation merits no confidence whatever. FR. TRANSL.]

[90] *Bhagavadam*, p. 49.

[91] The twelfth and last chapter of the Bhagavat contains a summary trans-

The Puranas occupy an intermediate space between epic and didactic poetry. They resemble the first in containing a great number of mythological fables; but as they are altogether devoid of that unity of action which prevails in the Ramayana and Mahabharat, notwithstanding the vast collection of episodes inserted in the latter, they cannot possibly be ranked in the same class. Their principal object is to convey instruction, and in this point of view they closely approximate to didactic poetry, and the resemblance is increased by the form of dialogue, which is their predominant feature, as they usually represent one of the great sages imparting instruction by way of answer to the inquiries of his diligent and attentive disciples. It is this circumstance which renders the Puranas so well adapted for being read in the schools of the higher castes, and is the reason why they are considered as the best preparative for studying the Vedas.

It follows, then, that the Puranas are the principal sources of Hindu mythology, and, as far as the divinities therein celebrated are objects of popular worship, of the national religion also; for the latter, as we have already shown in another place, could not be derived from the Vedas. It is, like the national religion of the Greeks, simply of a poetical origin, and borrowed from the epic poems, taken in a larger sense as comprehending also those of a descriptive character. But an important question still remains for us to discuss, viz. whether the Puranas are original or only secondary sources: in other words, are we to reckon them among the ancient compositions of Sanscrit literature, or must we assign them a more modern origin?

Before we can with any propriety venture upon a critical examination of the Puranas, we ought first to possess them in the original. At present, however, all that we can advance on the subject must depend upon the accounts of others, and upon imperfect abstracts of the works themselves. The common assertion of the Brahmans would refer the Puranas to an age as remote as that which produced the Vedas and the Mahabharat, in assigning Vyasa as the author of all three. Now, though it is impossible in our present circumstances

lated by Hamilton, (see LANGLÈS, *Catalogue*, p. 10,) from which it appears that all the above questions are therein discussed.

to institute a critical inquiry into the date of each Purana considered separately, yet it appears pretty certain that, taken altogether, and in the state in which they now are, they cannot be so old as the report would make them.

The Puranas are evidently for the most part nothing but compilations, and could therefore only be produced at a time when Sanscrit literature was already in a rich and perfect state of development in all its various branches. The literature of any nation could obviously never begin with compilations, for these require a previous age of learning, usually too of considerable duration, to have elapsed; and, moreover, they presuppose a demand for instruction. Now it was precisely with a view of satisfying this demand that the Puranas were composed, as in fact they are still used for the same purpose at the present day. They are by no means the work of a poetic genius like the great epics of which we have spoken; but, like the poems of Tzetzes and other grammarians, the fruit of extraordinary diligence combined with extensive reading. Add to this, we are assured that the historical sections of the Puranas contain several accounts of pretended prophecies, which, however, were evidently made after the events had taken place.[92]

Although I am convinced that the Puranas in their present state cannot possibly be referred to the earliest periods of Sanscrit literature, yet I am nevertheless far from considering them altogether as an invention of modern times, that is, of the middle ages. When and how they received their present form is a question hitherto undetermined. Apparently they are not the work of one person, as native tradition would make us believe, for they very frequently contradict each other on the most essential points, sometimes ascribing greater honour to Vishnu, at others to Siva. It is also very probable that even each separate Purana was not composed all at once, but by slow degrees. The form of these books is itself extremely favourable to additions and interpolations, for no one of them consists of a regular and consecutive whole; but appears more like a collection of detached pieces of descriptive and didactic poetry.

I am therefore inclined to believe that the Puranas are

[92] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 486.

modern compilations, drawn from the works of ancient poets,[93] to which the compilers may perhaps have made several arbitrary additions of their own. The principal sources from whence they borrowed their materials, are undoubtedly the old epic poems of the nation; for instance, the Bhagavat, which is supposed to be one of the latest,[94] is almost wholly taken from the Mahabharat; to these, indeed, we should add the philosophical systems, discussed in poems of a different kind. All this, and much more, would naturally precede the existence of compilations of the above character.

Considered in this point of view, it is evident we may very properly regard the form of the Puranas as a work of comparatively modern date; though at the same time we have equal reason in attributing a much higher antiquity to their contents. A modern critic, Mr. Bentley,[95] contends that none of the Puranas are more than six hundred and eighty-four years old, because none of those writings which mention the chronological system, known by the name of Brahma Calpa, are any older. Supposing this assertion to be correct, which, however, is disputed by others, it would then only be conclusive with regard to the chronological sections of the Puranas, which bear but a very small proportion to the rest of their contents.

"In Europe, too," observes a most profound scholar,[96] "literary forgeries have been committed. But a native of India, who should argue from a few instances that the whole literature of Europe which is held ancient, consists of modern forgeries, would be justly censured for his presumption. We must not then indiscriminately condemn the whole literature of India. Even Father Harduin, when he advanced a similar paradox respecting the works of ancient writers, excepted some compositions of Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and Pliny. It is, however, necessary in India, as every where else, to be guarded against literary impositions: some fabricated works, some interpolated passages will be detected by the sagacity of critics; but the greatest part of those books which are considered ancient by

[93] Compare WILFORD, in *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 244.
[94] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 487.
[95] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 241.
[96] COLEBROOKE, in *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 487.

the learned among the Hindus, will assuredly be found genuine. I mean to say, that they are the same compositions which have been revered by the Hindus for hundreds, if not thousands, of years."

I am altogether of the same opinion. To suppose, indeed, as Mr. Bentley seems inclined, the whole collection of Sanscrit literature to be no older than the middle ages, involves a paradox even more monstrous than the one set up by Father Harduin. Admitting the accounts left us by the Greeks to be correct, in reporting the civilization of India to have been regarded as ancient even in the time of Alexander, we must necessarily infer the corresponding antiquity of Hindu literature, as the prime origin of the former. It were certainly just as impossible for the Hindus to have become a cultivated nation without their Vedas and their epic poetry, as for the Greeks to have attained their advanced state of refinement without the writings of Homer and his successors; the impossibility, indeed, appears even more striking in the case of the latter people, when we reflect that they had no Holy Scriptures like the Vedas to assist their intellectual development.

The mythological systems contained in these poems are but imperfectly known to us at present, through the medium of extracts and summary abridgements, which must for this reason be necessarily partial and disfigured, as it was the main object both of Father Paulino and the English writers who have directed their attention to this subject, to discover points of resemblance in the mythology of India as compared with that of the Greeks and the Egyptians.[97] They found what they sought after, and their opinions getting into circulation, contributed in no small degree to embarrass and confound the science of Hindu antiquities in general. Polier, who has supplied the latest, and by far the most complete information on the subject, has taken care to avoid this fault.[98] The form of dialogue adopted by him for re-

[97] SIR W. JONES's treatise, On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, (vid. *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 221, and his *Works*, vol. i. p. 229,) gave the first impulse, and was followed in the same track by Father PAULINO, in his *Systema Brahmanicum*, who is otherwise almost always the opponent of English writers.
[98] Mythologie des Indous, travaillée par Mdme. la Chanoinesse de Polier, sur des MSS. authentiques rapports de l'Inde, par feu M. le Col. de Polier.

porting a conversation with his instructor, Ramchund, and which is so agreeable to European taste, may also be regarded as truly Indian; and the whole dialogue itself appears to derive a considerable accession of probability from the circumstance of Ramchund's belonging to the sect of the Sikhs, who having turned back again to monotheism, regard Hindu mythology like ourselves, as nothing more than a tissue of poetical fictions. It is impossible to dispute Ramchund's extensive acquaintance with the fables of his countrymen; but whether he has correctly reported them, can only be determined when we are able to consult the original sources. The Mahabharat and Bhagavat are generally mentioned as the principal authorities, but whence each particular fable is borrowed we have no certain information. In the work before us, the critic will perhaps find much to supply with regard to details, but considered altogether it has the undoubted merit of having contributed materially to enlarge the circle of our acquaintance with the fables comprised in the epic poems and the Puranas; and of enabling us, with greater precision than before was possible, to judge of the character, the beauties, and the defects of Hindu my-

T. i. ii. 1809. Polier was a native of Lausanne, and having entered into the service of the East India Company, devoted himself with the greatest ardour, and, according to the testimony of Sir W. Jones and others, (*Works*, vol. i. p. 355, *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 377,) with distinguished success, to the study of Hindu mythology, and the collection of any thing that was remarkable in the country. Being unacquainted, however, with the Sanscrit, he was obliged to have recourse to a learned native, (Ramchund,) who explained to him the mythological fables according to the epic poems and the Puranas; and Polier immediately wrote down as the pundit dictated. With these notes he returned home to Europe, during the revolutionary troubles; but here a terrible fate awaited him. He was unfortunately murdered in his own house, near Avignon, by a band of French brigands. By good chance, however, his papers fell into the hands of a relation, the friend and disciple of Gibbon, Madame Polier, only a few years since deceased at Rudolstadt, who, already prepared for the undertaking by early studies, (see her preface,) arranged the scattered documents and published them. No one who has the least affection for the study of Hindu antiquities, can fail to pronounce the name of this extraordinary lady with veneration and gratitude; and it is certainly not the least among the curiosities of literature, that the most copious and accurate account we possess of Hindu mythology, should have been compiled by a woman in an obscure village in the heart of the mountains of Thuringia. [Considering the unusual circumstances under which this work was produced, it would hardly perhaps be reasonable to expect much critical accuracy in the details; and yet the laudatory judgment of the author requires some qualification. A less favourable, but more correct opinion of its merits, will be found in an excellent article by KOSEGARTEN, inserted in the *Hermes*, vol. xxvi. TRANSL.]

thology. We must here content ourselves with only giving a general outline of the subject.

The series of Hindu divinities commences, as we have already seen, with the three superior Devas, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. There being no incarnation of Brahma, he is for that reason less adapted to the uses of poetry.[99] He possesses a temple called Dheira, on the shores of the Milky Sea; whither Vishnu, accompanied with the other Devas, repairs to consult the oracle.[100] The response is communicated to them in a voice, which is only audible after many days of preparatory devotion and prayer. Would not this serve to explain the singular fact, that Brahma, notwithstanding his superiority of rank, is only the object of internal worship; that is, of meditation, and not of external ceremonies. Admitting the popular religion of the Hindus, together with their divinities, to be of poetical origin, does it not follow of course that a deity who was unserviceable to the poet, whatever might be his superiority in other respects, could never become an object of popular worship, or have his own peculiar sect, like the two other great Devas? But I must leave the further discussion of this argument to the professed inquirer into the religious opinions of India.

The case is quite otherwise with respect to Vishnu and

[99] European writers have involved themselves in a labyrinth of inextricable confusion, by employing the names of Brahma, Brehm, Birmah, Brumah, sometimes as synonymous, at others as different appellations. "Brehm," says Polier, (vol. i. p. 358,) "means the invisible, the deity; Birmah, the creative power of Brehm." On the other hand, according to Sir W. Jones, Brahma, in the neuter gender, means the deity, and when masculine, the creative power (*Works*, vol i. p. 249, 250). The Upnekhat always mentions Brahma as the being who is the self-existent, though it confounds with this simple notion much that is subtle and obscure. See vol. i. p. 240, 256, 320. A more intimate acquaintance with Sanscrit works can only, perhaps, dissipate these obscurities; it is, however, quite evident that the Hindu poets never troubled themselves with such metaphysical distinctions, and that an abstract being like Brahma was considered very little adapted to their purpose. [These assertions of Professor Heeren have been contradicted, and with reason, by Schlegel; the names Brahma and Brahmā may be compared with the Greek Θεὸς and Θεῖον, except that they are never taken one for the other. Brahma means the divinity, in the most sublime and abstract sense that it is possible for the mind to conceive. See many passages in the Bhagavadgita.—*Note of the French Translator.*] [The confusion above noticed, seems only to exist in the vitious pronunciation and orthography adopted by Col. Polier. His Brehm is the same as Sir W. Jones's Brahma, the final short vowel being cut off, as is common among the vulgar; and Birmah, or Brumah, is probably a corrupt way of pronouncing Brahmā. TRANSL.]

[100] POLIER, vol. i. p. 398.

Siva. These two deities divide between them the principal religious sects of India; and are, under various denominations, (not a little embarrassing to the study of Hindu theology,) the objects also of external worship. They are no less the principal characters in Hindu epic poetry, and that indeed in a twofold sense, being gods in heaven at the same time they appear as incarnations upon earth. Their celestial palaces have been described by the poets of India in the most brilliant and glowing colours, but in a manner sufficiently at variance with the propriety of European notions. The residence of Vishnu is called Baikunt, or Vaikuntha.[1] He is there enthroned as a handsome young man, radiant with beams of light; but withal of a blue complexion, and furnished with four arms. One hand holds a shell, in another is a lotus flower, an equally important symbol among the Hindus as among the Egyptians; a third arm wields a mace; and in the fourth appears the ring called Sudarsan, from which, as well as from the precious stone depending on his breast, issues a stream of light which illumines the whole palace. When awake, he is seated on a resplendent throne; and when asleep, he reposes on the serpent Seshanaga, whose thousand heads serve him for a pillow. This reptile is himself a Deva, and becomes incarnate along with his master when the latter appears on earth; as does also the king of birds, the eagle Garuda, who carries Vishnu when he leaves Vaikuntha. By his side appears his wife Lakshmi, the fairest of the Devanies, who likewise accompanied her lord in human shape, as his terrestrial consort. A multitude of inferior Devas surround him, and two sentinels guard the entry of his palace. The mansion of Siva, or Mahadeva, called Kailasa Parvat, is not so brilliant as that of Vishnu: it is situate on the lofty peaks of Himalaya. The god, comprising in his own person both the powers of creation and destruction, is represented with corresponding symbols—the lingam to denote the former, and the trident

[1] Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. i. p. 267. Polier, however, always spells this word Baikunt. [The letters *b* and *v* in Sanscrit are, from similarity of form, very liable to be confounded; and, moreover, their occasional interchange is perfectly optional; see Wilson's *Dictionary*, preface, p. 41. Add to this, some of the Hindu dialects having no *v* in their alphabet, substitute *b*, and *vice versâ*, which is perhaps the reason why the Vedas are sometimes miscalled Beds. Transl.]

when he appears as the avenger and destroyer. His complexion is of a red colour, he is girt with an elephant's hide, and is seated upon the skin of a tiger, while near him stands his consort Parvati. But the manner of representing this deity, as well as his names, are subject to various modifications, according to the different ideas formed of his character.[2] The mansions of these superior Devas, belonging as they do principally to the invisible world, have not furnished such exuberant matter for poetical display as that of Indra, prince of Swerga, the firmament or visible heaven; notwithstanding Indra himself occupies a much lower rank in the celestial hierarchy[3] than the former. Lord of the inferior Devas, he inhabits his palace of Vaijayanta, constructed for him by the architect of heaven, Visvakarma, and situate in the middle of the gardens of Nandana. Here ever playing fountains maintain a perpetual verdure, and here also grows the celestial fruit, called Amrita, which confers immortality, the produce of the wonderful tree Parajati, transplanted by Krishna to the marvellous town of Dwaraka, with which it sunk again into the ocean. This surprising tree is adorned with the most brilliant flowers, and whoever reposes under its shade obtains the complete fulfilment of all his wishes. All that the earth contains of what is precious and excellent, is here found in its highest state of original perfection; such as Camada, the cow of abundance; the sacred horse Sajam, an indispensable requisite at the solemn sacrifices; and the white elephant, Airavata. These and many other animals are all produced from the Sea of Milk, which is the source of all perfection. As lord of the firmament, Rajah Indra rules over the winds and the weather; to him the earth addresses her prayers when she has need of rain; and subject to him are the innumerable hosts of inferior Devas, amounting to upwards of three hundred and thirty-two millions. These are divided into classes, but their chiefs alone have access to the Rajah, and the privilege of being admitted to his court of Mulasthan is

[2] As each sect gave the pre-eminence to their own respective deities, we ought not to be surprised at these variations and contradictions, whether apparent or real.

[3] Compare Polier, vol. ii. p. 229, sq., with Jones's *Works*, vol. i. p. 248, sq. In Polier Indra is always called Ainder. [The latter way of spelling follows the corrupt pronunciation of the vulgar. Transl.]

considered the highest degree of happiness to which a created being can aspire. It is there he is represented as a beautiful youth, with four arms, sitting upon a throne; and before him dance the Apsaras, celestial nymphs, breathing the most exquisite perfumes. Notwithstanding all this splendour, however, the majesty and power of Indra had been sorely paralyzed for a considerable space of time; the Daints,[4] or bad Devas, who inhabit Pátála, or the infernal regions, under the command of their king Ravana, had waged war with him, and had overcome him; and it was in order to free the world from their unjust domination, that Vishnu was obliged to appear on earth in the person of Rama, and perform the heroic achievements described in the Ramayana.

The religion of the Hindus, though it admits in this manner both good and evil demons, nevertheless at the same time gives evident proof of that mildness of character so peculiar to it. Penances and purifications are held sufficient to wipe out the crimes of all, not only of mortals, but also of immortal beings; for in answer to the mediatorial prayers of the Devas, even the Daints themselves, after a complete expiation, are to be liberated from hell, and reinstated in all their original happiness. But what in a still more eminent degree contributes to enlarge the circle of Hindu mythology, is the fact, that its poetical fictions of Devas and Devanies are transferred also to natural objects, both animate and inanimate. The sun and moon, both of which are considered by the Hindus as masculine, the earth, mountains, streams, etc., no less than the brute creation, such as apes, bears, elephants, birds, etc., are all occasionally introduced as Devas and Devanies, and thus become available for the uses of poetry. We have already seen Hanuman king of the monkeys playing a distinguished part in one of the great epic poems; in the same manner we observe moral precepts superior even to those of Æsop's fables put in the mouth of animals; as, for instance, in the last book of the Ramayana, where the royal eagle Garuda is represented in sage conversation with a crow.

These primary elements of Hindu mythology, which it

[4] So Polier always calls them. In the Ramayana they are termed Rakshasas.

would be unnecessary further to develop in this place, as the reader will find an ample detail in the before-mentioned work of Polier, are sufficient, however, to show its extreme fecundity. What an inexhaustible fund of subject-matter does it not supply for the exercise and display of poetic genius! And when we consider the vast number of poets, who have separately made it the theme of song, each in his own peculiar manner, what an endless variety may we not conceive to be the result! If we compare the mythology of the Hindus with that of the Greeks, it will have nothing to apprehend on the score of intrinsic copiousness. In point of æsthetic value, it is sometimes superior, at others inferior, to the Greek; while in luxuriance and splendour it has the decided advantage. Olympus, with all its family of gods and goddesses, must yield in pomp and majesty to the palaces of Vishnu and Indra. On the other hand, we must not expect to find among the Hindu gods that beau ideal of the human form which the mythology of Greece supplies: a want of taste in this particular is no less evident in the Puranas than in the epic poems. To what extent, then, the mythology of the Hindus is adapted to the uses of their epic poetry will be sufficiently clear. This is obviously under such circumstances only as mark the peculiarities of the Hindu epopee, and so far only as the latter elevates itself above the consideration of humanity; and, like the sublime compositions of Milton and Klopstock, extends its poetic flight far into the regions of unlimited space.

The different kinds of poetry do not appear to have been so exactly distinguished from one another among the Hindus as among the nations of the West. The general character of the Indian epic poem, the unsettled connexion of its parts, and the frequent episodes, would easily permit the introduction of didactic pieces. Their dramatic poetry, however, is so far intimately blended with the lyric species, that it is often very difficult to draw a marked line of distinction between the two.

The lyric poetry of the Hindus appears to have consisted originally of hymns to their divinities, which bear some resemblance to those commonly attributed to Orpheus, in that they contain for the most part laudatory epithets in honour of the gods. Scarce any other mythology furnishes such a

vast abundance of these epithets, and as they are often employed as surnames, and even as proper names, they give rise to considerable difficulty in reading the Hindu poets; for the same deity is designated by so many appellations, that it is nearly impossible to know or remember them all. Hymns, however, of a purely epic nature could not long remain unknown to the Hindus, while their mythology supplied them with such abundant subject-matter for the purpose; and even many of the episodes introduced into their great epopees bear the character of epic hymns, resembling those of Homer. We are indebted to Sir W. Jones for versions of several of these hymns in praise of the gods; but they are rather imitations in rhyming verse than correct translations; it would therefore be too hazardous to attempt drawing any satisfactory conclusion from them.[5] Father Paulino, however, and the scholars of England, have in their respective writings and essays furnished some complete specimens in the original, accompanied with a literal translation, not merely with the view of ascertaining their contents, but also of showing the variety of forms under which the lyric poetry of the Hindus is found, with regard to rhyme and metre.[6] The poetry in question was formerly among this people as intimately allied to song and music, as among the ancient Greeks; and the case is the same at the present day: both arts were treated by them in a theoretical manner, and both accordingly made the same progress.[7] But the Hindu lyric surpassed that of the Greeks, in admitting both rhyme and blank verse; and although we might compare it in this respect with the German, yet it would seem that the Hindu ear has much less affection for rhyme than the latter.

Among such a poetical people as the Hindus, however, lyric poetry would not be confined to merely religious hymns; and more than one writer has already remarked, that song in general has been no less extensively cultivated by them.[8] But the popular religion, and the various festal

[5] *Works*, vol. i. p. 313, sq.

[6] See examples of these hymns taken from the Vedas, in Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 423, 427.

[7] See Baron Dalberg's Treatise, *Ueber die Musik der Inder* (On the Music of the Hindus); see also *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 35.

[8] Dalberg, loc. cit. p. 90. The Baron has also published the melodies of several Hindu songs.

solemnities it prescribes, opened such a wide field for the display of sentiment, that their lyric poetry almost always preserved some actual connexion with, or reference to, religious ideas. In what other nation besides the Hindu could the erotic species, for example, have found a more abundant supply of argument in the religion of the country? And with respect to the graver kind of lyric poetry, the songs of war and victory, was it possible to give them any other than a religious character, among a people who lived, as it were, upon the deeds of high emprise and heroic achievement performed by their gods and heroes.

A great proportion, nevertheless, of the Hindu lyric poetry belongs to the elegiac species. One of the most beautiful of this description, called the Mega Duta, or Cloud Messenger of Calidasa, has not long since been published in the original, and accompanied with an English translation in verse.[9] The following is a brief abstract of the contents of this poem. A Yaksha, or Deva, who was in the service of the god Cuvera, at his residence in the city Alaca, among the mountains of Himalaya, had drawn upon himself the angry vengeance of his master, for suffering Indra's elephant, named Airavata, to enter and lay waste a garden of which he had been left in charge. As a punishment for his negligence, he was exiled for one whole year to the mountains of Ramagiri, (which form the commencement of the Ghaut range,) where, during all this interval, he lived separate from his dearly beloved wife. Eight months of his banishment had passed over, when the rainy season began, and he beheld the clouds advancing from the south towards the north in the direction of Himalaya and Alaca, where his fond and bereaved consort was mourning his tedious absence. He commissions one of these clouds to convey her intelligence of himself, and describes the road which it must take in order to arrive at the celestial Himath, his own dear country, where he pictures to his mind's eye the form of his much-loved spouse, plunged in grief, and anxiously looking forward to the day of his return. He

[9] The Mega Duta, or Cloud Messenger, a poem in the Sanscrit language, by Calidasa, translated into English verse, with notes and illustrations by Horace Hayman Wilson, Calcutta, 1813. 4to. pp. 120. The notes contain many valuable explanations.

paints her distress in moving terms, and charges the messenger with the following words of consolation. "The thirsty plant looks up to thee; and a gentle shower is thy only answer." Could he have expressed himself with greater truth or delicacy?

The first Hindu lyric poet is considered by the natives themselves to have been Jayadeva, who, according to Sir W. Jones,[10] upon hearsay evidence, is reported to have lived even before Calidasa. This vague chronological date, which would therefore place him anterior to the first century of our era, is at present almost all we know of his history. He was born, as he himself states, at Kenduli, which, according to many writers, is situated in Calinga; but as there exists another town of this name in Burdwan, the inhabitants of the latter place claim Jayadeva as their fellow countryman, and celebrate an annual feast in his honour, when they pass the whole night in joyous revel, singing his poems and representing his idyls.

Although we are in want of positive data for assigning the real period of the golden age of Hindu lyric poetry, yet we are enabled to form some opinion on the subject from a review of one of the principal compositions in this department, the Gita Govinda.[11] We are indebted to the skill and industry of Sir W. Jones,[12] for a translation of this masterpiece of Jayadeva, which is so much the more valuable from being rendered into literal prose, with the omission, however, of certain passages rather too highly coloured in the original. The poem itself is composed in rhymed stanzas, and the subject is of an epic character, being borrowed from the Mahabharat; the whole is a species of idyl, intermixed with lyric songs, and has been incorrectly termed a pastoral drama, though it possesses nothing of the dramatic form. The subject of the poem is taken from the history of Krishna, what time the god, disguised as a youthful herdsman, sojourned among the Gopis, or milkmaids, and gave himself up to the enjoyments of love. Radha, the most

[10] JONES, *Works*, vol. i. p. 462.

[11] Govinda is one of the many surnames of Krishna, which he bears as the god of herdsmen; Gita means song; the whole expression is therefore equivalent to "the song of the god of herdsmen." *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 262.

[12] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 463. Sir William Jones's version was translated by Baron Dalberg into German, with the addition of explanatory notes.

beautiful of them, conceived herself slighted and despised, by the caresses he bestowed on the others. She pours forth the bitterness of her grief, until, through the mediation of one of her companions, the stray god is at length brought back to her arms, and they enjoy together the secret pleasures of amorous dalliance. Although there is a unity of action preserved through the whole poem, it is, nevertheless, no drama, but rather a series of amatory songs connected with the principal story.

The Gitagovinda may serve as a complete specimen of the erotico-lyric poetry of the Hindus. It exhibits a picture of love, confined to the sole gratifications of sense, and betraying rather the grossness of animal desire than the pure and refined enjoyments of intellectual passion. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the wanton luxuriancy of the poet's imagination, which has even occasionally obliged the translators to draw a veil over certain passages.[13] How much of the beauty of a lyric poem must inevitably be lost in a prose translation it would be superfluous to remark; and yet it is almost impossible to read the Gitagovinda even in a translation, without being charmed.

What immediately strikes us in the lyric poetry of the Hindus, is the perfect absence of any foreign alloy; purity and originality of character are predominant throughout, and we feel ourselves suddenly transported into the world of India. But how unable are we to appreciate its beauties, for want of clear and precise ideas of that gorgeous climate! Most of the comparisons are borrowed from Indian vegetation; and yet the melodious names of trees and plants, although reduced in the notes to the Linnæan system, are to our apprehension but empty sounds, while we are unacquainted with the plants themselves, and, consequently, are incapable of estimating the correctness of the allusion.[14] When to this we add the charms of verse and rhyme, not to

[13] The limits which separate the decent from the indecent, and which in general vary according to nation and climate, are utterly disregarded by Hindu poets, for the very reason that works of poetry are not intended for female perusal.

[14] [Dr. Wallich, in his magnificent work on the plants of India, which is now in course of publication, has in part supplied this deficiency. Mr. Colebrooke, in his learned notes to the Amara Cosha, Dr. Roxburgh, and particularly Mr. Wilson, in his Dictionary, had previously given the synonymes of a great number of Indian plants. FR. TRANSL.]

be conveyed in a prose translation, there will remain scarcely any thing of the original. It is impossible, however, not to notice the extreme richness of the poet's fancy, the strength and vivacity of his sentiment, particularly observable in his delicate taste for the beauties of nature in general; and which not even the ardour of passion was able to extinguish. In India the painter of love is at the same time the painter of landscape also, but such a one as could only be formed under the softness and luxuriant vegetation of an Indian climate. In fine, the poem before us shows clearly in what sense the epic of the Hindus may be regarded as the parent of their lyric poetry. The fable to which it refers is handled not only in the Mahabharat, but also in the Bhagavat Purana, and perhaps in many other poems of a later date. From thence the lyric poet borrowed the materials which served to inspire the outpourings of his genius and sensibility.[15]

From the Gitagovinda we proceed by a natural transition to consider the dramatic poetry of the Hindus. The English were the first to discover the fertility of Indian literature in this species of composition. For, upon theatrical representations of the British stage being introduced at Calcutta, Sir W. Jones heard a learned Brahman named Radhacanta remark, that their *nataks*, which had hitherto been considered historic poems, were almost the same thing.[16] The curiosity of Sir William was excited by this observation; he immediately informed himself of the best of these compositions, and it is to this circumstance we owe his discovery and translation of the Sacontala.

Although this interesting play, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak, has enabled us to ascertain the nature of the Indian drama, we are still in comparative ignorance of its extent, and the several branches belonging to it. Mr. Wilson, in his Theatre of the Hindus, has furnished us with additional information on the subject. According to

[15] The amatory poet above noticed, was no less the poet of religion; and we are obliged to Sir W. Jones for a literal translation of one of his odes to Vishnu or Hari, which contains a panegyrical account of all that god's incarnations. JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 289. So inseparably connected among the Hindus appear to have been the sentiments of love and devotion. [The same remark will apply to the Persians also. FR. TRANSL.]

[16] JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 202.

this learned scholar, the Hindu drama is sometimes of an elevated, at others of an inferior kind. The natakas, which belong to the first description, have this peculiarity, that the principal characters are always gods or heroes and heroines, and ought rather to be termed heroic plays than tragedies, for the catastrophe is invariably fortunate. The action of the piece must not occupy less than five, or more than ten acts, which are severally distinguished by the exit of all the players. The language of the superior personages is Sanscrit, that of the lower orders Pracrit and other dialects. The second class of the Hindu drama, called Uparupacas, comprehends smaller pieces, extending mostly from one to four acts, and the characters are ordinary men. We must, however, add to these two kinds a third, which is that of the allegorical drama, exemplified in a play entitled Chandrodaya, translated by Dr. Taylor, where Reason, Passion, and Desire are personified.

Imperfect as our knowledge of the Hindu drama at present is, we cannot mistake the sources from which it was derived; these are no other than the popular religion and epic poetry, from which last the religion itself originated. The histories of gods and heroes, therefore, supplied it with materials, and in this it coincides with the Grecian drama, however great may be the difference between the two in other respects. Although the constitution of Indian governments would not easily admit the introduction of any thing like the old Grecian comedy,[17] yet it did not altogether exclude the comic species, which was partly indispensable as a popular amusement. The fabulous histories of gods and heroes, conformably to the great epic poems, were represented upon solemn feasts in the vicinity of the temples, and are still occasionally at the present day. One of the most fertile subjects for the dramatic poet was furnished in the history of Rama, and the celebrated war of Lanka or Ceylon,

[17] [This is inexact, as there are specimens of Hindu comedy still extant, no ways inferior to the ancient Greek; and it would be curious to examine which of the two kinds had the advantage in all manner of licence. FR. TRANSL.] [It will be sufficient to notice, in confirmation of M. Suckau's opinion, the Hásyarnava, or Sea of Laughter, a farce in three acts, by Jagadisvara. It is a bitter satire on kings and their servants, who are described as profligate scoundrels; and on priests, who are represented as hypocrites! See SIR W. JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 451; LANGLÈS, *Cat. des Manuscrits Sanscrits*, p. 80; and SCHLEGEL's *Ind. Bibl.* ii. 2. p. 161. TRANS.]

from the Ramayana; which is still frequently represented on his feast-day, and the exhibition closes, according to an eye-witness,[18] with the ordeal of fire, in which Sita, the wife of Rama, proved her innocence after being carried off by Ravana.[19]

The nature of the Hindu drama itself would lead us to infer, that it is of greater antiquity than we are enabled to determine with correctness. Its invention, according to Sir W. Jones,[20] is attributed to Bharata, an inspired sage. But, supposing the drama to have been founded upon epic poetry, it must of course be less ancient than the latter; and the Hindus themselves ascribe its perfect development to the comparatively modern age of Vicramaditya; while they are far from allowing their dramatic writings the same degree of veneration as their epic poetry. The former are not reckoned in the number of sacred compositions, which the superior castes only are permitted to read, but are classed with the national poetry; and in fact their prevailing language bears the same character. They are, it is true, written in Sanscrit, but not exclusively; the principal persons, especially the higher beings, alone talk Sanscrit; the women Pracrit; and the lower orders their respective popular dialects. The language is elevated or lowered according to the exigency of the subject; when that is sublime, the interlocutors use only poetry; in familiar conversation, on the other hand, they return to common prose.

How inexhaustible were the sources from whence the dramatic writers of India borrowed their materials, may be easily conceived, from what we have already said of the mythology and epic poetry of the Hindus. On the other hand, the general taste for these poems, and their being put in requisition at the public solemnities, must have increased their number to an extraordinary degree. The pundits, indeed, pretend they are innumerable; and we could willingly believe the assurance of Sir W. Jones, when he affirms, that the Hindu theatre would fill as many volumes as that

[18] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 258. [See an epitome of the Ramayana, as dramatically represented by the common people on the festival of Rama. *Asiatic Journ.* vol. iv. p. 130, 185, N. S. TRANSL.]

[19] See above, p. 157.

[20] See for this, and what immediately follows, his preface to the Sacontala. *Works*, vol. vi. p. 204, etc.

of any nation of modern Europe. More than thirty compositions, next to those of Calidasa, were pointed out to him as the flower of this branch of Hindu literature; of which, however, up to the present time, we know scarcely any thing beyond the mere names.[21]

The most brilliant period of Hindu dramatic poetry is undoubtedly that of Calidasa, whom the natives are unanimous in regarding as the first of their dramatic writers, though two only of his pieces are now extant.[22] He is reckoned among the nine poets who adorned the court of that friend of the muses Rajah Vicramaditya, the sovereign of India; who gave name to the era so called, commencing with his death fifty-six years before Christ; and which, as we have

[21] Sir W. Jones cites the following: The Ill-natured Child; The Rape of Usha; The Taming of the Dervasas; The Rape of the Lock; Malati and Madava; with five or six others, the subjects of which turn upon the adventures of incarnate deities. Mr. Wilford (*Asiatic Res.* vol. x. p. 450, etc.) has given an extract from the play entitled Malati and Madava, written by the poet Bhurivasu, and which has for its subject the loves of a youthful pair, whom their parents had already destined for each other, but who were only united at length after many obstacles. As far as I am able to judge, this play seems much inferior to the Sacontala. The translation of another drama, called Prabodha Chandrodaya, (i. e. Rise of the Moon of Intellect,) by Dr. Taylor, London, 1812, is only known to me by quotations.

[22] Sacontala, and Vikrama and Urvasi. SIR WILLIAM JONES, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 205. The drama entitled Vikrama and Urvasi has been published by Wilson in his "Theatre of the Hindus." The following is a brief account of its subject. The king Pururava appears in his chariot on the mountain tops of Himalaya, where he delivers Urvasi, a celestial Apsara, or nymph, who had been carried off from the court of Indra: a mutual passion is the consequence; but the lovers are obliged to separate, on account of Urvasi's return to heaven. The king gives himself up to melancholy, and communicates his misfortune to his friend Manava, who plays the traitor, and by means of a flying leaf discloses the secret to the queen his wife. Urvasi, impelled by love, returns to visit the king, and invites him to retire with her into the bosom of a wood called Rarikeya. The entrance of this wood was forbidden to all women, upon pain of being turned into vine-stocks, a metamorphosis which accordingly befell the luckless Urvasi, after giving birth to a son. At length, however, being disenchanted by Indra, she is received into his celestial abode together with her spouse and son. The plot and unravelling of the piece are evidently similar to those of Sacontala. The character of Urvasi, of the king and his companion Manava, a grossly sensual Banian, who acts the droll in this play like Madavia does in the Sacontala, are perfect counterparts of those found in the latter poem. Nevertheless, the character of Pururava is delineated with less vigour than that of Dushmanta, to whom he is besides generally inferior. *Inedited note of the Author.*

[The text of this play, and several other specimens of the Hindu drama, have been published by the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta. Another comedy, in five acts, entitled Agnimitra and Malavika, purports to be written by Calidasa, but it seems uncertain whether the great poet of that name or another. TRANSL.]

seen, was still in use during the middle ages. According to this computation, the age of Calidasa would coincide with that of Lucretius, and follow not long after Terence. It must be candidly allowed that we have no stronger proof of the correctness of this date; but surely the bare circumstance of an era having prevailed among the whole nation for upwards of a thousand years, is undoubtedly a strong presumption in its favour; and that the objections alleged by Mr. Bentley against the age of Calidasa rest upon no solid grounds, has, I think, been sufficiently shown already.[23] As far, then, as our present knowledge extends, we may feel ourselves justified in regarding the first century before Christ as the most flourishing period of Sanscrit literature, particularly of the drama. Whoever, indeed, examines with attention the only specimen of the latter kind at present known in Europe, will find ample reason, I imagine, for considering the play in question to have been composed, not for the people but the court, and for a brilliant court too: in this sense we might not unaptly term the piece a royal drama. A king, together with a heroine, is the principal character; and every thing is calculated with a view to his aggrandizement. The action of the play is confined to the court, and the society of gods and holy anchorites, which last are on the same footing with princes. The preparations requisite for enacting this drama, in whatever manner we may suppose that to be done, are on such a large and expensive scale, as none but a royal stage could either accomplish or afford.

The Sacontala[24] is already too well known to the learned of Europe to require a particular exposition of its contents. It was this celebrated drama which first gave us a more correct idea of the treasures contained in Sanscrit literature; and we must in truth allow Calidasa to be one of those poets who have done honour not merely to their own nation, but to all civilized mankind. At the same time it will not

[23] See above, p. 116, 117. We ought, however, to remark, that the question only concerns the age of Calidasa, and other poets his contemporaries, and has nothing to do with the work entitled Surrya Siddhanta, upon which it will be the appropriate task of astronomers to decide.

[24] Sacontala, or The Fatal Ring. Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 209, etc. The ensuing observations are grounded solely on this translation, without reference to the criticisms of other writers.

be too much to assert, that the number of those readers who can perfectly comprehend him must ever be small. He only who has become naturalized to an Indian world, and has been able to identify himself with the habits of thinking and sentiments peculiar to the natives, can ever thoroughly understand the most beautiful passages of this author.[25]

As the Hindus themselves regard the Sacontala as the first of all their dramatic compositions, there will be no impropriety, therefore, in our attempting to examine their whole drama, by referring it to the same standard. Notwithstanding the charms of language and versification are necessarily lost, yet enough remains, in the plan and development of the plot, for enabling us to make a proper estimate of the whole play, and thereby to ascertain the general character of the Hindu drama itself. That distinguishing feature of Hindu poetry, its not being satisfied with mere humanity, but confounding the divine with the terrestrial, yet so as that the former shall predominate, is no less conspicuous in the drama than in the epic poem. Both the principal characters are of supernatural origin; Sacontala is the daughter of a Rajah, and a Devanie;[26] Dushmanta the king is of the race of the Purus, who derived their lineage from the moon, and is at the same time the friend and companion of Indra, upon whose chariot he appears riding in the clouds. The action of the piece commences

[25] To cite a few instances, I need only allude to Sacontala's farewell address to her plants and flowers, expressed in as affectionate terms as if they were her sisters: to the fearful malediction of the Brahman Durvasa and its consequences, which form the principal groundwork of the plot; to Dushmanta's grief, and horrible presentiment of the ruin of his house, if he should die childless, and consequently lose the benefit of a funeral sacrifice to be offered by his heirs for the repose of his soul; and to his relationship with Indra, etc.

[26] The birth and history of Sacontala are related in the Mahabharat, from whence Calidasa borrowed his subject; but which he further detailed and embellished, as the nature of dramatic interest might require. The above episode has been translated by Fred. Schlegel, in his Essay on the Language and Science of the Hindus, p. 308; where at the same time that he shows how the dramatists of India borrowed their materials from the epic poems, he also informs us what freedom they allowed themselves in their respective methods of handling them. According to the Mahabharat, Sacontala was the daughter of Rajah Vishvamitra, who by his penances had raised himself to the dignity of a Brahman; whom, notwithstanding, the Devanie Menuca had seduced to her embraces at the suggestion of Indra, who was alarmed at the uncommon mortifications of the sage. In the drama she is called Causica, p. 222. The great simplicity of the narrative contained in the epic poem, compared with that in the drama, is another proof of the high antiquity of the former, and of the different ages in which they were severally composed.

on earth and terminates in the celestial mansions of the gods; all which gives to the poem a certain degree of majesty and elevation.

This is not the place for unravelling the web of this astonishing literary performance, or we might expatiate upon the intimate connexion of its parts, and the exact measure and proportion of the whole. We might show how the progressive and harmonious march of the action, commencing like an idyl, with the picture of a delicate young nymph surrounded with her plants and flowers, continually rises in majestic interest till the last act, where Sacontala, being again united to her husband and son, the youthful vanquisher of lions, is presented to the gods her relations, and the piece closes, as it were, with a species of transfiguration. Calidasa has been termed the Hindu Shakspeare;[27] and in truth there is as much affinity of soul between these two dramatists, as we have already noticed between the respective epic poets of the two countries. The action of the Sacontala, however simple it may be, is of no less extent than the great works of the English poet. Both are equally unrestricted by the unities of time and place; unity of action, indeed, is the only one which Calidasa recognises. Neither does he disdain, when the subject requires it, to interweave with scenes of ordinary life those also of a more elevated character; but his representations are always true and animated, in every variety of circumstance, whether he introduces us to gods or princes, to constables or fishermen. He paints with equal delicacy and force the graceful and the pathetic, the terrible and the sublime. Even the comic is not foreign to his pencil, though he employs it but sparingly, and always with design.[28] And if he does not express the passions so forcibly as the English dramatist, we should recollect that the grand aim of Hindu philosophy is to repress them altogether.

It would appear, then, that Calidasa raised the Indian

[27] JONES'S *Works*, vol. vi. p. 205.

[28] Madhavya is certainly in some measure the droll in Sacontala, though incorrectly characterized as a buffoon in the English translation. He is represented as a Brahman by birth, and, in consequence, as the equal in rank and playmate of the king from his youth up, p. 236. It is not his wit so much as his dulness, in contrast with the lofty character of Dushmanta, to whom he serves as a foil, which produces the comic of the play.

drama to a degree of excellence, of which, previous to the discovery of his Sacontala, we had not the slightest conception. But what a course of preliminary mental improvement must the nation have gone through, ere they could possess a writer like Calidasa! ere they could understand and appreciate his genius! It is only from one of his two principal works that we are at present enabled to form any opinion of the poet himself, or of the whole dramatic literature of his nation. How confined, therefore, is our sphere of vision, and how much more correctly might we judge of both, did we but possess those thirty other pieces, which were represented to Sir W. Jones as the most valuable of this author's compositions![29] We can now only judge of the Indian drama, as we might of the English, supposing Hamlet were the only play we had to guide our judgment. It is, indeed, easy to conceive what we have lost, but scarcely possible for us to estimate its real value.

The poetry of no other nation exhibits in such a striking manner the didactic character as that of the Hindus; for no other people were so thoroughly imbued with the persuasion, that to give and receive instruction was the sole and ultimate object of life. How could such a sentiment fail to exercise a reflected influence upon poetry? A large proportion of the Vedas, the Upanishads, must be regarded in the light of philosophico-didactic poems, indissolubly connected, however, with religion. The case is the same with most of the Puranas, especially the cosmogonies and theogonies which those writings contain. The nature of the Hindu epic poem, so favourable to the introduction of episodes, is equally well adapted for conveying moral and philosophical precepts. The last book of the Ramayana, and the Bhagavat Gita in the Mahabharat, may serve as examples of the fact.

The Bhagavat Gita, which is in the form of a dialogue between Krishna and his disciple Arjuna, is one of the prin-

[29] According to SIR W. JONES, (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 205,) Calidasa was not only a dramatic, but an epic writer also. Two heroic poems of his composition are still extant: The Children of the Sun, and The birth of Curama the God of War. Some amatory tales are likewise attributed to him, and a poem on Sanscrit metre. "According to some," adds Sir William, "he revised the works of Valmiki and Vyasa, and arranged them in their present order." This last observation will serve to throw a considerable degree of light upon the obscure history of Sanscrit literature, a subject to which I shall very soon have occasion to refer.

cipal sources of the religious philosophy of the Hindus.[30] Krishna is there represented as the supreme being, through and in whom every thing exists. The poem certainly abounds in sublime passages, which remind one of the Orphic hymn to Jupiter, quoted by Stobæus. How far, indeed, the poet can be absolved from the charge of pantheism, when he represents the deity sometimes as a simple and indivisible being,[31] at others, as composed, and the substance of all things,[32] is a question for philosophers to decide. According to him, the body, when once become unserviceable, is thrown aside like an old garment, and the immortal soul is enveloped in another.[33] The government of the passions and the mortification of sensual desires comprise the whole extent of his moral system. Whoever, says he, can attain perfection in this respect, will after death be absorbed into the Divine essence, without being born again.[34] He adds a great deal of what is excellent and true upon this subject, though he also pretends that abstract meditation or devotion, accompanied with invocation of the deity by the mystical word *Om*, will conduct a man to supreme happiness.[35] Here, again, we remark the strong propensity of the Hindus to mysticism.

Although the didactic poetry of the Hindus, conformably to the general character of their civilization, remained in intimate connexion with religion, the descriptive, on the other hand, appears to have emancipated itself. To the latter kind belongs a poem of Calidasa, entitled Ritusanhara,

[30] We are indebted to A. W. Schlegel for a complete and critical edition of the Bhagavat Gita, from the Paris MSS. "Bhagavad Gita, id est, Θεσπέσιον μέλος, sive almi Krishnæ et Arjunæ colloquium de rebus divinis Bharateæ Episodium." Bonn, 1828, 4to. This is the first book that was printed in the Devanagari character in Germany; the chapters of the Bhagavad Gita inserted in FRANK'S *Chrestomathia*, vol. ii., being lithographed. As to Mr. Wilkins's edition printed at Calcutta in 1803, and accompanied with an English translation, scarce any copies appear to have reached Europe. [Wilkins never published the text of the Bhagavad Gita, which only appeared for the first time at Calcutta, in 1815; his English translation came out in 1785. FR. TRANSL.]

[31] Essentia simplex et individua est summum numen, p. 155.

[32] Mea natura in octonas partes distribuitur, p. 153.

[33] Page 135. [34] Page 143.

[35] Page 156. [*Om* is the mystic name of the deity, prefacing all the prayers and most of the writings of the Hindus; compounded of *A* a name of Vishnu, *U* of Siva, and *M* of Brahma; it therefore implies the Indian triad, and expresses the three in one. TRANSL.]

or the Seasons, which has been printed at Calcutta in the original Sanscrit: but Sir W. Jones, in his Works, only presents us with a title and a very short notice. "It is impossible," says he, "to commence the study of Sanscrit with a more elegantly written composition. Every line of Calidasa is elaborated with the utmost care; and each stanza of the poem describes an Indian landscape, always beautiful, sometimes strongly coloured, but never untrue to nature." The name and reputation of Calidasa were sufficient to justify the largest hopes; but unfortunately we must content ourselves with this imperfect account of Sir William, for neither original nor translation appear yet to have reached Europe.

The poetry of the Hindus particularly affects the form of dialogue, which it also employs in didactic poetry, as we have before noticed in speaking of the Puranas. But its peculiar feature consists in putting these dialogues in the mouths of animals, not merely for the purpose of enabling them to speak in character, like those in the fables of Æsop, or Reynard the Fox, but also, as beings of a higher and enlightened or at least of a rational nature, in order to convey precepts of wisdom and prudence. This peculiarity is strictly conformable to the light in which the Hindus regard the brute creation. We have already had occasion to remark the superior character which animals assume in the mythology of this people; that they are not only companions of the deities, but are themselves also of divine nature, and appear upon earth in an incarnate form by the side of the divinities. But in the case before us, a much stronger influence is exercised by the general belief in the transmigration of souls. According to the Brahmans, all life is an emanation of the deity; and this, too, not only with regard to men, but also to brutes, and even the vegetable world. The soul is supposed to migrate successively through the bodies of men and inferior animals, which are so many forms of purification, until at length it is raised to its original condition, and is absorbed again into the divinity;[36] though it is also pretended that this may take place immediately, through intense meditation, and extraordinary penances.

[36] POLIER, vol. ii. p. 418.

Under such a system of belief, the whole race of brute animals appear in a much more dignified point of view; we are no longer astonished at seeing them, particularly as incarnations of gods, invested with all the reason and intelligence of man.

A striking example will be found in the last book of the Ramayana, of which Sir W. Jones has furnished us with a translation, or rather an abridgement.[37] The eagle Garuda, the attendant of Vishnu, having sinned in thought against his divine master, comes in penitent guise to the crow Bhushanda, who dwelt on the lofty summits of Nila, or the blue mountains, "rich in virtues as in vices; well acquainted with all that has happened since the beginning of time; sometimes wrapt in profound meditation on the being of God, at others pouring forth invocations, and proclaiming to the birds of land and water the praises of Vishnu." This sagacious fowl becomes the instructor of Garuda, recounts to him the number of his transmigrations, and gives him lectures on the greatness and power of Vishnu and Rama, to which latter personage he had belonged from his birth. He informs him that he once animated the body of a Brahman, but that, owing to the maledictions of a certain Rishi or saint, he had afterwards passed into that of a crow.

Another work of this description, but of much greater extent, is the celebrated Hitopadesa;[38] which, under the name of "The Fables of Pilpay," has already been translated into most of the Oriental and Western languages, but so disfigured by alterations and additions as scarcely to retain any feature of its original character.[39] As long ago as the sixth century it was translated into Persian, by order of Chosru Nushirvan; and from this, at a subsequent period, into

[37] *Works*, vol. vi. p. 399.

[38] Translated by Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 3—177; and also by Wilkins, London, 1810. [Mr. Wilkins only reprinted the text, after the Serampoor edition, which appeared in 1804, under the superintendence of Colebrooke and Carey. The original Sanscrit has since been published conjointly by Schlegel and Lassen, at Bonn, 1830. Transl.]

[39] The word *Hitopadesa* means *salutary* or *friendly counsel*. Instead of *Pilpay* it should be *Bidpay*, which, according to Sir W. Jones, is corrupted from *Vaidyapaya*, the trusty physician. [That illustrious Arabic scholar, the Baron De Sacy, in his excellent edition of Calila and Dimnah, has completely exhausted the subject of the different versions into which the Hitopadesa has been translated. See his preliminary *Mémoire Historique*. Transl.]

Arabic and Turkish; and lastly, into French and other languages, until Sir W. Jones presented us with a new version immediately from the original Sanscrit; to which last we shall confine ourselves in the ensuing observations. The Hitopadesa is a book upon morals, propounded through the medium of fable, and composed for the instruction of princes. The Rajah Sudarsana, king of Pataliputra, having froward sons, confided them to the care of the sage, Vishnu Sarman; who, under the form of apologue, delivered to them precepts of morality and wisdom. The whole work is divided into four books; which treat respectively on the acquisition and loss of friends, on war, and peace; all of them subjects of the last importance for princes to study.

The fables contained in the Hitopadesa are certainly like those of Æsop, but with this difference, that the animals in the former collection are made to speak not only according to the several characters we usually attribute to them, but also generally as rational and intelligent beings. The apologue is, without doubt, one of the most ancient kinds of Oriental poetry; and yet the Hitopadesa in its present shape can scarcely be reckoned among the oldest specimens of Sanscrit literature. The scene of these fables is laid in the city Pataliputra, by no means the most ancient in India; and the national literature must have already attained an advanced stage of development when they were composed, and the author himself have been a man of considerable reading; for, instead of the moral commonly subjoined to our fables, he always quotes illustrative passages from the poets; without, however, mentioning their names. But the Hitopadesa may also be considered as a collection of fables arranged by Vishnu Sarman, with a particular object in view; they may consequently have been invented by different authors. And on this last supposition who could possibly venture to determine their respective ages?

Having thus examined in detail the several branches of Sanscrit literature, together with the productions of each as far as they are at present known to us, we may now proceed to some more general considerations, which will probably assist us in replying to the questions proposed in the outset of our inquiry.

The literature of the Sanscrit language incontestably be-

longs to a highly cultivated people, whom we may with great reason consider to have been the most informed of all the East. It is true we are only acquainted with a very small portion of this literature, and that mostly through translations; but still these, in conjunction with the accounts derived from the researches of learned and credible persons conducted in the country itself, are nevertheless sufficient for enabling us to judge of its value and extent. It is at the same time a scientific and a poetic literature; and yet how much soever the national genius may have exercised itself upon particular branches of science, poetry notwithstanding was the predominant study; and its forms have even been applied to many subjects, which, according to our notions, do not admit of such application.

Further, Sanscrit literature is not only very rich, but also in a certain sense extremely ancient. Every thing concurs to establish the fact that alphabetical writing was known in India from the earliest times; and that its use was not confined to inscriptions, but extended also to every purpose of common life. When we call the literature of the Hindus extremely ancient, we mean to say that a great number of their principal works, considered with regard to subject and essential component parts, are the productions of remote antiquity, though at the same time we are far from asserting that they have always existed in their present form.

Sanscrit literature, perhaps more than any other, stands in need of critical examination; and yet this deficiency has hitherto been but very imperfectly supplied. The first discovery of its hidden treasures gave rise to an excess of enthusiasm and credulity. At a later period men went into the opposite extreme; they began to question the authenticity of particular works, or only particular passages; and forthwith, like Bentley, endeavoured to throw suspicion upon the whole. The truth, however, lies here also, as indeed every where else, in a mean between the two extremes. We have already observed that the principal works of this literature consist of compilations, which therefore presupposes the existence of earlier compositions; and that the epic poems, though severally forming a connected whole, are nevertheless of a character extremely favourable to the introduction of episodes. Now, in order to determine with

precision the exact age of Sanscrit literature, we must previously satisfy ourselves upon these two points: how old are the works in question, considered with respect to their principal contents? and in what manner, and at what time, did they receive their present form? Something has been done already towards furnishing an answer; and if we resume our preceding observations, we shall come, I believe, to the following conclusions.

Sanscrit literature has had its respective periods. This we are assured, not only by the voice of national tradition, and the nature of its several works, but also by the progressive stages of development which we meet with in the language itself. The Vedas could not have been written at the same time as the classical epic poems, nor these latter have been contemporary with the Sacontala and other pieces of that kind. For want of accurate chronological data, we cannot absolutely determine these periods; we can only make a general reference to them. The first, we shall call that of the Vedas; though a still longer interval of time might have elapsed before they assumed their present shape. The various hymns and prayers contained in these books, are by very different authors; and are evidently not all of the same age, for how can we imagine the abstract theories which are found in the Upanishads, to have been simultaneously developed? And, moreover, how long might they not have existed in a separate form prior to their being reduced to order, and incorporated by some judicious compiler? Important as it would be to determine this question, we must stop here for want of materials; but that the compilation of the Vedas, or at least the three first, must have taken place at a very early period, has, I think, been sufficiently proved in a former part of our inquiry; with regard to the Atharvan Veda, it seems likely to be a continual subject of discussion whether we are to assign it an equal origin with the others.

The second period we shall call the epic; comprehending the interval in which the great epic poems were written, particularly the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, and no doubt several others at present unknown. That these are of later composition than the Vedas, will be evident on comparing their style and language; on the other hand, it has

been elsewhere satisfactorily ascertained that the two poems themselves are of very great antiquity; and must be considerably older than the commencement of our era. The fact, however, contributes just as little towards illustrating the critical history of these works, as a similar presumption in the case of Homer's poems. If the history of these latter, which we possess not only in translations, but also in the original, and have besides so many other helps for explaining them, has never yet been cleared up, notwithstanding all the perspicacity and erudition of the most learned scholars; what better success can we, or ought we, to expect, from the researches made into Sanscrit literature? Nevertheless, when I consider the unity of action prevailing throughout the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, as well as the Iliad and the Odyssey, I can hardly persuade myself that they are nothing more than a simple collection of historic songs. At the same time, I am perfectly willing to allow that the form of the Hindu epic poems is much more favourable to episodes than the Greek; add to this, the manner of writing, and the materials used for that purpose in India, both afford singular opportunities for their introduction. The Hindus wrote ordinarily upon palm leaves, which did not admit of being folded or bound up, like rolls of parchment or papyrus, and at most could only be lightly strung together, when this method was not forbidden, as they even now pretend is the case with regard to the Vedas.[40] Under these circumstances, therefore, how easily might interpolations creep into the original text; and on the other hand, how difficult, we would almost say, how impossible, to arrange and collect the whole into one volume! The inevitable consequence of all this, and particularly in proportion as these songs came into popular use, would be their dismemberment, and ceasing to be regarded as one uniform whole. Fortunately, however, they met with the same lucky chance as the poems of the Ionian bard; and, like the

[40] POLIER, vol. i. Preface, p. 21. The Vedas were only given to Col. Polier upon condition that they should not be bound with leather, (for, horrible profanation to a Brahman, it might possibly be made of a cow's hide!) but only with silk. It is easy, therefore, to conceive the extreme difficulty of procuring, even in India, a complete copy of the Vedas. A critical history of the various materials used for writing by the Hindus, would throw considerable light on the history of their literature. See above, p. 107.

rhapsodies of Homer, the Mahabharat and the Ramayana also found their Lycurgus or Pisistratus. In the absence of direct historical testimony on this point, we are nevertheless furnished with some hints from popular tradition, which are too important to be passed over in silence.

It was during the reign of the celebrated Rajah Vicramaditya, and one hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era, that this compilation is reported to have been made by order of the prince himself. The first notice of this circumstance we find in Sir W. Jones, who thus briefly alludes to the report: "He (Calidasa) is believed by some to have revised the works of Valmiki and Vyasa, and to have corrected the perfect editions of them which are now current."[41] Col. Polier has given us a detailed account of this transaction, though it certainly appears rather fabulous.[42] According to him, Rajah Vicramaditya, the Mecænas of poets and men of letters, convened an assembly of Brahmans at Benares, and expressed to them his desire of hearing the ancient books of sacred histories read. But as these, being written on detached palm leaves, were found to be incomplete, either through length of time or the negligence of their guardians, the Rajah accordingly directed them to be gathered together, and commissioned one of the most able among the Brahmans to execute the task. As none of them, however, were willing to engage in such a difficult labour, Calidasa, the most famous of all the wise men and Brahmans of his time, alone ventured to undertake it; and made a complete collection of these works, which even the learned men and Brahmans his rivals, universally regarded as authentic.[43]

This account of Polier, it is true, has no better foundation than the common saying of the Brahmans, for no other sources are quoted in support of it scorrectness. And yet, as Sir William Jones has also noticed the report, it would seem to be the object of pretty general belief; and we can hardly suppose it altogether devoid of historic probability. But,

[41] *Works*, vol. vi. p. 205. [42] *Mythologie des Indous*, vol. i. p. 104.
[43] Polier, in another passage, (vol. i. p. 185,) recounts the fabulous embellishments made to this traditional report, (which, however, chiefly concern the works of Valmiki,) the persecution which Calidasa met with from his rivals, and his final triumph over them.

admitting the reality of the fact as there stated, we must first inquire, what books were so collected together? The account only mentions historic poems, which would therefore seem to exclude the Vedas. The expression *all*, made use of by Polier, cannot possibly be taken in a literal sense, when we consider the great number of these poems; and as Sir W. Jones expressly mentions the works of Valmiki and Vyasa, we may safely include the Ramayana and also the Mahabharat in the report; without presuming to determine whether others of that kind were among the number. It is, perhaps, a more important question for us to decide, in what consisted the undertaking of Calidasa? Was it merely a compilation, or was it rather a critical and accurate edition of the poems alluded to? Now it is otherwise such an extraordinary thing to meet with what we call criticism among the Orientals,[44] that one cannot easily incline to the latter supposition; and yet this seems to be the meaning attached to the native report, when it ascribes all the current editions of their holy books to the supervision of Calidasa. We shall, probably, not be far from the truth, if we understand the report to mean, that Calidasa, and his assistants, collected together and arranged the separate poems, but that they excluded whatever in the poet's judgment seemed to be an improper addition. It is easy to see how much still remains for future discussion and inquiry; but researches of this kind can only be appropriately carried on in India itself.

Whatever be the result of further examination on the above point, we must in every case regard the age of Vicramaditya, as constituting the third period of Sanscrit literature. That the reign of this prince was a splendid one, may be inferred with great probability from the mere circumstance of his having given name to an era, which commenced with his death, and continued for a long time to be in general use. The literary character of this reign was not, however, confined to the mere revision of ancient works; it was no

[44] [The edition of the Ramayana published by Schlegel proves that manuscripts were in the habit of being critically reviewed in India, like the works of the ancient Greek poets were at Alexandria: the same may be said of many important works in Persian and Arabic; and it is well known that the Chinese, upwards of a thousand years ago, established the text of their sacred books by a mode of procedure analogous to that of the Masorites. FR. TRANSL.]

less remarkably evidenced in the production of original compositions, by the poets and learned men who adorned the monarch's court. The Sanscrit literature of the time, indeed, seems to have assumed generally a courtly form; and the language itself and the study of versification to have reached the highest point of refinement. The drama was favoured beyond all other kinds of poetry, and gave birth to the greatest masterpieces in the art, which, however, were throughout constructed on principles of court taste. Besides the productions of poetic genius there appeared also works of science, in connexion with the artificial wants of polished society; and encyclopedic dictionaries, like that of Amara Sinha.[45] In short, the age of Vicramaditya is certainly one that in a pre-eminent degree recommends itself to the attention of the historians of India.

The fourth and last period of Sanscrit literature we may consider to have been comprised in that interval of time which we usually call the middle ages. That many Hindu compositions belong to this period is evident from Bentley's researches; and we have already shown that the Puranas then received their present form and arrangement.

All that we have hitherto laid before the reader is, we candidly allow, but a feeble attempt to trace even the outlines of this comprehensive subject. Much, very much, still remains for future inquirers to fill up, and probably to alter, as soon as a brighter ray of light shall have been thrown upon this interesting branch of Oriental literature. It is, however, with such an outline only that we can here commence operations; and, indeed, from the imperfect nature of our materials, it were hardly reasonable to expect much more than an outline.

At the same time, though it is sufficiently obvious, from all that has gone before, that our knowledge of ancient India is still very defective, yet we shall nevertheless be better able to estimate at their real value, not only the sober opinions, but also the wild reveries that have been indulged in by modern scholars with reference to Hindu antiquities.

[45] See above, p. 142. [The Amara Cosha can hardly be called an encyclopedic dictionary, being little more than a bare collection of words, arranged according to the order of their several subjects, without any explanation whatever. FR. TRANSL.]

Quitting the straightforward path of history, and turning aside in pursuit of etymological conjecture, and the results of comparison between the religious systems of India and those of other nations, they have attempted to prove that the Western world must have derived a great part of its mythology, and its civilization in general, from India. Now, though we are very far from wishing to deny the fact of such influence having taken place, yet we have to regret the want of previous acquaintance with the principles on which those comparisons and etymological conclusions are founded. Scarcely had the English become in some measure familiar with the names and attributes of the Hindu deities, than they immediately began to compare them with those of Greece, and to confound them together. Krishna and the Gopis were forthwith changed into Apollo and the Muses; and, in short, the prototype of Olympus was discovered in the Hindu Pantheon. To what erroneous consequences all this must inevitably lead, could not escape the observation of those even who fancied they saw some probable resemblance between certain Greek and Hindu divinities; for in the course of such a long passage from one country to the other, what various changes and modifications might not have occurred? While, therefore, the principal sources of Hindu religion and mythology are so little accessible, and as long as we can only have recourse to the information supplied by foreigners, who have too often examined things through a coloured medium, how can we possibly establish our inquiries upon any solid foundation? And even supposing we could freely avail ourselves of the sources alluded to, yet our progress would be little better, for it is in the very nature of the subject to contain much that will always be conjectural, and the question proposed for solution becomes a kind of enigma, which every one is at liberty to explain in his own way. Some of our modern mythologists, indeed, have made the attempt, and with such a display of sagacity and erudition, that it would be superfluous to enlarge upon the subject in this place, even though a particular inquiry into religious systems were less foreign to the object of the present work, in which we have only considered them in a political point of view. Still greater liberties have been taken with the etymological department:

here also the English gave the first impulse; but to what unwarrantable lengths have some natives of Germany proceeded! These latter, with no more assistance than could be derived from two or three meagre vocabularies (it were a solecism to call them lexicons) of the Sanscrit and the Zend, forthwith set about investigating the connexion between those languages; and a similarity of sound was quite enough, in their opinion, to establish what they were pleased to call derivations, but which might more appropriately have been termed the distortions of a playful fancy. A more profound study of Sanscrit literature, and a better acquaintance with its real sources, have contributed to remove such disorderly erudition; it is still, however, useful to remark, that mere etymological conjecture, unsupported by historic proof, is but a species of lottery, where for one prize we may reckon upon very many blanks.[46] In our researches, therefore, into these distant regions, we shall do well to follow the light of history rather than a deceitful meteor, even though it be not as yet the light of broad day, but only the faint glimmer of the morning dawn.

[46] [The rapid progress lately made in the study of Sanscrit has served to show that the etymological conclusions, which had been drawn by expert philologists, were much more certain than were formerly supposed. It is, indeed, astonishing to observe with what tenacity the synthetical languages, as they are called, preserve the forms of grammar; and conscientious researches have satisfactorily proved, that all these forms may be traced to the Sanscrit, or possibly to some more ancient dialect from which it is derived. The publication of the Vedas can alone enable us to determine the latter question with any degree of certainty. The numerous mistakes at first committed in the etymological branch of the study, originated with persons who were but little, if at all, acquainted with Sanscrit. So late even as the year 1823, M. Frank was for deriving that extraordinary language from the modern Persian; and still more recently, Dugald Stewart and Professor Dunbar have preposterously attempted to deduce its origin from the Greek and the Latin. The same remark will also apply to the mythological comparisons noticed by our author. FR. TRANSL.] [See Schlegel's Reflexions sur l'Etude des Langues Asiatiques, addressed to the late Sir James Mackintosh, p. 99—107. TRANSL.]

INDIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Fragments relative to the History, Constitution, and Commerce of Ancient India.

THE EXTREME REGIONS OF THE HABITABLE WORLD HAVE IN SOME MEASURE RECEIVED THE FAIREST GIFTS OF NATURE; — NOW THE MOST DISTANT COUNTRY TOWARDS THE EAST IS INDIA. HEROD. THALIA, 106.

ALTHOUGH the title of the present chapter will not lead the reader to expect any thing more than historical fragments, yet it will be necessary in this place to investigate somewhat more closely a question already touched upon in the foregoing pages, viz. To what extent are the Hindus in possession of a general history? and how far can a denial of the fact be reconciled with their vaunted pretensions to a very remote chronology?

The absence of regular historians, in our sense of the term, is a loss which India sustains in common with the other nations of Central Asia; among whom, as far as we are aware, the art of writing history has in no case exceeded the simple compilation of annals. The Hindus, however, do not appear to have ever possessed even their annalists, like the Arabians, Persians, and others; whose business it was to hand down the memory of events, if not in historical connexion, at least in chronological order.

And yet the Hindus are not altogether without some documents relating to history; such as the genealogies of their kings, which traverse a number of generations, and contain a great many proper names. The genealogies themselves, as we shall presently have occasion to remark, are found in the epic poems and in the Puranas; and were most likely, previous to their being consigned in those

writings, preserved by means of oral tradition, as is common among other Oriental nations. For, in proportion to the degree of consequence attached by them to lineage and descent, so would be their anxiety to preserve some memorial of both; and as the recollection necessary for this purpose was less burthened with a weight of other knowledge to acquire and retain, they succeeded much better than we should at first imagine to be possible. In India, however, as we learn from the Ramayana, an additional degree of interest was attached to this kind of tradition; for as a preliminary step to the marriage of a prince's daughter, it was necessary that her genealogical table should be prepared, in order to establish her descent from a royal stock.[1] In this manner, consequently, the possession of a genealogical register would be an indispensable requisite in the houses of the reigning families.

Sir W. Jones, in his Essay on the Chronology of the Hindus, has already made us acquainted with some of these royal genealogies; among which, those of the kings of Maghada, or Behar, particularly deserve our attention. The sources from which he borrowed these tables will be found in the work of a learned native, called Rhadacanta Sarman, who was then still living, and who had published in Sanscrit an exposition of the Puranas;[2] from which, according to his own avowal, he had collected the genealogies themselves. The first of these specimens evidently betray their mythological character, in representing the kings as descendants of the sun and moon; at all events they go far back into the fabulous ages, and Sir W. Jones himself remarked their deficiency in chronological arrangement. The genealogical series of the kings of Maghada is distinguished by somewhat of a more historical character; these are reported to have reigned in five separate dynasties, from the year 2100 to 452 B. C., from which we might infer, with some probability, that in those distant periods of time, when the throne of the Pharaohs was in all its splendour in Egypt, an equally considerable empire might have

[1] *Ramayana*, i. p. 580. At the court of Dasaratha this is represented to be the peculiar office of Janaka.

[2] SIR W. JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 288. This work is entitled Puranarthapracasa, i. e. an explanation of the meaning of the Puranas.

flourished on the banks of the Ganges. If we inquire, however, for the authenticity of this chronological statement, we must be content with admitting the bare report of the Hindus themselves, who commence the series with the reign of Pradyota, 2100 B. C., and close it with that of Chandravidya, who died three hundred and ninety-six years before the era of Vicramaditya, or four hundred and fifty-six before ours. Now, though it is evident these statements are borrowed from the Puranas, we must still decide which of those writings have furnished the account; and as they differ very much from one another in regard to age, we must further ascertain the period of time to which they belong. In an inquiry of this nature, the critic is obliged to grope his way in complete darkness; and the numerous improbabilities with which these genealogical tables abound, as Sir W. Jones has remarked, must render us doubly cautious how we proceed.[3] Wilford made a fresh attempt to classify the dynasties of the empire of Maghada according to the Puranas;[4] but his work is so full of inconsistencies and arbitrary assumptions, that the critical historian will scarcely derive any more benefit from consulting this, than he will from his other treatises.[5]

A much more important undertaking was accomplished a few years since by Mr. Hamilton, who has arranged the Hindu dynasties, and assigned the names of their respective kings, in the genealogical tables which accompany his remarks on this subject.[6] In fact, he has adopted the only method capable of throwing a greater degree of light over these complicated successions of princes. The introduction

[3] Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. i. p. 804.

[4] *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 82, "On the Kings of Maghada." He quotes as his authorities the Vishnu, Brahmanda, and Vayu Puranas, loc. cit. p. 87.

[5] [While Wilford's general erudition and high attainments in Sanscrit lore eminently fitted him for archæological pursuits, his love of theory made him the dupe of designing knaves; and his works, which are mines of knowledge to those who can justly appreciate them, are pregnant with danger to the uninitiated. Transl.]

[6] "Genealogies of the Hindus, extracted from their Sacred Writings, with an Introduction and Alphabetical Index, by Francis Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1819, 8vo.; together with Genealogical Tables of the Deities, Princes, Heroes, and remarkable personages of the Hindus, extracted from the Sacred Writings of that people." The tables are twenty-six in number. The alphabetical index to the gods, kings, cities, mountains, rivers, etc., as far as they are connected with mythology, is very useful.

to his work contains certain preliminary observations and discussions relative to the two principal branches of the royal Hindu genealogies, already noticed by Sir W. Jones; that is to say, the dynasties of the sun and the moon. Of these, the dynasty of the moon appears in some measure best adapted to the purposes of classification; it is divided into several branches, particularly those of the Coros and Pandos, the quarrel between whom forms the subject of the Mahabharat. To this belong the kings of Mathura, Maghada, Ayodhya, Hastinapura, and others. The dynasty itself is derived from King Atri, and that of the sun from King Marichi, two contemporary sovereigns. To the latter belong the kings of Mithila, and Kasi, or Benares, etc. The tables give merely the names of the kings, distributed according to their respective families, without any chronological adjustment whatever. The author, in the body of his work, endeavours to arrange the several dynasties by centuries, beginning with the twentieth before our era, and terminating with the ninth after Christ; particularly those of the kings of Maghada, Mithila, and Ayodhya; and attempts to show how far they were contemporary with each other. In default, however, of more precise data, he is obliged to calculate by generations, reckoning from four to five for each century. It is easy to conceive how uncertain and inconclusive this method of demonstration must necessarily be, and yet it is the only one at our present disposal.

The principal question for us to determine is, what are the sources from whence these genealogies are derived? And here fortunately the author has not left us in doubt. They are four in number, viz. the Bhagavat Purana, for the twelve first tables; the Bangha-Lata, (probably another Purana, but of which we have no further information,) for the four next ensuing; the Harivansa, an episode from the Mahabharat, for the nine following; and the Ramayana, for the last table. Although we could have wished the author to have given a more detailed account of his several authorities and the use he has made of them, and to have informed us also whether he has perused them throughout, and in the original; yet one principal result of the whole is no less clear and intelligible, namely, that we must consider the Hindu epic poems, properly so called, and the Puranas, as

the real sources of the history and genealogies of the ancient kings of India; and it is by reference to those writings that the critical inquirer must estimate the value of the genealogies themselves. In fact, he will not hesitate to class them along with the genealogies of the kings and heroes of Greece; for the tables before us stand almost in the same relation with Hindu mythology, as those of Apollodorus do with respect to the Greek; we ought not, therefore, to expect in them much critical exactness, whether of history or chronology. Composed and preserved as they were by the poets, we may not inaptly term them poetical histories, though at the same time we are not for that reason obliged to suppose them altogether the fruit of poetical imaginations. Indeed it would be unreasonable to conclude that the genealogies in question were solely invented by the epic poets, in direct contradiction to the nature of the ancient epic poem, as well as to the composition of the genealogies themselves, which only mention the bare names, without any distinction of time;[7] and for whose insertion we should be at a loss to conceive any adequate motive, were they not founded in ancient tradition, and probably also in written genealogical registers. It is just as certain that there formerly existed kings of Maghada, Ayodhya, and Mithila, as that there were such persons as the kings of Troy, Thebes, and Athens; but with regard to their further history, we must be content to take it for fabulous.

In opposition to this opinion might perhaps be objected what we are told respecting the Annals of Cashmire, which Abulfazl informs us in the Ayin Acbari, extend as far back as four thousand years.[8] According to this author, when the emperor Acbar made his grand entry into Cashmire, the inhabitants presented him with a Sanscrit work, entitled, "Raja Taringinî," containing this history, and which the emperor subsequently ordered to be translated into Persian. Abulfazl quotes the names of the kings who appear in these Annals, whose successive reigns are said to have occupied a space of four thousand one hundred and nine years, eleven months, and nine days; these, being a

[7] This remark will apply as well to the genealogies contained in the Ramayana as to those in the Mahabharat. See above, p. 162.

[8] *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 157.

hundred and ninety-one in number, he has distributed in nine tables or dynasties, indicating at the same time the duration of each king's reign, except those of the first dynasty. The work of Abulfazl was for a long time the only available source of information on this subject. Modern researches, however, have since acquainted us with the actual existence of these annals in Sanscrit, and in a much more detailed form than in the Persian translation.[9] But all that we know of the work up to the present time, only serves to confirm our previous opinion, that these annals were extracted from the epic poems and the Puranas, enriched nevertheless with chronological dates; and consequently it follows that the history of Cashmire, as well as that of other parts of India, is nothing more than a poetical history, in the above sense of the term, since from the very beginning it was immediately connected with the Hindu epic poems. After giving a brief notice of the foundation of a colony in Cashmire, and the series of kings down to the Coros and Pandos, the author commences his history and list of kings, with a contemporary of Yudhishthir, named Gonanda, who was slain by Balabhadra, the elder brother of Krishna, and a principal character in the Ramayana. According to Abulfazl's own confession, the whole is every where intermingled with fabulous narrations, from which he has only selected those which bore some resemblance to historic probability; and even then merely because he was in want of better materials to supply their place. Some of the facts, however, recounted by him, are not without interest in an historical point of view; such, for instance, as the expulsion of the Buddhists from Cashmire through the agency of the Brahmans, an event which is referred to a very remote antiquity. "Among the successors of Gonanda," observes Abulfazl, "the religion of Siva was predominant until a usurper, named Bodhisatwa, introduced that of Buddha. This reformer reigned a hundred years; his successor, Abymaniah,[10] overthrew the worship of Buddha, and re-established the ancient form." We may also add, as another interesting historical fact, the submission of Cashmire to Vicramaditya, king of Ujjayani, after the death of Rajah

[9] See Colebrooke's observations on the Jains, *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 294.

[10] Called Nerk in the *Ayin Acbari*, p. 159.

Heren.[11] In conclusion, we may remark of the tables in question, that notwithstanding the apparent accuracy with which the duration of each reign is attempted to be laid down, they are nevertheless in certain dynasties so long, and in others again so short, as to be opposed to all historic credibility.[12]

It is true, the opinions hitherto set forth have reference only to those sources of Hindu history which are peculiar to the Brahmans and their religious followers. Another question, therefore, still remains to be answered, viz. whether there do not also exist historic writings and annals among the professors of Buddhism? We are at present but imperfectly acquainted with the literary compositions of this sect; and yet it is from one of their writings, entitled, Rajavali, that the "History of Ceylon" has been taken;[13] a work which has considerably enriched the province of Hindu literature, since, to the best of our knowledge, it is the only composition of the Buddhists that has hitherto reached Europe. The book commences with an account of the formation of the earth; and its contents in general are evidently derived from other sources than the Puranas of the Brahmans, though they contribute much less to history than even these latter; for the matters therein recounted are not so much of a mythological, as a simply fabulous character. The kings mentioned in the first part of the book, are made to reign upwards of a thousand years, and have often as many sons; and although the reigns of the kings comprised in the latter part are of much shorter duration, yet they are distinguished by no memorable event, if we except sundry invasions of the Malabars on the opposite coast, which are represented to have taken place at various times, and with various success. In short, we have little doubt that these narrations were borrowed from poetical works, though we may not be able to substantiate our opinion by a particular reference to the works themselves.

[11] *Ayin Acbari*, loc. cit. [Maharana?]

[12] Compare, for instance, Table ii. (which represents twenty-one princes to have reigned, collectively, a thousand and twenty-one years, and none of them, individually, less than thirty) with Table vii., where we have only fifty-four years' duration for the reigns of no less than ten princes.

[13] Translation of the Singhalese History of Ceylon; communicated by Sir Alex. Johnston, in the "Annals of Oriental Literature," Feb. 1821, p. 385, etc.

The attention of English scholars having been first directed to the antiquities of India, could hardly fail in the sequel, to include the chronology also of that country as an appropriate object of investigation, the two being so intimately connected together, that, according to our notions, whatever concerned the history could not but have some reference to the chronology of India. Add to this the reasonable expectation that was entertained of throwing some light upon general history, by the result of their inquiries into the chronology of such an ancient people as the Hindus. The result, however, was by no means commensurate with the extent of their hopes. The very first English scholar who directed his attention to this subject was obliged to confess, that the chronology of the Hindus set out from a point so extravagantly absurd, as to involve the destruction of the whole system.[14] He was followed in the same course by Wilford, whose opinion is not a whit more favourable, when he declares, that the chronological system of the Hindus is quite as extravagant as their geography.[15] In the mean time, considering the close connexion subsisting between their chronology and astronomy, the question might still be said to have remained in abeyance, so long as professed astronomers had not examined this litigious point. Accordingly, Mr. Davis[16] was the first to undertake the task, and after him Bentley, with the application certainly of much more rigorous criticism. The inquiries of both these scholars were principally directed to an examination of a work already mentioned, the Surya Siddhanta, which the Hindus themselves consider as the foundation of their astronomical and chronological systems; and as one of their most ancient literary productions, but which Bentley has proved to be of comparatively modern origin.[17]

With regard to the advantage which has or can be derived to history from this discussion, it is rather of a negative than a positive kind. The only fact which seems to be

[14] Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. i. p. 295.

[15] *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 241. [16] Ibid. vol. ii. No. 15.

[17] See above, p. 146. [In India, as well as elsewhere, works of science were in the habit of being remodelled from time to time, in order to keep pace with the march of discovery; but the fabulous name of the original author was generally retained in the improved work. This remark will apply to all that Bentley has advanced on the subject. Fr. Transl.]

proved is, that the present chronological system of the Brahmans is not so old as they represent it to be; that no traces of it are to be found in those works whose great antiquity has already been shown to be indisputable; and that consequently it has been derived as little from the Vedas as from the great epic poems.[18] Even the accounts left us by the Greeks respecting their first acquaintance with India, all tend to support the same conclusion. It is true, the Hindus even then boasted of a succession of kings, which they carried back to upwards of six thousand years,[19] thereby affecting the same pretensions to high antiquity which they do at the present day. But then we hear nothing of those enormous periods of time embracing thousands of millions

[18] According to Bentley, the Brahmans at the present time have three chronological systems: 1. the Brahma Calpa, invented one thousand and three hundred years ago, by Brahma Gupta; 2. the Padma Calpa, invented some eight or nine hundred years since, by Dhara Padma; and the third contained in the Surya Siddhanta, invented seven or eight hundred years ago by Varaha Mihira, *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 199. In addition to these, Bentley quotes from another astronomical work, entitled Graha Munjari, two more ancient systems, which he has endeavoured to reconcile and make available for the purposes of history, p. 224, etc.; an attempt, however, which appears to be conducted on very arbitrary principles, as may be seen by inspecting the treatise itself. Their application to history is founded on a comparison of the Puranas with the determination of the four ages, according to the first of the two systems, which makes the *Satya Yug*, or the golden age, to have began 3164 years before Christ; the *Treta Yug*, or the silver age, 2204 B. C.; the *Dwapar Yug*, or the brazen age, 1484 B. C.; and the *Kali Yug*, or the iron age, 1004 B. C.; in direct contradiction to the other systems, which place the commencement of the latter age, 3100 years before Christ. JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 318. The first age contains nothing of historical importance, but a fabulous account of the Deluge; the second, or silver age, comprises the origin of the Indian empire, and the dynasties of the Sun and Moon. It is here, too, the Puranas place Bhrigu and his descendants, Indra, Puradaksha, and others, and also Visvamitra and his relation Parasurama. In the Dwapar, or iron age, the war of the Pandos and Coros fell out; and during the same period lived Vyasa, Causica, Rishyasringha, and other renowned saints. But we are first entitled to ask, on what foundation that system is built; are they historical? if so, where are the authorities? or are they astronomical? In the latter case, according to Bentley himself, the Hindus possessed no scientific astronomy before the time of Brahma Gupta, who lived in the sixth century after Christ, p. 235. And further, were the Puranas composed with reference to that system? The supposition of four ages is probably of very ancient date in India; but the time of their respective durations, being the peculiar business of chronologists to determine, is independent of all fiction. Besides, both those systems comprise cycles of millions of years; and agreeably to what has been noticed above, we shall for that reason alone be less disposed to attribute to them a very remote antiquity. Of the fourth, or proper historical age, no remarkable events are given, and of course, its application will be of no service to the purpose of history.

[19] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 175. From Dionysus to Sandracottus the space of six thousand and forty-two years is said to have elapsed.

of years. It is further extremely probable that the Hindus possessed no continuous system of chronological computation before the era of Vicramaditya, and that they reckoned by generations as the Greeks did for a long course of time. We know of nothing which would prove the existence of any era prior to the one just mentioned;[20] we only know that the Hindus themselves did not furnish the Greeks with any other notion of their method of computing time than that by generations.[21] Now it is perfectly impossible to suppose the existence of any thing like regular historic chronology without some fixed era. And even if we consider the chronological cycles of the Hindus as astronomical or poetical, or as a mixture of both, yet still history will derive no further benefit from the consideration, than merely venturing to assign the date of certain fables in general terms; and we must content ourselves with endeavouring to distinguish the more ancient from what is less so, without seeking to fill up the interval with positive and well recognised dates.

The question relative to the origin of a people to whom, notwithstanding the imperfect state of their chronology, it is impossible to avoid attributing a very remote antiquity, can only be solved by mere conjecture. But supposing we were to investigate the origin of the Hindus, considered as forming a principal nation by themselves, we must first of all determine whether they are actually one undivided and aboriginal people or no? A more particular examination of them, indeed, would lead us to doubt the correctness of the latter position, and to infer with much greater probability that this union among them was of a political character,[22] and brought about by religion and legislation, than that it was founded on an identity of race. The division of the Hindus into castes, extends as far back as their history itself; but the difference between these several castes is so very great, that we are almost obliged to admit a cor-

[20] The era of Yudhishthir indeed is said to have preceded that of Vicramaditya by the space of 3044 years, and to have commenced about 3100 before Christ; but, according to Wilford, we are to understand this, not of an historic era, but solely of an astronomical cycle. *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 86.

[21] ARRIAN, loc. cit.

[22] In this sense I understand the common derivation of the four castes, in respective order, from the head, arms, body, and feet of Brahma.

responding difference of original extraction. I shall reserve to another opportunity, when I come to speak of the Egyptians, an attempt to show how the division of castes is almost always based upon an original diversity of race, and shall confine myself in this place merely to the proofs which arise from variations in exterior appearance, and particularly colour. According to Niebuhr,[23] the caste of Brahmans and Banians have a complexion so clear, as almost to pass for white; "because," adds the same traveller, "they have preserved themselves pure from all foreign admixture," while on the other hand the lower orders are of a dark colour, often approaching to black. "It is remarkable," says a British observer,[24] "that the same fair complexion and caste of features distinguish this class (the Brahmans) through all the different provinces, from eight to twenty degrees of N. lat., (and by all accounts still further,) among nations varying so much in both as the Tamuls, the Telingas, the Canarins, Mahrattas, and Orias, the five families which appear to compose the body of the original inhabitants of the peninsula, at present distinguished by different dialects as by different features." A more extended examination of the Hindu castes, will serve to bring forward many other points of resemblance peculiar to the three higher ones, viz. that of the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, or warrior caste, which no longer maintains its original form, and the Vaisyas, or mechanics; all three directly opposed to the Sudras, or inferior caste, and its various ramifications; and thus tend to confirm the supposition of a different origin upon other grounds. If we choose, with Sir W. Jones,[25] to derive the Hindus, as well as the other principal nations of Asia, from Iran, we must confine ourselves in making such an assertion to the three superior castes; these, however, especially that of the Brahmans, which yet appears to be the only one of all that has remained in its

[23] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 450.

[24] CAPT. COLIN MACKENZIE, *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 426.

[25] *Works*, vol. i. p. 129, etc. [Sir W. Jones was the first who broached this opinion, which however reposes on no historic grounds. In point of fact, the Zend is derived from the Sanscrit; and a passage in Menu (x. 44) makes the Persians (Pahlava) to have descended from the Hindus of the second or warrior caste. As to the colonies in the Himalaya, it is very probable that they are much less ancient than the civilization of Aryaverta, or India properly so called. FR. TRANSL.]

original state, are so pre-eminently distinguished from the inferior caste, that they may be considered as properly constituting the nation. And although we cannot determine their original country upon correct historical principles, yet every thing induces us to believe that they first came from the north. The traditionary reports of the natives of Cashmire, mention the Brahmans as the earliest immigrants into that country.[26] Some additional light has been thrown on this subject by the researches of certain English travellers who journeyed in quest of the sources of the Ganges; an expedition which conducted them into the heart of the Himalaya mountains.[27] As early as the year 1807 Lieutenants Webb and Raper had penetrated as far as Bhadrinath, (in N. lat. 30° 42′,) and Gangoutri, (in N. lat. 30° 59′);[28] subsequently Capt. Hodgson in 1817 succeeded in reaching a spot situated in 31° 51′ N. lat., where a principal branch of the Ganges takes its rise in a cavern surmounted by a rock covered with snow. Beyond this point the further progress of the traveller was arrested by lofty mountains of snow, and tremendous glaciers, forming probably the highest part of the Himalayan range, and from which towards the south flow the Ganges and Indus with their tributary streams; and in an easterly direction the Brahmaputra, or Sampo, the principal river of Thibet.[29] It is here, however, in the heart of this Alpine country, that we still find the abode of Brahmans, which we can scarcely consider as any other than their original seat, together with the temples of their gods, and the accompanying body of priests. At the confluence of two branches of the Ganges stands the holy city of Devaprayaga, (in N. lat.

[26] *Ayin Acbari.*

[27] See Colebrooke, "On the Sources of the Ganges," with the accounts of Lieutenant Raper, *Asiatic Res.* vol. xi., and the "Journal of a Survey to the heads of the rivers Ganges and Jumna," by Capt. I. A. Hodgson, vol. xiv. Moorcroft has proved that the Ganges does not rise in the lake Mansarowar, in Little Thibet, as was formerly supposed. See his Travels, *Asiatic Res.* vol. xii. p. 380, etc.

[28] In Major Rennell's earlier charts the situation of these places was laid down two or three degrees further north. See COLEBROOKE, loc. cit.

[29] [M. Klaproth maintains, in opposition to the accounts of English travellers, but in accordance with the Chinese authorities, that the Sampo, or, as he calls it, the Yarou-dzangbo-tchou, is distinct from the Brahmaputra, and is identical with the Irawaddy of the Birmese empire. See a review of both statements in the *Asiatic Journ.* vol. xxv., and Mémoire sur les sources du Brahmaputra et de l'Irawaddi, par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1828. TRANSL.]

30° 8′,) inhabited by Brahmans. Further on we find the temple of Bhadrinath, which is very opulent, and said to have upwards of seven hundred flourishing villages in dependence on the high priest.[30] To the same dignitary belongs also the commercial town of Mana, which contains fifteen hundred inhabitants of Tartar extraction, and is situate on the high road to Cashmire and Little Thibet, but is however only habitable in summer, owing to the snow under which it lies covered during the remainder of the year. At Gangoutri also, where the river issues from the bosom of lofty mountains, the interior of which seems to form one vast sea of ice, stands another of these ancient temples. The predominant sect throughout this part of India is that of Siva, without however being the only one; and the temples there existing are still holy places of resort to thousands of pilgrims, who assemble for purposes of devotion, as well as to carry on international commerce.[31] It was in this manner, at distant periods of time unknown to history, and in countries inaccessible to hostile invasion, that sacerdotal empires were formed and maintained, which subsequently produced similar establishments all over India, and perhaps also in other parts of the globe. The most ancient Hindu poems represent the neighbourhood of the Ganges to have been the capital territory of India, the cradle of her heroes, and the point of departure for expeditions undertaken into southern countries, as far as Ceylon; and the above described series of holy temples, extending throughout this vast country, both above and below ground, together with the figures of their divinities, are as it were a living chronicle of their progressive extension from north to south; the very reverse of what we find to have occurred

[30] [Since the period of the Ghurkhali invasion, these places have been in a miserable state of decline, and the pontificate is usually put up for sale to the highest bidder. TRANSL.]

[31] [If in the plains at the foot of the Himalaya we meet with no traces of ancient temples, it ought to be recollected that, owing to the nature of the soil, brick was the only available material for the purposes of building, as was the case also in Babylonia; and edifices of this kind would of course offer less obstruction to the hands of Moslem violence. But that there were many temples here in former times, is sufficiently attested by the Journal of a Chinese traveller, in the early part of the fifth century, discovered by the late Abel-Remusat, and the publication of which, had it not been for the lamented and untimely death of that illustrious scholar, would have thrown some new light on researches of this nature. FR. TRANSL.]

in Egypt, where the social and religious advance was in an opposite direction, from south to north.

What we may regard as an incontestable fact in the history of the Hindu nation, is the pre-eminence, or rather absolute sovereignty, of the Brahmans over the other classes of society. This dominion, it is true, was not exercised immediately, and without the intervention of kingly power; in other words, we are not to infer that the Brahmans themselves enjoyed the royal authority; for the Rajahs belonged not to this powerful body, but were selected, as in Egypt, from among the warrior caste, or from some particular families; the priesthood, however, restrained the power of the sovereign by religious enactments, and we have already noticed in the Ramayana more than one instance of the awful veneration in which the Brahmans were held even by kings themselves. The question is, did the Brahmans owe this distinction solely to the influence of religion, or did they acquire it by force of arms? Without doubt, religion may have served to confirm this power, and yet the national report has preserved to us the recollection of a violent struggle, which ended in placing the Kshatriyas and the Rajahs under subjection to the Brahmans. This is described as the work of Parasu Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, under the form of a Brahman. After having gained twenty victories over the warrior caste, he was on the point of exterminating them, when the Brahmans themselves interceded in their behalf, vouchsafed them an asylum and permission to eat at the same table.[32] The Mahabharat, as well as the Ramayana, both allude to this struggle. In the former poem the narration of that event forms an episode:[33] in the latter, on the contrary, it is spoken of in reference to the remarkable story of the quarrel between Visvamitra, (who was Rajah of the Kshatriyas, before his penances had

[32] POLIER, vol. i. p. 288.

[33] At the end of the fifth book, according to the translation of M. Mitscherlich, Durjohn speaks in an assembly as follows: "And I will tell you a story which is very similar to the one just mentioned. There was in Malwa a king named Herghes, whose army consisted altogether of Kshatriyas, and between him and the king of the Brahmans a war broke out. The Kshatriyas, though the most numerous party, were nevertheless worsted in every engagement. At last they came and asked the Brahmans,—"What is the reason that you are always victorious, though inferior in numbers to ourselves?" The Brahmans answered,—" (Here is a break in the MS.)

elevated him to the rank of a principal sage,) with the Brahman high priest Vasishtha, who was counselled to offer resistance when Visvamitra demanded of him and carried off by force the holy cow, the fruitful giver of all abundance.[34]

Although it would be impossible to determine the exact period when this quarrel took place, yet it is no less evident that it must have been long anterior to the composition of the holy books above mentioned. For they every where notice the Brahmans as already the predominant caste, and the Kshatriyas as standing in a subordinate relation to them. The successive incarnations of Vishnu would seem to confirm this opinion; for that in which he appears in the character of Parasu Rama is the sixth, and by consequence must have preceded the incarnation which is sung of in the Ramayana. Accordingly, the Brahmans place its occurrence as far back as the second age. It is true, our knowledge of this event is only derived to us through a poetic medium, and if we conceive ourselves entitled to assume it as an historical fact, it is merely because we are thereby enabled to explain the relations subsequently established between the two castes.

Next to the establishment of Brahmanical influence, the war between the Coros and Pandos is the most famous event in the history of India, and one which has been the most celebrated in tradition and poetry. In this respect it has been no less important for the Hindus than the Trojan war was to the Greeks, in its influence upon their poetry, literature, and arts; we may naturally therefore inquire, whether it is the pure offspring of poetical imagination, or is it founded upon any historical fact? We might certainly furnish a more determinate reply to the question, were we in complete possession of the poem which has immortalized this war; we might then be enabled to ascertain whether the Mahabharat is interwoven with a sufficient number of geographical and historical details, as to imply the actual occurrence of the events therein related. An inquiry of this sort, however, would involve a more general discussion, narrowly concerning the ancient history of India itself, viz.

[34] *Ramayana*, i. 470, etc. "The power of the Kshatriyas is not greater than that of the Brahmans: O Brahman! thy power is of divine origin, and far superior to that of a Kshatriya."

the question whether in the most early times there has flourished one or more empires in the neighbourhood of the Ganges? Whatever we may have it in our power to advance on this subject, it must still be remembered, agreeably to an observation already made, that we have here to speak of a history which has only been preserved to us through the medium of the poets.

Tradition represents India, like Egypt, to have originally formed but one empire. The first kings of the fabulous period, such as Menu and others, are generally termed kings of India; but the two contemporary dynasties of the Sun and Moon, the one reigning at Ayodhya, the other at Pratishthana, or Vitora, would suggest the idea of a separation having already taken place.[35] A similar plurality of sovereigns afterwards continued to be an ordinary occurrence in Hindu mythology, with the occasional difference, however, that one of these monarchs was considered as lord paramount over the rest, who stood towards him in the relation of feudatory princes; nevertheless, his superiority in such cases appears to have been merely transient, and extorted by violence.[36] For in the epic poems India is generally represented as comprising a number of petty principalities, each under the government of its respective chief, who is independent of the others, and equal to them at least in rank, if not in power.

In speaking of India, we understand more especially by that appellation the northern parts of the country, containing Hindustan Proper, above all the land of the Ganges, in contradistinction to the Deccan, which forms the southern peninsula. Under the term, land of the Ganges, we mean to include the whole tract adjacent to the banks of that river, from its rise in the mountains to the sources of its confluent streams, particularly the Jumna, Goggra, and Sona. Though the position of certain towns may still appear subject to doubt, it will hardly be possible to mistake the geography of the whole, as the fables contained in the Ramayana, relative to the Ganges and its tributary rivers, are sufficient for enabling us to determine the general localities, which are still more precisely ascertained by reference to the Laws of

[35] JONES'S *Works*, vol. i. p. 296.
[36] POLIER, vol. i. p. 598, etc., in reference to the fable of Rajah Jerashind.

Menu.[37] According to the latter authority, it is true, we find the land of Bramavarta, formerly the abode of the gods, and situate between the holy rivers Sarasvati and Ahrishadvati (the Deva and Ganges); and the country of Brahmarshi, with the cities of Kurukshetra, or Indraprastha, (Delhi,) Matsya, Kanyakubja, (Canoge,) and Surasena, or Mathura, (in Behar,) the place where Krishna revealed himself to mankind, and the favourite habitation of Brahmans; for it is said, (by Menu,) "From a Brahman who was born at Brahmarshi, let all men on earth learn their several usages." Contiguous to this is the country of Madhyadesa, or the Middleland, together with Ariaverta, extending from the eastern to the western ocean, and inhabited by honourable men; since it was exclusively destined for the abode of the three superior castes, a privilege refused to the country of the Nilechas, or Barbarians. In the above countries are found all those famous cities, which are celebrated in the Hindu epic poems. In the Ramayana, the capital of India appears to have been Ayodhya, situate in the land of Kushula, and the royal abode of King Dasaratha.[38] It was built on the river Suriya, no doubt the same as the Goggra or Deva, which flowing from the north-east, empties itself into the Ganges, not far from Sirpur. The upper part of this river is still called Surjew in Major Rennell's chart. It would follow, therefore, that Ayodhya is rightly considered to be the modern Oude, though the limits of the ancient territory appear to have been less extensive than the present; for at a distance of no more than three or four days' journey[39] was the city Mithila, in the kingdom of Videha, (now the province of Tirhut,[40]) where king Janaka resided. Ayodhya is represented in the Ramayana as the capital of one of the oldest Hindu states; and the genealogical register of King Dasaratha is there carried back through forty-two generations, as far as Brahma, whose descendant in the seventh degree, named Ikshvaku, was the first king of Ayodhya, and from whom, in the thirty-sixth remove, Dasaratha traced his descent.[41] It would therefore

[37] *Ramayana*, i. 345, sq. Compare Laws of Menu, ii. 17—23, and vii. 193. [The rivers Nerbudda and Mahanadi form the boundaries of Aryaverta, towards the south. Fr. Transl.]

[38] *Ramayana*, 94, sq. [39] Ibid. i. 565. [40] Ibid. i. 565. [41] Ibid. i. 574, sq.

follow, according to the usual mode of calculation, that the kingdom of Ayodhya had already existed nearly a thousand years previous to the birth of Rama, in the person of that monarch's son. On the other hand, the genealogical table of Janaka, the king of Mithila, only comprises twenty-two generations. Now, whatever be the measure of dependence we can reasonably place in these documents, this at least is certain, that Ayodhya is celebrated in Hindu tradition, which was repeated and confirmed by the epic poets as one of the most ancient states of India; and we do not, perhaps, assume too much, when, in accordance with the testimony just noticed, we venture to place its origin from 1500 to 2000 years before the Christian era. In a very remarkable passage of the Ramayana mention is made of certain foreign Rajahs, who were invited by Dasaratha to be present at his solemn sacrifice;[42] these were the sovereign of Kasi, or Benares, the Rajahs of Maghada, or Behar, of Sindu and Surashtra, (Sind and Surat,) of Unga and Suvira, (of which, one is conjectured to mean Ava, the other some district situate on the Persian frontier,) and, in fine, the princes of the South, or the Deccan. They are represented as the friends, and some of them also as the relations of Dasaratha, by no means, however, as his vassals. It is therefore evident, that the author of the most ancient Hindu epic poem, considered India to be divided into a number of separate and independent principalities.

The same manner of representation, as far as we can at present judge, prevails also in the Mahabharat. The kingdom of the Pandos is there described as the principal one, though by no means including the whole of India, according to the modern definition; as it merely comprised a considerable portion of territory along the Ganges, from the northern mountains as far as Bengal. During the separation between the two families, a kingdom was formed in the South under Yuddhishthir, chief of the Pandos, who established his residence at Delhi, or Indraprastha;[43] and another in the North, under Duryodhana, chief of the Coros, of which

[42] *Ramayana*, i. 159.

[43] The name of Delhi is of modern origin; but the foundation of the city itself (attributed to Rajah Bhagavat) is as old as the fabulous ages, (Polier, vol. ii. p. 263,) at which time it was already celebrated for its splendour; vol. i. p. 606.

the capital was Hastinapura, and continued to be so upon the union of the two kingdoms, after the victory procured to the Pandos by the assistance of Krishna. In this manner the empire of the latter family became the principal, though it was by no means the only one in India.[44] The Mahabharat also mentions other Rajahs, such, for instance, as those of Canoge[45] and Mandota,[46] etc., of whom we know but little, from our not possessing a complete translation of the whole poem. The historical portion, however, of the Mahabharat, appears to be confined to the neighbourhood of the Ganges. The Deccan is of old the country of fable, and the abode of a numerous community of apes, under their several kings and generals; in the same quarter dwell the commander of the bears and the prince of the Rakshasas, lord of the marvellous island of Lanka. The mountainous regions seem to have always been the peculiar province of fable, and the Ghâts of Southern India, no less so than the snow-clad mountains of the north.

According to the Mahabharat, Canoge above mentioned is said to have risen in importance after the decline of Ayodhya. The latter had continued to be the seat of empire for upwards of fifteen centuries, when one of its kings, of the family of the Surayas, or children of the Sun, founded the city of Canoge, and he taking up his residence there, it became the royal capital. This event took place about the time when the simple worship of Brahma degenerated into pantheism, and gave way to the introduction of other gods and heroes, who had made themselves renowned by their conduct in peace or war. Temples and statues were erected to their honour, and the vanity of the princes, together with

[44] The empire of the Pandions, mentioned by Ptolemy and other writers in the time of the Romans, recalls to our mind that of the Pandos. The fabulous portion of whose history would certainly appear to have been known to the Greeks, and probably gave rise to the tradition relative to Pandea, who is said to have been a daughter of the Indian Hercules, and mother of the race of kings who governed India. ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 174. The very name of Pandion may perhaps be derived from that of the Pandos; but we must take care not to confound the later empire of the Pandions, (situate at the southern extremity of Malabar,) with the more ancient one of the Pandos. The term Pandion was probably a titular appellation common to the successors of the Pandos; as that of Porus belonged to the whole family of Puru, and was borne by many successive princes of that house, as is proved by MANNERT, *Geographie*, vol. v. p. 120, 126, 211.

[45] POLIER, vol. i. p. 519.

[46] Ibid. p. 546.

the superstition of the people, contributed to adorn Canoge with magnificent buildings.[47] The ruins which still exist of this city sufficiently attest its former splendour, and prove it to have been the capital of a great empire. And it would appear to have maintained its importance for a very considerable space of time; for as late even as the sixth century it was reported to contain not less than thirty thousand shops for the mere selling of betel-nut; and it only fell at last, in 1018, under the destructive invasions of the Ghaznevide sultans.[48]

Among the states situate in the land of the Ganges, next to Ayodhya, the kingdom of Maghada appears to have been one of the most ancient. According to the testimony of all writers, it comprised the modern Behar,[49] particularly the southern part; but considered in a larger sense, as a monarchy whose kings were in some degree lords paramount of all the rest of India, it will include the whole tract of country near the Ganges.[50] The Ramayana describes it as watered by the river Sumagodi, which flows towards the east.[51] Its capital, Hastinapura,[52] the ordinary residence of the kings, is particularly celebrated in Hindu mythological history. The kingdom of Maghada is mentioned in the poem just alluded to, as contemporary with Ayodhya;[53] and the Puranas so frequently speak of it, that we might, without much difficulty, collect and arrange the genealogical series of its kings from that source alone.[54] Maghada, therefore, may

[47] This account is repeated from MAURICE, (*History of Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 36,) who affirms it to be gathered from the Mahabharat. He makes Canoge to have been founded only 1000 years before Christ; it is, however, already mentioned in the Ramayana, if the editors of that poem are correct in supposing Kanyakubja to mean Canoge, and a different story of its origin is therein related. *Ramayana*, i. 230. It is possible, indeed, that the removal of the court thither, from Ayodhya, may have been considered as a second foundation, for the splendour of Canoge only commenced with that epoch; in which case, both the Ramayana and the Mahabharat may be right.

[48] RENNELL, *Memoir*, p. 54, second edition. According to this writer, Canoge was built more than a thousand years before the Christian era.

[49] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 304; vol. v. p. 263.

[50] WILFORD, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 82.

[51] *Ramayana*, i. 325. Probably the Sona.

[52] POLIER, vol. i. p. 539.

[53] *Ramayana*, i. 159.

[54] ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Recherches*, and TIEFENTHALER, *Beschreibung von Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 232, etc., give another table of the ancient Hindu kings, together with the duration of their respective reigns, but without determining the places where they reigned. This register is borrowed from a modern Persian work, entitled, "Tadhkiratu-palatin," which its au-

claim the first place in Hindu poetic history; and whatever objections the critic may choose to allege against particular details in the account of it, he is not at all authorized to question the existence of such a kingdom in very remote times, while he allows the general antiquity of the Hindus as a polished nation. According to the evidence reported by Sir William Jones from the Puranas,[55] eighty-one kings are said to have reigned in Maghada, whose names he also mentions. The first twenty reigns are unaccompanied with any chronological determination: but the ensuing are divided by him into five separate dynasties, of which the first commenced with King Pradiota, about 2100 A. C., and terminated with King Namda about 1500 A. C., embracing a period of sixteen reigns: the second only comprises ten, and ends with the year 1365 before Christ: the third dynasty, that of Sunga, contains also the same number of kings, and terminates 1253 A. C.: the fourth, that of Canna, only consists of four names, and lasted till the year 908 A. C.: the fifth, that of Andrah, forms a series of twenty-one kings, and continued down to the year 456 before the Christian era, and 400 before that of Vicramaditya; since which time, say the pundits, there is no further account of any independent kingdom existing in Maghada.[56] Consequently, at this epoch India appears to have been placed in precisely the same situation as ancient Egypt, which was at first divided into several small states, but after the expulsion of the

thor, in his turn, compiled from Sanscrit books. "This treatise," observes WILFORD, (*Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 132,) "is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in India; for with the exception of one original list, almost every thing else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler, who lived above a hundred years ago. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with the names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise, they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their reigns to some among them better known and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties, either in consequence of some pre-conceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name," etc. After such an avowal, who would require further proof? The remarks, however, just quoted, are only to be understood as applicable to modern compilers of chronological genealogies; not to the epic poems and ancient Puranas, which usually affix no dates to their genealogical tables.

[55] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 304; *Asiatic Res.* vol. ii. No. vi.

[56] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 308.

Hyksos, or shepherd kings, was consolidated into one great empire under the sovereigns of Memphis. But if we are unable to trace the vicissitudes of the particular states in Egypt, much less can we attempt to investigate those of India; for with the exception of a few bare lists of names, we are deprived of almost every other source of information necessary for the purpose. Nevertheless, we are in possession of absolute proof from history, derived from the accounts of the companions and successors of Alexander, that at the epoch above noticed, there had already existed, for a long space of time, very flourishing empires in the country bordering on the Ganges. In these accounts, it is not merely Western Hindustan that presents to our view a number of small states, as we have already shown in our researches into Persian India; but we also remark at this period the grand empire of the Prasii, and their capital Palibothra, situate on the banks of the Ganges. Here, at length, then, we step from the regions of poetical tradition into the legitimate province of history; at the same time, however, and especially when we consider the long period of tranquillity which must necessarily have preceded the establishment of empire on the Ganges, we may be enabled to form some opinion also of the ages just then elapsed, by referring to the events of the epoch in question. Now if, at such an early period, we meet with a highly civilized nation, and endowed with a degree of refinement which could not but have required a long course of preparatory discipline, have we not sufficient grounds for recognising in the native tradition of the Hindus, if not critical exactness, yet, at least, some foundation in truth?

According to what the Hindus themselves informed the Greeks, it would seem that India, from the time of the expedition of Bacchus down to the invasion of Alexander, had never suffered any hostile aggression from without, nor been engaged in any foreign war.[57] As this piece of information

[57] Whatever the first Greeks, who established themselves in India, recount of Hindu mythology, must always be received with extreme caution. It certainly appears, as I have before observed, that some of the fables contained in the great epic poems had come to their knowledge; and, indeed, how could it well be otherwise? But unacquainted with the language of the country, they saw and heard every thing through a prejudiced medium, and were biassed in all their judgments by a strong spirit of nationality. Among

comes from Megasthenes, who heard it at Palibothra, we must understand it more especially of the countries in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, and not of the frontier provinces of India, which had been previously subjected by the Persians. To whatever distance this epoch be removed, it is no less evident, that during a long interval of time previous to the expedition of Alexander, the Hindus, unshackled by foreign dominion, and left to their own resources, had free and undisturbed liberty to develop the national character: this is obviously no unimportant circumstance, when we have to speak of the progress they made in early civilization and literature.

The exact determination of the locality of Palibothra is not unattended with difficulties, arising principally from our ignorance respecting the river Erannoboas, on whose banks it was situated. But according to the researches of Major Rennell[58] and Mannert[59] it would appear almost beyond a doubt, that the river in question can be no other than the Sona; and that in consequence Palibothra, which was built at its point of junction with the Ganges, must be sought

the number of those mythological stories which had undoubtedly reached their ears, we may probably reckon the expeditions of Bacchus and Hercules into India, so naturally explained by the incarnations of Rama and Krishna, and their heroic actions described in the Ramayana and Mahabharat. We can hardly doubt that Bacchus and Hercules are both of them Hindu deities, since they are not only represented as objects of general worship, but the particular countries and places are also specified, where both the one and the other had temples erected to their service. See ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 174; and STRABO, vol. xv. p. 489; according to whom, the inhabitants of the mountains principally adored Hercules, and those of the plain Bacchus. This fact would lead us to infer the existence of two sects, and at the same time bring to our minds the respective followers of Siva and Vishnu. Proof may be adduced in support of both one and the other interpretation, though sound criticism will not venture into the particular details; and besides, the principal conclusion that the Hindu Bacchus and Hercules derive their origin from a conception of the Hindu epic poems, remains the same in both cases. Compare MAURICE, *History of Hindustan*, vol. ii. p. 119, 153. According to WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 93, the subject of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus was borrowed from the Mahabharat; this, however, must be understood only of the expedition of Bacchus into India. But even where the scene is laid in that country, it is not very easy to discover in this poem any thing of the true Indian character. It must, therefore, have passed through several intermediate stages, before it reached the Greeks.

[58] RENNELL, *Memoir*, p. 50, sq. second edition. He had at first supposed Palibothra to be Canoge, but was subsequently convinced of his mistake by a personal examination on the spot itself. He shows that the Sona has changed its former course, having previously entered the Ganges nearly twenty-five miles from its present embouchure.

[59] MANNERT, *Geogr.*, vol. v. p. 100.

after, in or near the modern town of Patna, where even the ancient appellation still survives in the name of a certain district called Patalputhra; another opinion however, which identifies the Erannoboas with the river Cusa, would place that city farther east, and not far from Boglipur.[60] The empire of the Prasii, although described to the Macedonian conqueror as the most powerful of all, could nevertheless hardly comprise more than a part of the country of the Ganges. Towards the west it extended beyond the junction of the Jumna with that river, where at no great distance from the modern Allahabad, was situated the ancient Matura, called Methora by Arrian,[61] in the classic land, so famous for being the scene of Krishna's appearance among mortals, and the place where he spent his early youth. On the south-east, it was bounded by the country of the Gangarides, situate towards the lower Ganges, and forming Bengal Proper, which was already governed by its own Rajah, not improbably the vassal of some more powerful neighbour.[62] If the ancient empire of Maghada terminated, as the native reports affirm, in the year four hundred and fifty-six before Christ,[63] we might be allowed to conjecture the kingdom of the Prasii to have been founded on its ruins, possibly after a certain lapse of time. For like the former it also comprised Behar, and some of the neighbouring provinces. But as Alexander himself, though arrived at the banks of the Hyphasis, was nevertheless very far from having reached even the boundaries of this empire, and of which therefore he could only have uncertain information, it would follow of course that its limits were not much extended towards the west.

After the retreat of Alexander, there arose a conqueror in India, who was known to the Greeks by the name of Sandracottus. He was a native of low extraction, and yet formerly in his youth had seen Alexander.[64] This chief became the author and leader of a revolt, in which the Hindus

[60] WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 272.

[61] ARRIAN, p. 174. In the land of Suraseni: we must not confound this ancient Matura or Madura, with the present Madurah, on the coast of Coromandel, a mistake which Langlès has committed. The names of Suraseni and Matura occur also in MENU, ii. p. 19.

[62] PLINY, vol. vi. p. 22. [63] JONES's *Works*, vol. i. p. 308.

[64] PLUTARCH, *Op.* vol. i. p. 700.

shook off the yoke of allegiance to the Macedonian stranger, and put to death the governors he had established.[65] Placed at the head of his countrymen in the western provinces, as the restorer of liberty, he became a conqueror in his turn, and overthrew the reigning dynasty at Palibothra, at that time represented by a weak and odious prince. Although the victorious arms of Sandracottus extended over a portion of the modern Punjab, yet the principal seat of his empire was confined to the country of the Ganges, as specified in his treaty with Seleucus Nicator, to whose ambassadors he gave audience at his court of Palibothra, or at Canoge.[66] The scholars of England believed that they had at length discovered a fixed point in ancient Hindu history, when they found the Sandracottus of the Greeks actually occurring in the native genealogies. He was considered to be the same as the Chandra Gupta of the Hindus,[67] and the resemblance between the two names appears even more striking in the earliest editions of Athenæus, which, instead of Sandracottus, have Sandracoptus.[68] But even admitting an identity of name, will that prove a corresponding identity of person? On the contrary, this resemblance of name appears to be almost the only feature the two have in common. They are both indeed represented as Hindu princes, but with this sole exception all further comparison must cease. Chandra Gupta was by no means, like his namesake Sandracoptus, a man of low birth, but the son of King Nanda, upon whose death he took possession of the throne:[69] and

[65] JUSTIN, vol. xv. p. 4.

[66] MAURICE, *Hist. of Hind.*, vol. i. p. 38. It seems that Palibothra and Canoge were both one and the other considered as the capital towns of the Prasian empire; in the same way that Agra and Delhi were under the Great Moguls. According to Maurice, Sandracottus is said to have rebuilt Canoge.

[67] SIR W. JONES, on Asiatic History, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. iv., and FRANCIS HAMILTON, *Genealogies*, Introduction, p. 14. According to the latter, Chandra Gupta was the second king of the house of Marija, ten of whom are reported to have reigned at Maghada during a space of one hundred and thirty-five years.

[68] ATHENÆUS, edit. Schweighäuser, vol. i. cap. 37.

[69] Compare the account of Chandra Gupta, given by WILFORD in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 264, sq. In the list of kings arranged by SIR W. JONES, (*Works*, vol. i. p. 306,) the reign of Nanda is placed one thousand six hundred and two, and Chandra Gupta one thousand five hundred and two years before Christ; the latter therefore must have lived one thousand two hundred years before Sandracottus. Will any one pretend that there was another Chandra Gupta? in which case how comes it that his predecessor is likewise called Nanda? Is it still necessary to put the reader on his guard against these abortive endeavours to apply fixed chronological dates to what is nothing more than a poetic history.

far from being an enemy to the Yavanas, (under which term are implied the Greeks or Macedonians,) he is their friend and ally. If we pursue the history of Chandra Gupta further, we shall find it to be merely poetical, and borrowed partly from the epic and partly from the dramatic poets;[70] who, according to their particular exigencies, have so differently handled the same history, that we are sometimes led to doubt whether their Chandra Gupta be always one and the same person, and not rather a common title and appellation, applied to many individuals.[71]

After Sandracottus the history of his empire again falls into obscurity, in which it is involved for a space of two hundred years, when Vicramaditya, to whose splendid reign we have already had several occasions of alluding, appears on the scene, as king of precisely the same countries. Still, however, we possess no extract of what is recounted in the Puranas of this celebrated prince; a few partial and scattered accounts being all that we are able to collect of his history.[72] Vicramaditya is called the sovereign of all India;[73] without doubt, as having reduced a number of the petty Rajahs to his authority. The principal seat of his empire was in the land of the Ganges, on both sides of that river; and his residence seems to have been established alternately at Palibothra and at Canoge. He was also lord of Benares, whither he convened the already mentioned assembly of Brahmans. He rebuilt Ayodhya, so celebrated in the ancient history of the Hindus, but then in complete

[70] These are cited by WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 262; where also will be found a history of Chandra Gupta according to these authorities.

[71] WILFORD, loc. cit. The word Chandra Gupta means "protected by the moon." [WILSON, in the preface to his edition of the *Mudra Rakshasa*, which appeared at Calcutta in 1827, identifies Sandracottus with Chandra Gupta; in fact, the resemblance is too striking to have been the effect of mere accident. FR. TRANSL.]

[72] We certainly have a prolix treatise by WILFORD, *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 117, etc., "Vicramaditya and Salivahana, their respective eras," in which however the subject is rather obscured than illustrated. "The Hindus," observes this writer, "know but of one Vicramaditya, but the learned acknowledge four; and when at my request they produced written authorities, I was greatly surprised to find no less than eight or nine." When we recollect in what manner the lists of Hindu kings were made up, how can we doubt that these numerous Vicramadityas also owe their origin solely to the hypotheses of native chronologers?

[73] POLIER, vol. i. p. 104.

ruin.[74] His power extended northward as far as Cashmire, the governors of which submitted to him of their own accord; and he appointed a Rajah to administer the affairs of that country.[75] At one time the extent of his dominions embraced also the northern parts of the Deccan, as far as Tagara; but the Rajahs of that quarter having revolted from his authority, they gave him battle and he was slain.[76] These facts are sufficient to show in what sense Vicramaditya was called the sovereign of India, and how his court might easily have been one of the most brilliant of the age, and a central point of attraction to poets and learned men.

While the foregoing inquiries have made it evident enough that the country about the Ganges must have been for a long series of ages, not less probably than two thousand years before Christ, the seat of great empires and splendid cities; so, on the other hand, the various destinies which have befallen the western side of the peninsula, still remain involved in the deepest obscurity. It appears, as we have already remarked, even in the epic poems, as the country of fable. And yet it is precisely in this part of India, that we find those prodigious monuments of antiquity, both under and above ground, imperishable proofs of the spread of that caste, which, in the above-noticed sense of the expression, appears to have been the predominant one in the land of the Ganges; and, with the two other superior castes, was only allowed, agreeably to the laws of Menu, to reside in that part of the country. While the true origin of those remarkable structures, wrapped as they are in the gloom of centuries, will only permit us to advance conjecture, what can be a more natural and obvious supposition, than to refer their erection to the period of the victory gained by the Brahmans over the warrior caste; when the former, grounding the influence thus acquired on the support of religion, endeavoured to maintain it in the southern provinces also by the foundation of establishments similar to those already existing in the neighbourhood of the Ganges? And wherein could such establishments otherwise consist than in religious sanctuaries; which, as their nature and method of arrangement clearly show, were intended to serve for the

[74] POLIER, vol. i. p. 185. [75] *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 161.
[76] WILFORD, in the *Asiatic Res.*, vol. i. p. 374.

residence of the divinities, as well as their attendant priests? The particular reason why these buildings were constructed under ground in preference to above, is sufficiently explained by referring to climate and locality; the latter presenting every convenience for such an undertaking; more especially, too, when we take into account the probable and easy adaptation of naturally formed grottoes to the purpose in hand; while the heat of the climate would furnish peculiar attractions to a residence in subterranean edifices. The supposition already made will also assign an adequate motive for the earliest establishments of this kind; like those of Elephanta and Salsette, being formed on some small island in the immediate vicinity of the coast, where they might be less exposed to attack from the barbarous aborigines of the continent. In the same manner, we can explain the gradual enlargement of these sanctuaries, and the progressive care bestowed on their decoration, while we consider them as central points of religious dominion; which it was the object to establish and confirm by all possible means; such as oracles, pilgrimages, and solemn feasts. And how satisfactorily can we account for the peculiarities above mentioned, when we refer to the spirit of rivalry which subsisted between a number of such establishments, each striving to outvie the other; while reputation, the love of gain, and above all, mutual jealousy, acted as a spur to sectarian opposition; and when probably the worshippers of Buddha endeavoured to supplant the followers of Vishnu or Siva; an attempt, however, which ended in the total expulsion of the former from the peninsula. In this manner the art must necessarily have been perfected by degrees; until at length a period of general tranquillity, succeeding the distraction of party spirit, permitted the secure erection of these sanctuaries in the heart of the mainland, such as Ellora, for instance, the most wonderful and magnificent of all. The gradual progress subsequently made in the formation of rock-temples above ground, and other buildings, together with the perfection to which the Hindus brought this kind of architecture, has already been shown in our description of the monuments themselves; and would seem to furnish a more convincing proof both of the long interval of time which must have preceded all these successive improve-

ments, and also, by consequence, of the high antiquity of the nation, than we can derive from lists of kings collected from the poets, and laboriously arranged in chronological order; although certainly the general agreement of poetical fiction with these monuments, is an additional proof in favour of their antiquity. The monuments themselves, too, have their own language; it is concise and monosyllabic, but of unquestionable veracity to those who are acquainted with them, and with the people who erected those lasting memorials. The nature of sacerdotal states can only be seen in its true light, when we come to examine the corresponding phenomena which ancient Egypt presents to our view. The religion of the Hindus, in a greater degree than that of the Egyptians, was adapted, and indeed purposely calculated, to bind the people in strict connexion with their sanctuaries, while it prescribed the dutiful observance of pilgrimage thither, and made to depend thereon the hope both of present and future happiness. Even in modern times, notwithstanding the weight of foreign oppression under which they have languished for so many centuries, thousands of pilgrims still find opportunity and means to visit the temples and holy places; and to support, and even enrich them, by the number of their presents. What, then, may we conceive to have been the case in more fortunate times, when neither Moslem bigotry nor European avarice had yet quenched their zeal, or straitened their resources![77] In recurring to such an epoch, the imagination pleases itself with portraying the varied enjoyments of social and commercial intercourse, which these periodical assemblies of foreigners from all parts of India would naturally bring in their train; we see, as it were, before our eyes those vast grottoes and halls, peopled with living multitudes, that are now only the abode of frightful desolation, or ravenous wild beasts. But, to return to the Brahmans, how truly congenial to the spirit of that caste were establishments like those we have just mentioned, may be inferred from the Brahmanical colonies which Alexander found in the north

[77] [The whole amount of taxes collected from pilgrims to the four following places, viz. Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, and Tripetty, for a term of seventeen years, ending 1828, is reported to have been not less than a million of money, after deducting all necessary expenses. See *Asiatic Journal* for October, 1830, p. 103, sq. TRANSL.]

of India;[78] as well as those still existing in the recesses of the Himalaya mountains. In fact, does not the holy city Benares, at the present day, stand in precisely the same relation to the country of the Ganges, as, according to all appearance, Ellora and Deoghur did formerly to the Deccan?

It was only in the time of the Roman empire, during the first and second centuries of our era, and after the establishment of a regular navigation between Egypt and India, that the peninsula, under its present name of the Deccan,[79] began to emerge from obscurity. It is noticed, both by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and by Ptolemy; their accounts, however, cannot be applied to the elucidation of the earlier history of that part of India, except they make express mention of anterior epochs. In the time of the above writers, as well as fifteen centuries after, when discovered by the Portuguese, the Deccan appears to have been portioned out among a number of petty Rajahs, some of whom resided in the same cities as their successors of the present day. This was the case with Ozene,[80] the name of which is still preserved in Uzen or Ujein, (Ujjayani,) and which, as we have seen, the powerful Vicramaditya subjected to his arms for a certain time; it is now the residence of Scindia, one of the great Mahratta chieftans. A still more important place than the last is Tagara, without doubt the modern Deoghur, in the neighbourhood of the famous Ellora,[81] and, according to the author of the Periplus,[82] the grand capital of the district of Ariaca; which comprehended most of the present Subah of Aurungabad, and the southern part of the Concan; the northern parts of which, with the islands of Salsette, Bombay, and Elephanta, were subject to the Rajah of Larikeh. With the exception of a short interval of time, during which the residence of the kings was transferred from Tagara to Pattan, the former city continued upwards of two thousand years, down to the Mohammedan

[78] See Persians.

[79] ARRIAN, *Peripl. Mar. Erythr. in Geogr. Min.* vol. i. p. 29. According to the Ayin Acbari, vol. ii. p. 546, Ozene, Oude, Mahtra, and Maya, without reckoning Benares, are still holy places of the first order, and the resort of numerous pilgrims.

[80] ARRIAN, loc. cit. p. 72. He mentions it as formerly a royal city; for in his time the residence of the Rajahs had been transferred to Minnagara.

[81] Compare WILFORD's Essay on Tagara, *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 369.

[82] ARRIAN, loc. cit. p. 29.

invasion in 1293, to be reckoned among the capital towns of India. We shall have occasion to show, in another place, that it remained also for an equal period of time the grand emporium of Mediterranean commerce.

Although it is extremely probable that the general condition of the peninsula and its line of coast, must have been for a long time previous the same as we find it represented in the Periplus, that is to say, divided into a number of small kingdoms, yet it would be hazardous to infer from the description there given, more particular conclusions respecting its constitution in earlier periods; for, considered in this point of view, many and divers changes might unavoidably have occurred; and more especially, as the active commercial intercourse kept up with India by the Romans after their conquest of Egypt, must necessarily have produced corresponding relations on the coast of the peninsula. It is a subject of regret, that the author of the above voyage had not visited the Coromandel, as well as the Malabar coast; we might then possibly have been favoured with some more important disclosures relative to the wonderful city of Mavalipuram, the ruins of which are at present almost the only proof we have of its former existence. But as, according to the remarks heretofore made, its antiquity must be very considerable,[83] we may at least infer, this part also of India to have once contained sacerdotal empires, like the other side of the peninsula, governed by Rajahs who possessed no inconsiderable share of territorial dominion.

Notwithstanding the early history of these ancient Hindu states (with regard to their destinies and extent) is still involved in obscurity, we are yet able to ascertain with somewhat more correctness, the nature of their political constitution. The Ramayana and the Laws of Menu are important sources of information, which we may advantageously consult in this part of our inquiry; and whatever be the degree of poetical merit awarded to the first of these works, we cannot but consider it as a valuable present to the general history of mankind. It transports us, as it were, into a new world, in every sense of the term; and, like the graphic representations of the Ionian bard, makes us immediately and personally acquainted with the various characters introduced upon the scene. It exhibits before our eyes, not merely the external form of ancient Hindu polity, but what is of greater moment, the inward springs, and the very spirit of sacerdotal administration. That curious phenomenon, so abhorrent from the character of our times, the preponderance of the sacerdotal over the civil power, is there shown in all its nakedness; but not in those odious colours which we are accustomed to attach to the conception, and which we borrow from our experience or habits of association. The epopee, in the case before us, is closely united with the idyl; but it is with a religious idyl. Not kings alone, but the sons even of gods themselves, are there represented as looking up with profound veneration to those holy men, who, long celebrated for their penances, are almost equal to the Devas in point of rank; and thrice happy the princes whose court was honoured with their presence. The beau ideal of a prince is always there represented as the union of a monarch and a hero, with the character of a saint. Let us compare, for instance, the picture which the Ramayana gives us of Dasaratha, sovereign of Ayodhya: "Dasaratha, the descendant of Ikshvaku, perfectly versed in the precepts of the Vedas and the Vedangas; of consummate ability; beloved by his people; dexterous in the management of horses; indefatigable in sacrifices; pre-eminent in the holy ceremonies of religion; a royal sage, almost equal to a Rishi; renowned throughout the three worlds; the vanquisher of his enemies; the observer of justice; master of his desires; in magnificence like Shakra; protector of his subjects like Menu, the first of monarchs."[84] It is probably in delineating the portraits of their sovereigns, that the national character of any people is most conspicuously developed; and the Hindus, as we have seen, adopted by no means a contemptible exemplar for their own.

The code of Menu in connexion with the digest of law above mentioned, seem to present us with an exact notion of the forms of Hindu polity; and however divided we may always be in opinion with regard to the antiquity of that code in its present state, it nevertheless contains a collection of the oldest institutes and laws relative to public and pri-

[83] See above, p. 81.

[84] *Ramayana*, i. 100.

vate right; which may therefore owe their sanction to established usage, or to the fact of their having been drawn up and committed to writing. These legislative enactments are not confined in their application to particular states of India; because, being attributed to Menŭ, the first sovereign of that country, they recognise the whole as forming but one undivided kingdom. Whether, indeed, all of them were in actual force throughout every portion of India may admit of reasonable doubt; but that the groundwork of Hindu polity, and, by consequence, the fundamental laws, were the same in all states, is clearly evident from the Ramayana. Wherever the dominion of the Brahmans extended, the same order of things is found generally to have prevailed; we need not, therefore, hesitate to assume the code in question for the basis of our present inquiry.

The fundamental principle of all Hindu polity is the division of castes. In the laws of Menu this classification appears to have been completely organized already; and so it is also represented in the epic poems; we shall hardly, therefore, be liable to serious error in attempting the following description of them.

All Hindu writers are unanimous in assigning only four original castes,[85] viz. the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas,

[85] The Greeks alone differ from them, (ARRIAN, p. 176; DIOD. i. p. 153; STRABO, lib. xv.,) in admitting *seven* castes instead of four: viz. 1. Sophists. 2. Agriculturists. 3. Herdsmen. 4. Handicraftsmen and artisans. 5. Warriors. 6. Inspectors. 7. Councillors. The whole of this statement is borrowed from one and the same source, that is to say, from the Indica of Megasthenes. A very slight acquaintance, however, with India will be sufficient to prove, that such could never have been the real division of Hindu castes; but there is less reason to be surprised that a Greek, who resided for a short time only at the court of Sandracottus in the quality of an ambassador, should not immediately have understood the subject, when we reflect, that no subsequent traveller has yet been able clearly to elucidate the matter, on account of the numerous intermediate castes, and their respective subdivisions. Megasthenes has sometimes divided one caste into two, as, for instance, the agriculturists and herdsmen; at others, he has mistaken (probably because he collected his information from the court) the simple classes of courtiers and public officers for distinct castes, and thus made out his sixth and seventh; and, in fine, he has omitted some, as the merchants and serving-men. His caste of sophists are, in fact, part and parcel of the Brahmans, as it was their business to superintend religious ceremonies; and this very name is expressly given to them in another passage, ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 134. Again, Megasthenes confounds the penitents or fakirs, who, as he reports, lived naked in the woods, enduring the extremes of cold and heat, (whence came the term gymnosophists,) with the Brahmans, to which caste they frequently, though by no means exclusively, belong. This mistake seems to have occasioned another, committed by Megasthenes, when he pretends that a Hindu of any caste may become a sophist.

and Sudras. Of these, the three first are distinguished from the fourth, or servile caste, not only by their manner of life, but also by their general appearance. The members of the former severally wear round their body a peculiar kind of girdle or cord, which is, however, different in different individuals;[86] and this being regarded as the emblem of a second birth, they are collectively termed by Menu the regenerate; an appellation which the epic poets nevertheless usually attach, by preference, to the Brahmans. The three superior castes have also the full enjoyment of their personal liberty, a privilege which is denied the Sudras. Further, they alone are permitted to derive instruction from the Vedas, in the respective degrees peculiar to each caste; so that we may not improperly term them, predominant castes, in contradistinction to that of the Sudras, who are absolutely debarred from all manner of acquaintance with those holy books.

The purity of the privileged castes would naturally depend upon their not confounding themselves with the others by marriage. On this point the laws are very precise; it is, however, a misapprehension to suppose, as the Greeks did, that marriages are only allowable between individuals of the same caste; for the laws of Menu permit the three higher castes to intermarry with each other, though only in the case of a second marriage; so that upon these terms, a man belonging to a superior caste may take a wife from an inferior one, without risking contamination;[87] a woman, on the other hand, is not allowed to profit by this concession. Nevertheless, the purity of caste was preserved by another fundamental law, which enacted, that those children only who were born to mothers of the same caste as the father, should properly belong to that caste. Whence it follows, that the son of a Brahman must also have a Brahman mother, in order to be reckoned a legitimate Brahman himself, and so of the rest.[88] The Sudras, on the contrary,

[86] MENU, ii. 37, 42, 43, 44, 169. Compare the *Ayin Acbari*, ii. 509, where the modern custom is described.

[87] The principal passages are in MENU, iii. 12, 13; ix. 149.

[88] MENU, x. 6, sq. The principal passage; where are also found the various denominations of intermediate castes, arising from unequal marriages.

are not permitted to choose a wife, except of their own caste.[89]

While in this manner, notwithstanding the liberty of intermarriage, a strong barrier was raised between the principal castes, yet the natural consequence of these mis-alliances would be the formation of intermediate classes, the number of which, it is easy to conceive, would be very considerable; and, in fact, this circumstance renders the task of ascertaining the various shades of difference between them extremely difficult, and contributes to embroil an examination of the castes in general with perplexity and confusion. The law, however, has bestowed a great deal of care in attempting to determine these manifold subdivisions; each class has a particular name, and follows a definite trade or occupation.[90] Several of them, being the fruit of a connexion between Sudra fathers and the women of other castes, are impure, and considered the most despicable of mankind; they are not even allowed to dwell in towns,[91] etc. These appear to be synonymous with the modern Pariahs.

The caste of the Brahmans would seem to have spread itself all over India. It possesses the exclusive privilege of studying and explaining the Vedas.[92] This, indeed, is their principal destination; and as the Vedas are the source of all Hindu learning, whether religious or scientific, the priesthood is for the same reason in exclusive possession of knowledge. The Brahmans are, therefore, the only physicians in India; for sickness being considered as the punishment of transgression, it is remedied by the imposition of penance and certain religious ceremonies.[93] They are also judges; for who but themselves would have such a perfect acquaintance with the law?[94] They alone are the national priests, and offer sacrifice for themselves as well as for others. They make presents; but then they have an especial right to receive, and even to demand them in their turn;[95] while no

[89] MENU, ix. 157. The favour of marrying women of an inferior class, allowed to the three superior castes, is a concession of the Laws of Menu, which, as SIR W. JONES remarks, (Institutes of Menu, p. 362,) according to the Brahmans, was subsequently abolished.
[90] Compare the whole tenth chapter of MENU.
[91] MENU, x. 50—56.
[92] Ibid. i. 88.
[93] Ibid. viii. 1.
[94] Ibid. i. 88.
[95] Ibid. x. 80—90.

one may refuse a liberal accordance to their petitions. A Brahman is also permitted to follow the occupations of the two castes next in order to his own; he may carry arms, and even embark in a mercantile profession, though not, indeed, with every kind of ware.[96] From this variety of occupation the several classes of Brahmans arise, among which, those who expound the Vedas take the first place. The latter are treated even by sovereigns with the most profound respect, and are represented as beings of a supernatural order, at whose bidding the powers of the invisible world are obedient. The landed possessions of a Brahman are free of all impost,[97] and himself exempt from the infliction of capital punishment; hence, to slay one of this privileged caste, even though he had deserved death by the commission of the most enormous crimes, would be a heinous and unpardonable offence. He can only be amerced in a pecuniary fine, or banished for a term of years at most.[98] Notwithstanding these high prerogatives, however, the Brahmans are bound to the performance of duties which, with the exception of celibacy, are as severe as the rule of the strictest order of European monks. Until they are thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the Vedas, they are obliged to pass a long course of previous study in the house of their Guru, or spiritual teacher, whom they are enjoined to regard in the light of a second parent. It is only then that they are allowed, or rather it becomes their duty, to marry and become heads of families.[99] Every day of their life appears to be subject to the performance of a severe ritual.[100] The many prayers, ablutions, and sacrifices they must go through, take up a great portion of their time; and the facility with which they may contract pollution, only to be cleansed by rigorous penances, require the most heedful circumspection. They are forbidden to eat in the company of any one of an inferior caste, and even with princes themselves; they must not kill any thing that has life, except for sacrifice, and consequently they may eat no flesh but that of victims. When arrived at a certain age, it is their duty, or at least their custom, to withdraw into retirement, in order to devote

[96] MENU, ix. 314—319.
[97] PAULINO, *Syst. Br.* p. 230, sq.
[98] MENU, viii. 380, 381.
[99] Ibid. iii. 1.
[100] Compare the whole twelfth chapter of MENU.

themselves to religious contemplation, by means of which they may attain to spiritual union with the deity. As to the interior organization of their caste, it is no where expressly mentioned that they recognise the authority of a sovereign pontiff, etc.: but when we read of the hundreds, and often thousands of Brahmans attached to a single temple, we are naturally led to infer the existence among them of some regular order and gradation of rank.[1]

The second caste, which is that of the Kshatriyas, or warriors, according to the express assertion of Menu, arose out of the first.[2] But although of the same origin, it has nevertheless undergone considerable modifications, partly arising, as we have before remarked, from the unfortunate issue of their struggle with the Brahmans, and partly from the common fate of all warrior castes, in a country which happens to be overrun by foreign invaders.[3] Under such circumstances this caste would not long maintain its primitive form; it would obviously be the first to suffer. So that notwithstanding the greater part of the present inhabitants of Northern India are in all probability descended from these warriors,[4] we can easily conceive the reason why they are no longer considered to belong to that caste. In this sense the Brahmans may justly affirm, that the old warrior caste no longer exists, and that it is altogether annihilated.[5] But another passage in Menu furnishes us with more decisive information on the subject; according to which, several tribes of the Kshatriyas, having neglected to observe the holy customs and to visit the Brahmans, became so degenerate that they were expelled the caste, and regarded as

[1] [The Buddhists alone introduced an ecclesiastical hierarchy; because, as they did not recognise the distinction of caste, such method of subordination was indispensably necessary; the reverse of what naturally obtained among the Brahmans. Fr. Transl.]

[2] Menu, ix. 320.

[3] In the southern parts of the peninsula, the Nairs (a species of country nobility rather than a distinct tribe) are considered to belong to the warrior caste. Whether they are the dispersed remnants of the old Kshatriyas, is not yet sufficiently ascertained.

[4] See vol. i. sect. 3, sub fin. What is there said must be understood of the origin, and not of the ancient organization of the warrior caste. If we may believe modern report, the inhabitants of Multan, and its capital, (Malli,) from whom Alexander met with the most obstinate resistance, are the present Rajpoots. See Elphinstone's *Account*, etc. p. 15.

[5] *Ramayana*, i. 584, not.

Dasyas, or robber-tribes.[6] Many of the neighbouring countries of Hindustan appear to be inhabited by these outcasts; and the sect of the Sikhs, for instance, who now occupy a considerable part of Northern India, can be looked upon by orthodox Hindus in no other light than as the offspring of those ancient exiles.

The old Kshatriya caste inhabited the northern parts of India; its business, according to Menu, was to defend the country, and of course to bear arms. The individuals of this class were not allowed, except in cases of urgent necessity, to follow the occupations of inferior castes; by no means, however, those of the Brahmans.[7] They might derive instruction from the Vedas, that is to say, read or hear them read, but they were not to impart this knowledge to others. It was also their duty to offer sacrifice, to give but

[6] Menu, x. 43. They are called Paundracas, Odras, Draviras, Cambojas, Yavanas, Sacas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Deradas, and Chasas. Sir W. Jones, in his Treatise on the Chinese, (*Works*, vol. i. p. 99,) understands by Chinas, the Chinese, who, as the Brahmans report, are descended from the Hindus. The other names, which are apparently those of different nations, give rise to various conjectures. Are the Sacas the ancient Sacæ? are the Pahlavas Medes speaking Pehlvi? are the Cambojas the inhabitants of modern Camboja; and the Yavanas, as is commonly supposed, Greeks or Macedonians? But how are we to draw accurate conclusions from a bare recital of names? It is, however, certain, that several of these tribes designate foreign nations. "They are," continues Menu, "Dasyas, whether they speak the language of *Mlechas*, (that is, barbarians, or strangers,) or that of *Aryas*" (degenerated aborigines). There is a remarkable passage in the *Ramayana*, p. 326, 327, relative to this subject, in reference to the fable already mentioned of the quarrel between the Kshatriya Rajah Vishva Mitra with the Brahman Vasishtha. We here find Pahlavi kings, whom the editors interpret of the ancient Persians; Chacas, or Saces, whom they connect with the Yavanas; the Cambojas and Varvaras, (probably the Draviras of Menu,) and the Mlechas. They are fabulously reported to have sprung from portions of the sacred cow belonging to Vasishtha, and to whom they served as auxiliary troops. The explaining of the word Yavanas by Greeks, or Macedonians, is most generally adopted by English scholars; particularly as the name occurs in the history of Chandra Gupta, whom they identify with Sandracottus. *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 264, 267. It is, however, difficult to say why the Hindus should call the Greeks or Macedonians Yavanas, even supposing the appellation to be derived from Yavan, or Ionians, because the latter was not their real name. [The word Javan, or Yavan, is found in Genesis, chap. x., and in Arabic, Persian, Coptic, and Armenian, is always employed to designate the Grecks. Moreover, in the early periods of Grecian history the name Iones is generally applied to the whole nation. See Homer, Plato de Leg. iii. p. 684, and Hesych. ad voc. Ἰωνες et Ἰαννα. According to Herodotus, vii. 62, the Medes were in former times universally called Arii: now, ārya, in Sanscrit, means 'noble,' 'venerable;' and India Proper is termed Aryāvarta, the Holy Land, or country of the Aryas. Transl.]

[7] Menu, x. 95.

not to receive alms, and to abstain from sensual indulgences.[8] These precepts, if we omit the latter, seem, it must be confessed, but little calculated to form a soldier; and they will perhaps furnish one principal reason why the Hindus have never been remarkable for warlike spirit, and have so frequently become the easy prey of foreign conquerors.[9] In general, however, the laws of Menu are extremely deficient in their notice of this caste. We are told nothing of its interior organization, of its divisions, its arms; nothing, in fact, of the essential character which belongs to it as a warrior caste. It might certainly have been the interest of the Brahmans to maintain the Kshatriyas in greater subordination to their authority than any other caste; but the people at large have suffered the inevitable and pernicious consequences of their ambition.

The third caste is that of the Vaisyas. It is a mistake to confine the individuals composing this class to merchants,[10] they being merely a subdivision, for it also includes husbandmen. Agriculture, breeding of cattle, commerce, and the lending of money upon interest, are their prescribed modes of occupation.[11] The Vaisyas, like the Kshatriyas, are also admitted to a knowledge of the Vedas, and to sacrifices. This caste would obviously be the most numerous of all.

The fourth, or Sudra caste, is separated from the preceding ones by a broad line of distinction. Its members being forbidden to wear the sacred thread, are, therefore, not counted among the regenerate; but, according to the Hindu expression, among those who have only been born once.[12] They are said to have sprung from the feet of

[8] MENU, i. 89.

[9] With regard to the present state of the Kshatriya caste, compare the *Ayin Acbari*, ii. 397, 398. "There are," says the author, "more than five hundred tribes bearing the name of Kshatriyas, but the real caste so called no longer exists."

[10] The modern name of Banians, as Hindu merchants are called by foreigners, properly means corn merchants; the Bannyeh being a subdivision of the Vaisya caste. *Ayin Acbari*, vol. ii. p. 399.

[11] MENU, i. 59. The breeding of cattle seems to have been the first destination of the Vaisyas, to which agriculture and commerce were subsequently added. Compare MENU, ix. 327, where it is said, "The Creator intrusted the management of cattle to the Vaisyas, as he did that of men to the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas."

[12] MENU, x. 4.

Brahma: although the lowest caste of all, they are not considered impure; but as they cannot marry out of their own class,[13] it is principally from an infraction of this law that the epithet impure is applied to the offspring of an illegitimate connexion with individuals of a superior caste. The Sudras are absolutely forbidden a knowledge of the Vedas; the mere reading of these books would entail upon them the punishment of death. They are born to be servants;[14] and are considered to do best when they wait upon a Brahman, then on a Kshatriya, and lastly on a Vaisya. If a Sudra meet with no opportunity of getting into service, he may, in such case, follow some useful occupation; he who serves a Brahman faithfully, has the consolatory hope of migrating, by some future metempsychosis, into a higher caste.[15] The respective relations of master and servant are not very explicitly defined in the laws; nor are we informed to what extent the latter is to be regarded in the light of a slave; they specify, however, the various ways in which a man may lose his liberty, either by being taken prisoner in war, or by birth, or by sale, or when condemned to slavery as a punishment.[16] Nevertheless, the Sudras are in general considered as placed in a state of slavery; because, even though a member of this caste should happen to be affranchised by his master, he does not, therefore, enjoy all the rights of a free-man, his natural condition being that of a slave.[17] This condition, however, admits of so many modifications that we can draw no positive conclusions from such indefinite premises; and although it appears certain that the Hindus had slaves at all times, the Greeks might nevertheless have sufficient reason for maintaining a contrary opinion;[18] because slavery in India was a very different thing from what it was in Greece.

The number of mixed castes, partly rejected and impure, was already so considerable, even in the time of Menu, that his laws do not mention the whole of them by name;[19] a circumstance which perfectly explains the relation of a

[13] MENU, ix. 157. [14] Ibid. ix. 334. [15] Ibid. ix. 335.
[16] Ibid. viii. 415. [17] Ibid. viii. 414. [18] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 175.
[19] See the whole tenth chapter of Menu. The Sutas, Vaidehas, and Chandalas, are there mentioned as the lowest and most impure castes; the latter (the Chandalas) are the modern *Parias*. MENU, x. 26, sq.

modern traveller, who reckons in a general way, upwards of eighty-four.[20] Now, as the members of these castes were exclusively employed in certain occupations, particularly handicraft, their increase in number may be considered a proof of the advanced state of civilization at the early period when the laws of Menu were first compiled.

We can thus comprehend how the number of castes has gradually multiplied; but it does not, therefore, follow that all the inferior ones, many of them impure, should have been descended from the same stock as the higher castes. It seems evident, from what has been already advanced, that the three latter, which have so much that is common, both in outward appearance and in their religious and political privileges, constituted, properly speaking, the Hindu nation. Herodotus remarked long ago, that India was inhabited by a great many different nations;[21] and if we examine with attention that assemblage of various races, now generally termed Hindus by Europeans, we shall find sufficient reason to be convinced of the correctness of his remark. Religion is the sole bond of union which has joined all these nations together, and in a certain degree made them constitute but one people. With this exception, the variety of colour and features, the diversity of idiom and manner of life, all furnish so many proofs in attestation of a different origin.[22] And although it be impossible for us to draw a

[20] THEVENOT, *Voyages*, p. 84, last part.

[21] HEROD. iii. 98. He adds also, "Who do not use the same language;" an additional confirmation of the fact, that all the languages spoken in India were not equally derived from the Sanscrit; but that radical differences existed between them in this respect as well as in others. [It seems pretty clear that the ancients, in making use of the term "language," understood very often nothing more than idioms or dialects; which, although derived from one and the same original stock, were yet sufficiently distinct from each other to obstruct the purposes of verbal communication. And besides, Herodotus was only acquainted with that part of India which borders on the Sindhu, or Indus; whereas it is in the Deccan, and to the south of the peninsula, that we must search for languages radically different from the Sanscrit. FR. TRANSL.]

[22] It is not the reading of a dead letter description, but ocular testimony alone, which can convince any one of this difference. Could I lay before the reader a series of portraits of individuals belonging to different castes, taken on the spot, and for which I am indebted to the friendly communication of M. Blumenbach, he would probably dispense with my adducing further proof. The contrast exhibited between the Spanish Creoles and the Peruvians, in point of complexion and people, is by no means so striking as that between the Brahmans and the Parias. I have the rather made choice of this comparison, as the establishment of the Spaniards in the New World, effected not merely by the sword, but also by the cross, appears to be an exact counterpart of a similar establishment of dominion by the ruling caste over the aboriginal natives of India, did we but possess the history of the Brahmans as we do that of the Spaniards. At all events, the fable of Parasu Rama, the vanquisher of the Kshatriyas, seems to contain some allusions to that history. According to POLIER, (vol. i. p. 287,) this Parasu Rama reduced into subjection the Sanchalas, a wild and barbarous nation, who fed on human flesh. A traditionary report, current among the natives of Canara, makes a dynasty of seventy-seven kings to have reigned at Banavassi, 1450 years B. C.; who subjected the Parias, and plunged them into their present degraded state of slavery. LIEUT.-COL. MARK WILKS, *Sketches of Southern India*, p. 157.

[23] The *Ramayana*, i. p. 493, contains a remarkable passage, in which a Chandala, or Paria, is described as a man of dark colour. The sons of Vasishtha had uttered a terrible imprecation on the Rajah Trishanka, to the effect that he might be turned into a Chandala; "In the self-same night," proceeds the poem, "a complete metamorphosis took place in the king; on the morrow he appeared like a monstrous creature, in short, exactly like a Chandala. His nether garments were of a blue colour, and his upper in a soiled and filthy condition; his eyeballs gleamed like copper; while the complexion of his body resembled that of a hideous brown ape. His kingly robes were transformed into bear skin, and all his ornaments into iron." The same lot afterwards befell the sons of Vasishtha in turn; their imprecation upon the innocent Rajah having recoiled upon themselves. It would follow, therefore, that upwards of three thousand years ago, when the Ramayana was probably composed, the same diversity of colour was observable between the several castes as at present. How are we to explain this, except by supposing a difference of origin?

[24] [It is astonishing to observe the number of *Cerebral* letters there are in the Pracrit: M. Burnouf is of opinion that these letters were originally Tamul; and, from their not being found in the Zend, the Armenian, or any of the derivative languages, it is extremely probable that they were not incorporated into the Sanscrit till after its establishment in India. In this case, the migration of a foreign people into that country would become almost an historical fact. FR. TRANSL.]

marked line of distinction in the case, or to say positively how far the Sudra caste are of a different stock from the others; yet nevertheless there appears little doubt that generally the inferior castes, which are distinguished by a much darker colour,[23] were the primitive inhabitants of India; whom the predominant castes subsequently reduced under their authority, either by means of religion only, or by force of arms.[24]

The distinction of caste, though a fundamental principle of the constitution itself, at least in the three superior castes, based upon the organization of families. The desire of perpetuating the memorial of his house by heirs male, is, to a Hindu, one of the most lively importance; and the want of sons is considered a misfortune only to be remedied by adoption. The peculiar notions of the Hindus on this point,

are not so much the effect of political institutions as of religious precepts; as, for instance, those relating to funeral sacrifices; which are prescribed to be offered by children to the manes of their ancestors, in order to insure their entrance into Swerga, or paradise. Add to this the laws of succession; and especially the prerogatives attached to primogeniture, from which we may easily conceive the great importance of this question in the eye of the legislature.[25] We have already seen what frequent use the poets have made of this national peculiarity; and how, both in the epic poem and in the drama, the preservation of a male child is so often the main point on which the action of the piece turns.

To this place naturally belongs a question connected with the political organization of the Hindus; the solution of which, as I have already had occasion to remark,[26] is not unattended with difficulty; viz. to what extent is the social character of this people founded upon polygamy? That it was sanctioned in the higher castes by law, admits of no doubt whatever;[27] and we shall but deceive ourselves if we expect to find among the Hindus the same clear and rigorous conceptions of the marriage union, which in Europe are

[25] See MENU, ix. 104, sq. The great importance attached by the ancient Greeks and Romans to the maintaining family sacrifices, both on civil and religious grounds, is well known. The prize Dissertation of M. Bunsen, "De jure hereditario Atheniensium," Gottingæ, 1813, contains a profound and instructive investigation of this subject; and particularly deserves mention here, as the learned author has discovered a really surprising agreement between the laws of Athens and those of the Hindu Digest, v. 12; whence it follows that the sacrifices in question were offered in the same degrees of affinity; and also that the classification of families, and their descending branches, in a legal point of view, was the same among both people. [It is very singular, that notwithstanding the apparently ample means for deciding this point, no question is less determined than that of primogeniture among the Hindus. Some writers affect to deny its existence altogether; and assert that property descends to the whole family in common. Others again, and these great and honourable names, admit indeed this mode of equable partition, to obtain among individuals of the Sudra and Vaisya caste, but absolutely reject its application to the case of the higher classes; among whom it is maintained that primogenitureship is not only recognised, but reigns paramount. These contradictory opinions seem in great measure to arise from the conflicting nature of the authorities adduced on either side; those who deny the rule of primogeniture, grounding their arguments upon the abstract law of Menu and Jagannatha; while the supporters of the opposite side justify their view of the point at issue, by an appeal to the actually existing practice. See particularly, *Asiatic Journal*, N. S. vol. v. p. 46, 138; vol. vii. p. 297. TRANSL.]

[26] In the first volume. [27] MENU, ix. 85.

founded on custom and the precepts of religion. The kings and great men had their harems in India, as well as elsewhere in the East; and the practice being authorized by the laws, was further confirmed and exemplified in the epic,[28] as well as dramatic poetry.[29] The difference between a wife and a concubine is not so clearly laid down by the Hindus as by other nations of the East; though it seems the law has endeavoured to specify the distinction.[30] And yet nevertheless the world of India, both as it exists in the fanciful descriptions of poetry, as well as in the sober realities of actual life, presents us with a sufficient number of characteristic traits to show that monogamy is the predominant custom. In mythology, for instance, each god is assigned his own proper wife, although some fables, particularly those relating to Krishna, attribute to certain deities the possession of well-filled harems.[31] While in innumerable passages of the poets marriage is represented in such a manner as only to be understood of the union of one man with one woman, and accompanied too with all the constancy and tenderness which the matrimonial tie is susceptible of: we need only appeal for an illustration to the married loves of Nala and his faithful Damayanti;[32] and to the tenderness with which the poet of the Mega Duta bemoans his absent spouse.[33] Corresponding to this, is the voice of Hindu legislation: "A man and his wife," says Menu,[34] "constitute but one person; a perfect man consists of himself, his wife, and his son." In another passage, the mutual fidelity of a married pair is regarded as the first of duties.[35] The law of succession, so favourable to the interests of the eldest son, appears to be founded on monogamy; while an additional proof of the existence of this custom may be discovered in the tender attachment of a wife to her husband, and which forbids her to marry a second time;[36] although nothing is said of the supposed duty of a wife's burning

[28] As in the *Ramayana*, i. p. 216, the three wives of Dasaratha.

[29] As Dushmanta's seraglio of a hundred wives, in the Sacontala. SIR W. JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 251.

[30] MENU, vii. 77. In his precepts to kings on the choice of a wife.

[31] POLIER, vol. i. p. 627. [In a note on this passage, the French translator very justly questions the antiquity of the fables above alluded to, as an exception in support of polygamy. TRANSL.]

[32] See above, p. 165. [33] See above, p. 183. [34] MENU, ix. 45.

[35] Ibid. ix. 105. [36] Ibid. v. 161.

along with the corpse of her husband, either in the laws of Menu, or in the epic poetry of the Hindus.[37] From all these circumstances we may reasonably conclude that polygamy among the princes and great men, was the consequence of luxury and fashion; but that in general wherever it existed among the higher classes, it was principally founded on the necessity of preserving families; and, moreover, on the religious precept, which allowed a man to marry one or more additional wives,[38] on account of the sterility of his first. The members of the fourth caste, the Sudras, were only permitted to have one wife, taken exclusively from their own class.[39] These regulations will not therefore necessarily infer the seclusion of the women, though certainly the husband appears to be the legally constituted lord and master; and the principle is expressly laid down, that the dependence of the woman on the man is of perpetual obligation.[40]

As the partition of families, and the assignment of respective rights to each, formed the earliest bond of society, so was this additionally consolidated by the division and laws of caste. And, it is easy to conceive how the internal regulations of families and castes might become the fundamental tie of Hindu constitution in general. Add to this the common worship of certain divinities, originating in the family sacrifices, in such sort that the gods of a particular family, as the latter increased in process of time, became the gods of a distinct tribe descended from it; and the first

[37] The *Ramayana*, iii. 30, it is true, represents Kausalya to have formed the design of burning herself on the funeral pile of her husband, Dasaratha, but it never took place; a circumstance which would lead us to infer that this custom was considered among the ancient Hindus as a voluntary act, and not as an indispensable duty. See the enactments of modern legislators relative to this point, in the *Digests of Hindu Laws*, vol. ii. p. 451, etc.

[38] MENU, ix. 81. A barren wife may be replaced by another at the expiration of eight years. [MENU, viii. 362, mentions the existence, even in his time, of "wretches who lived by the intrigues of their wives; and conducted them to their paramours, or connived at the visits of the latter." In the *Ramayana*, ii. 297, mention is made of a husband who actually let out his wife for hire! The custom of Sati, i. e. a wife's burning herself with the dead body of her husband, only became general in consequence of the oppressive enactments of modern lawyers; which rendered the life of a widow more insupportable than death itself. FR. TRANSL.]

[39] MENU, ix. 157.

[40] MENU, v. 148. Compare the detailed regulations on this head, in the *Digests of Hindu Laws*, vol. ii. p. 377, etc.

origin of sacerdotal states like those of India, is susceptible of immediate explanation. It would seem, however, that these states did not receive their full and perfect development, except by the colonization of detached branches from a similarly organized state, among foreign and barbarous tribes; in which case, the forms of religious worship introduced by the new comers, being first grounded in the establishment of sanctuaries, and subsequently maintained by oracles and solemn feasts, became the means of gaining over such tribes, and of founding thereon a powerful government, more substantial and secure than could possibly have been effected by mere force alone. The application of these remarks to the case of India has been already shown; and will admit of still further illustration in our inquiries into ancient Egypt. Such, then, was the origin of sacerdotal states, or theocracies, as we might term them, with which the progress of civilization in the earlier ages of the world was most intimately connected. As far as India is concerned, the oldest remaining specimens of her literature, the Ramayana, and in a certain degree also the Laws of Menu, furnish us with a correct representation of the fact; and it is not the least part of their value, that they place us, as it were, in immediate contact with the ancient world of India, as it appeared on the banks of the Ganges; just as the accounts of Moses and Homer serve to transport us back into the early periods of Western Asia and Greece. It is hardly necessary to observe, however, that India would not always remain in the same state as we find it represented in the ancient documents just noticed; but it is in them alone that we must seek, conformably with our present object, for any traces of the original condition of the people.

In the laws of Menu, as well as in the Hindu epic poetry, a monarchical form of government is that most generally introduced, hereditary it is true, and regulated according to the strict rule of primogeniture,[41] but nevertheless counterbalanced and limited in its powers by a sacerdotal aristocracy. Between the Brahmans and the Rajahs there was always a broad line of distinction kept up, as the latter did

[41] *Ramayana*, vol. iii. p. 146, 225, 388. The subject of the poem turns in great measure on the refusal of Bharata, the younger son of Dasaratha, to encroach upon the hereditary right of his eldest brother Rama.

not belong to the same caste as the former; and although this arrangement was probably, at first, the effect of necessity, as the king was of course a warrior, yet it appears no less probable that the sacerdotal caste considered it as a means of preserving their own power intact; because, were it otherwise, how could they have been able to confine within due bounds the influence of a Brahman Rajah? We do not indeed pretend to say that it was absolutely impossible for a Rajah to be elected into the Brahman caste, but as Hindu fable mentions only one instance of such election, in the case of Vishvamitra, already so often alluded to, as having acquired that distinction by the most unheard of penances, we may justly therefore infer the general dislike of the Brahmans to make exceptions of this kind.

The laws of the sacerdotal caste effectually limited the independence of the king, in prescribing to him his daily occupations and mode of life. He was to reside in a fortress, situate in a retired part of the country. He was to espouse a wife from his own caste. Early at break of day he rose from his couch, and paid a visit to the Brahmans, who possessed the three Vedas, after which, with the assistance of the priest of the household, he offered the proper sacrifices and prayers; then he devoted himself to the affairs of state, and deliberated upon them with his ministers in council. At mid-day he retired to his apartments, in order to take refreshment, composed only of lawful meats, and previously tasted by his servitors. The consequences of poison were further obviated by the use of medicaments and amulets. After dinner he amused himself a short time with the beauties of his harem; then he engaged in public business as before, and reviewed his army, steeds, and elephants. Immediately after sunset he resumed his devotional exercises, listened to the reports of his ambassadors, and again withdrew to the privacy of his harem, where he partook of a slight repast, enlivened by the sound of music, until the hour of retirement for the night.[42] Such, according to the laws, was the daily life of a Hindu Rajah; though of course many exceptions to this regular compliance with prescribed duty would necessarily occur, the conduct of

[42] MENU, vii. 75—79, 145, 146, 215—226.

each prince in that particular varying with his personal character.[43]

When the Rajah found himself incompetent to discharge the functions of his office with becoming propriety or convenience, he was free to select a representative, or first minister, who was to be a learned man, completely master of his passions, and of high birth.[44] The Rajah was also enjoined to admit from seven to eight persons to his councils, deeply read in the Vedas, and whose fathers had previously filled the same responsible offices; in concert with these he was to deliberate on the affairs of the nation. He should also make choice of some learned Brahman, to be the depositary of his secrets. And for the administration of foreign affairs he was to appoint a high officer well versed in the Sastras, of superior abilities, and of honourable descent; under whose directions were the emissaries of ambassadors, who communicated to him the designs of foreign princes.[45] Thus, in exact conformity with the laws of Menu, the Ramayana describes the court of the pious monarch Dasaratha, sovereign of Ayodhya.[46] "The courtiers of the son of Ikshvaku were richly endowed with good qualities, intelligent, and faithfully devoted to the interests of their royal master. Eight virtuous ministers directed the affairs of government. The two priests made choice of by him were the illustrious Vasishtha and Vamadeva. To them were added other inferior councillors to the number of six. With these holy sages were associated the ancient priests of the king, discreet, submissive, profoundly skilled in the law, and masters of their desires. With the assistance and counsel of such advisers Rajah Dasaratha governed his kingdom.

[43] To prove this, it is only necessary to compare King Dushmanta in the Sacontala with Dasaratha in the Ramayana. Both of them reverenced the Brahmans, but how much more independent is the former than the latter! [The reason of Dushmanta's greater share of independence, is rather to be attributed to the different time in which he lived, and which has produced similar effects on the character of European monarchs. FR. TRANSL.]

[44] MENU, vii. 141. [45] Ibid. vii. 54—64.

[46] See *Ramayana*, i. 107, etc., and the events which took place upon the death of Dasaratha, iii. 92, etc., when, during the absence of the next heir to the crown, the high priest Vasishtha put himself at the head of affairs. The picture of an Indian court, filled with poets, panegyrists, parasites, eunuchs, and attendant officers, together with the severe etiquette of the court itself, is here represented in the most vivid colours, and with the most minute circumstantial detail.

Surveying the whole earth (India) by means of his emissaries, as the sun by its rays, the descendant of Ikshvaku found no person who was hostilely disposed towards him." The Sacontala presents us with a similar picture of the court of Dushmanta.

The government and administration of the interior, is wholly regulated in the laws of Menu, by means of cities or townships. The king is enjoined[47] to set a head-man over each separate town and its environs, one over ten, one over twenty, one over a hundred, and one over a thousand towns. The report of any disorders that may occur is communicated by the head-man of detached towns to the chief of ten, and by him to the others in regular succession. The intendant of a single town derives his income from the contributions of the inhabitants, which are paid in eatables, drink, and wood, conformably to the laws. The revenue of a chief of ten towns, is equivalent to the produce of two acres of land, that of a chief of twenty to five.[48] The chief of a hundred towns receives for his support the revenues of a small township, while the chief of a thousand has those of a large one. A superior officer is charged with the superintendence of all the local authorities; he is to appoint a particular commandant for each town, who by personal inspection, or by means of emissaries, shall inform himself of their conduct, in order that the king may defend his subjects against those magistrates who, instead of being the protectors, are the oppressors of the people; and that upon conviction he may punish such evil-minded servants, with confiscation of their property and banishment from the kingdom.

These enactments of Menu will enable us to investigate somewhat more thoroughly the primitive constitution of India. The whole seems to have originated in the partial organization of isolated communities; which, with their respective head-men, might be considered as so many petty states; and this fundamental institution still continued to subsist, even when several of these townships, or communities, were united under the dominion of one Rajah, and thus formed a larger state or kingdom. In the northern parts of India, particularly near the Ganges, where the irruptions of foreign conquerors succeeded each other like the waves of the ocean, all traces of the primitive form must have long since been obliterated; but in the southernmost division of the peninsula, in Mysore, and Malabar, etc., which were least of all exposed to foreign invasion, they are still in existence at the present day. A modern traveller who visited the places in question, has furnished us with some very interesting, as well as authentic, information on this subject.[49] "Each Hindu township,"[50] says this writer, "is, and indeed always was, a particular community or petty republic by itself; and furnishes us with a vivid representation of the early state of things, when men first joined themselves together in societies for the purpose of relieving their mutual wants. Every community of the above kind, in addition to the landed proprietors, contains twelve different members; the judge and magistrate (Potail); the registrar; the watchman of the place and the fields; the distributor of water for the purposes of inundation; the astrologer, for determining lucky and unlucky days and hours; the cartwright; the potter; the washerman of the few garments for which there is occasion, and which are generally manufactured in the family itself, or purchased at the nearest market; the barber; and lastly, the goldsmith, or maker of ornaments for the women and young maids, who is in many villages replaced by the poet (rhapsodist) and schoolmaster.[51] These twelve functionaries are paid either in land, or in a certain quantity of grain, furnished by the agriculturists of the community. The whole of India is nothing more than one vast congeries of such republics. The inhabitants, even in war, are dependent on their respective Potails, who are at the same time magistrates, collectors, and principal farmers.[52]

[47] MENU, vii. 115—120.

[48] That is, according to the commentary, so much land as a man can turn up with two or five ploughs respectively, each of them drawn by a yoke of six oxen. This passage, by the way, will also prove the high antiquity of the plough in India.

[49] *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, by LIEUT.-COL. MARK WILKS, London, 1810, vol. i. p. 117, sq.

[50] Ibid. p. 119. So the author corrected the term *village*, which he had previously employed. [See particularly on this subject, Mr. Colebrooke's excellent Memoir on Courts of Justice in India, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, vol. ii. 166—196. TRANSL.]

[51] Most of these officers are already noticed by MENU; as, for instance, the goldsmith, ix. 292; the joiner, x. 100; the washerman, viii. 396, etc.

[52] Their modern names of Zemindars and Ryots, superior and inferior farm-

They trouble themselves very little about the fall and dismemberment of empires; and provided the township with its limits, which are exactly marked out by a boundary line, remain intact, it is a matter of perfect indifference to them who becomes sovereign of the country; and therefore their internal administration always continues the same."

Sir Stamford Raffles, in his account of the small island of Bali, situate to the eastward of Java, has furnished us with a remarkable instance of these petty states yet existing under their original constitution. "Here," says he, "together with the Brahman religion, is still preserved the ancient form of Hindu municipal polity, and its accompanying Potails, called by the natives Parbakes, in subordination to a Rajah of unlimited power." [53]

Will not the above serve to throw some light on the political situation of Northern India at the time of Alexander's invasion, and illustrate the remarks we have already made on the republics then found to exist in that part of the country? [54] Most of these petty communities, it is true, were then under subjection to the Rajahs; but some of them still maintained their original freedom, which, as we have just now seen, has been preserved even to a much later period. Such instances as these, however, were at that time, and continued to be afterwards, exceptions from the general rule; for although the laws of Menu made no change in the interior organization of isolated communities, they were nevertheless framed, as we have before observed, on a monarchical principle; which is the reason why they are so particular and express in defining the rights and occupations of the sovereign. As greater empires were formed, the number and gradation of persons employed about the court would naturally increase in proportion. A remarkable instance of this is exhibited in the ancient inscription found at Monghir, in Bengal; in which a royal grant is notified to near thirty of such public functionaries.[55] Among

ers, do not occur either in MENU, or in the *Ramayana*. [Certainly not; because the first is a Persian, and the second an Arabic term. TRANSL.]

[53] SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES' *Description of Java*, vol. ii. App. p. ccxxxvi. The expression "unlimited power," must certainly not be taken here in the strictest acceptation of the term.

[54] See the first volume. With respect to the boundaries, see MENU, viii. 245, sq.

[55] *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 126, and the note, p. 130.

these we find the prime minister; the chief investigator of all things; the chief officer of punishments; the chief keeper of the gates; the generalissimo of the army; the chief obviator of difficulties; the chief instructor of children; the provost marshal of the thief-catchers; the supervisor of cultivation, and others; among whom we must not omit to reckon the king's charioteer, or gentleman of the horse.[56] The state calendars of our European courts hardly mention one of these titles, and yet we can easily imagine that all the officers just named had others again under their immediate orders.

The supreme judicial authority is vested in the king; and he may even exercise it himself, conjointly, however, with certain Brahmans, by whose advice he may guide his own judgment;[57] or he may nominate one of them, who is skilled in the laws, to the dignity of grand judge; adding three other Brahmans, equally instructed in the Vedas, to be his assessors; the whole then constitute the highest court of justice, emblematical of the four-headed Brahma, and are competent to decide in all causes, criminal as well as civil. Offences are punishable either by death, and corporal chastisement, (from both which, however, all of the Brahman caste are exempt,) or by fine; those committed against a Brahman are prosecuted with the most rigour, and the fines increase in a duplicate ratio according to the rank of the caste to which the offender belongs.[58]

The king is the commander-in-chief of the army. He is allowed to make war not only in defence of his own territory, but also for the purposes of conquest.[59] The enactments of Hindu law in this respect, are by no means conformable to our philosophic notions; they are rather maxims of precaution and prudence relative to the occasions when, and the manner in which, a war is to be carried on. Many of the ancient Rajahs are described as conquerors, whose victorious arms were extended over the whole of India, from the western to the eastern seas, and from the mountains of

[56] See BOPP's *Nalus*, p. 45—149. The king's equerry is one of the highest rank among the courtiers; and enjoys an especial share of confidence.

[57] As Dushmanta, in the fifth act of the Sacontala.

[58] MENU, viii. 338. [59] Ibid. vii. 101, sq.

the north to the southern extremity of the peninsula;[60] but none of them are reported to have undertaken great expeditions beyond these limits, or to have invaded distant countries, like the Egyptian or Babylonian conquerors. As in its mythological system, India almost always continued to be a world by itself; so also the geography of the nation becomes fabulous, as soon as ever it steps beyond the natural boundaries of the country.

One of the most important, but at the same time one of the most difficult questions for us to determine, is, to what extent was the sovereign considered as the proprietor of the soil; and consequently whether the cultivators held their lands in fee-simple, or were merely tenants upon lease from the crown? The latter kind of tenure having been found to prevail, though under very mild forms, during the period of Mogul dominion, as far as this extended, it is therefore generally supposed to have been the case in earlier times also, when India was still an independent country.[61] The transition from absolute propriety in the soil, to mere leasehold tenure, would naturally take place when the contributions of the landed proprietors became so burdensome that their right, without being formally abolished, must necessarily lose its real value; but whether this might have occurred in the earlier ages of Hindu history, we cannot possibly venture to determine. The only question for us to decide in this place is, how far the laws of Menu and other ancient documents, recognise the principle as applied to the case of the sovereign? The remarks we have already had occasion to make, relative to the petty Hindu communities as they were originally constituted, are an evident proof that absolute propriety in the soil was not inherent in the crown; and the laws of Menu, so far from recognising the principle in question, contain an express assertion to the contrary. "The sages who are acquainted with the

[60] As, for instance, in the ancient inscriptions found at Monghir, and elsewhere.

[61] [This institution, (of tenure by lease,) of which we meet with no traces either in ancient Hindu or in Mohammedan law, would seem to have been introduced, like the system of villenage or feudal tenure in the middle ages, by usurpation during great political convulsions. Consult on this head, a passage hitherto little noticed in the "Proleg. ad Chron. de gestis consulum Andegav. ap. Achery, Spicileg.," iii. 272, fol. ed. FR. TRANSL.]

times of old," says he, "declare that cultivated land is the property of him who first cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it; just as an antelope belongs to the first hunter by whom it is mortally wounded."[62] Could the right of freehold have been laid down with greater clearness and precision, than in the passage just quoted? Moreover the same laws enumerate with great care the formalities to be observed respecting the alienation or sale of landed property;[63] to what useful or even necessary purpose, we would ask, unless propriety in the soil were a fully recognised principle?[64] In fine, wherever mention is made of the Vaisya caste, which comprises not only merchants but also agriculturists and herdsmen, the latter are never represented as leasehold tenants. Nevertheless, it is evident that princes, as well as the temples and sanctuaries, were in possession of considerable domains, from the frequent occurrence of royal and other grants of landed property, of which we have already given several examples in the former part of this inquiry.

But although, according to the most ancient institutions of the country, the kings of India were by no means abso-

[62] MENU, ix. 44.

[63] *Indian Digest*, vol. iii. p. 432.

[64] [With reference to this knotty and much debated question, as well as to that concerning the law of primogeniture, the existence of which is absolutely denied by some writers and as vehemently asserted by others, see especially, COL. TOD'S able defence of his view of the feudal system of Rajasthan, in the *Asiatic Journal*, N. S. vol. v. p. 40, sq. This ingenious writer thus distinguishes between the sovereign right to share in the fruits of the soil, and in the soil itself: "The proprietor of the soil, i. e. he who redeemed it from sterility, is the ryot cultivator, by whom a rent or land-tax (in kind) was paid to the prince. It is this rent, this tax, this tribute of the land, with which the prince enfeoffs; it is this alone which he alienates, or can alienate, because it is this alone over which he possesses dominion. Such is the state of landed property in Rajpootana; every where there are 'two properties in one thing,' viz. the ryot cultivator's property in the land, and the prince's property in the usufruct thereof. It is this usufruct with which the prince enfeoffs, which descends by 'fixed rules' to the eldest sons lineally of such proprietor." It will easily be seen that this view of the question involves no contrariety to the dictum of Menu. But see also, *Asiatic Journal*, N. S. vol. i. p. 81, and vol. iv. p. 282. It is extremely probable that a variety of systems have always prevailed in different provinces at the same time; some more, some less, favourable to the people; some admitting of private landed property, some rejecting it; that in the same province different systems have predominated at different times; and that the system of all land being the property of the sovereign has sometimes succeeded that of private landed property, and sometimes given way to it. See the excellent Minute of the late SIR THOMAS MUNRO, "On the Condition of Southern India," *Asiatic Journal*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 316, sq. TRANSL.]

lute proprietors of the soil, yet they were permitted by law to raise contributions therefrom, which in all probability formed the chief part of their revenue. In specifying the limits of sovereign right on this head, the regulations of Menu are particularly express.[65] In ordinary times it was restricted to an eighth of the whole produce; in cases of great emergency the king might exact as much as a fourth. On the other hand, the imposts laid upon movable property never exceeded a twentieth part of the profits. In other respects, these impositions pressed wholly on the industrious classes; the Brahmans, and no doubt their lands also, being exempt.[66] Individuals of the menial classes, handicraftsmen, and labourers, must endeavour to make themselves useful; but, adds the commentator, they never pay taxes.[67]

Another source of the royal income consisted in imposts laid upon merchandise, and the customs. In the direction of commercial affairs, indeed, the king was permitted to exercise an extraordinary degree of influence. He might absolutely forbid the exportation of merchandise, or reserve the whole monopoly to himself. He issued ordinances relative to the buying and selling of goods; he regulated the price of the market, and received as his customary dues five per cent. on the profits of sale. With respect to land and river toll, several other enactments are laid down; among which it is provided, that any person who is guilty of defrauding the customs shall pay a fine of eight times the value of the smuggled article.[68]

In examining the spirit of these ancient constitutions and laws, we discover evident traces of a germ of republicanism; which, however, could never come to the full growth of political freedom. This germ was produced by the organ-

[65] MENU, x. 120. The subjoined commentary says, "In good times, a twelfth; in bad, an eighth or a sixth, which is the average; and only in times of necessity, a fourth part of the produce." Some other regulations more exact will be found in chapter vii. p. 130, 131, relative to the contributions in fruit, flesh, honey, butter, etc., on which a sixth of the clear produce is levied. In the *Ramayana* also, (iii. 170,) the king is allowed a sixth part of the whole revenue of the land. [A tenth is the traditional share paid in Hindustan before the sixth was instituted. It is the portion paid in the territory of Koorg to this day; and the Dutch found and continued it in Ceylon. TRANSL.]

[66] This exemption is, however, qualified with the condition of their understanding the Vedas. MENU, vii. 133.

[67] MENU, x. 120.

[68] Ibid. viii. 400—406.

ization of separate communities, while its further development was obstructed by the institution of caste. The authority of the prince was limited, not by the nation itself as constituting the body politic, but solely by the influence of a sacerdotal caste; and the character of despotism, though considerably modified by the priesthood, was nevertheless exhibited in its true form by the executive power, being vested in the king as a mark of sovereign right. "Punishment," says Menu,[69] "governs the whole race of mankind, and keeps them in order." And, as a further indication of the same character, Hindu legislation, otherwise so mild in its nature, becomes savage when it has to determine certain punishments; especially for offences committed against the Brahmans.[70] Moreover, in addition to the spirit of caste, is it not possible that polygamy also, by changing the form of domestic society, may have operated unfavourably to the development of free constitutions? Whatever be the real state of the case, it certainly appears that nothing of the kind, at least in the European acceptation of the term, ever came to maturity on the banks of the Ganges.

The foregoing observations naturally lead us to a discussion of the ancient commerce of India. What we have to advance on this subject, will not so much refer to the commercial intercourse of the Hindus with foreign nations, (which has been already partly examined, in our inquiries into the Phœnicians and Babylonians, and will receive further illustration, when we come to speak of Egypt,) as to the interior commerce of the people, arising from their own particular industry; though we shall necessarily have occasion to touch also upon their foreign commerce as we proceed.

As a preliminary step, it will be requisite to describe the sources of information which have been consulted in this part of our inquiry, as well as the use here made of them. The most valuable of these, both for its purity and extent, is undoubtedly the circumnavigation of the Red or Indian Sea, performed in all probability during the first, or at latest during the second century of our era.[71] The work itself,

[69] MENU, vii. 18.

[70] See, for instance, MENU, viii. 270, 271.

[71] Periplus Maris Erythræi in HUDSON, *Geogr. Min.* vol. i. The excellent commentary of Dean Vincent, of which a new and very correct edition sub-

which is usually attributed to Arrian, commemorates the voyage of a certain merchant, from Egypt to the western coast of the peninsula on this side the Ganges, and contains some valuable and authentic information, with respect to the commercial traffic as well as the navigation of these parts. In the present inquiry, which is principally devoted to the commerce of India as it existed prior to the times of the Macedonians and the Romans, we cannot in reason apply all that is reported of the latter period, to the elucidation of its commercial relations at an earlier epoch: though it is at the same time quite certain that much of what Arrian reports of the commerce in question may with proper care be adapted to such purpose. Whenever, therefore, we have had occasion to speak of the early commerce of the Hindus, little use has been made of the accounts furnished by this writer. The case however is altered, when the national industry, and consequent impulse given to internal traffic, becomes the subject of discussion: it is then evident, that many of the data communicated by Arrian have reference to anterior epochs, and we are enabled to appreciate the value of his information by comparing it with that derived from ancient Hindu sources, which are now at our disposal. Having thus premised, we shall not incur the imputation of confounding different periods of time, if we adopt these principles as the basis of our present inquiry.

The Hindus in their most ancient works of poetry are represented as a commercial people. And it is one evidence of the prosperity and well-being of a country, that its merchants can travel from one place to another with perfect security to themselves and their merchandise.[72] But further, the regulations of society appear to have awarded a high rank to persons who were employed in the business of commerce. In the Ramayana we are informed, that at the triumphal entry of Rama into his capital, "all the men of distinction, together with the merchants and chief men of

sequently appeared, containing also the voyage of Nearchus, under the title of, "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean," in two volumes, London, 1807, 4to, has spared me the trouble of entering at large into geographical and various other discussions, which would be so much the more out of place as I have no intention of commenting on the work itself.

[72] *Ramayana*, iii. 97.

the people," went out to meet him; and the procession is closed by the warriors, tradesmen, and artisans.[73]

The internal commerce of India could not have been inconsiderable, as it was in a certain degree prescribed by nature herself. For the sandy shores of the peninsula, not producing in sufficient quantity the first necessaries of life, and particularly rice, the importation of these articles from the country bordering on the Ganges became absolutely indispensable. In return for which the latter received chiefly spices; and among other valuables, precious stones, and the fine pearls only to be procured in the ocean which surrounds the former. Although cotton, one of the most important materials used for clothing, is common all over India, and manufactured with the same activity on the coasts of the peninsula as in the land of the Ganges, yet the fabric of the two countries differs so much in texture, that a commercial interchange of both kinds would naturally be introduced. The mode of life peculiar to the higher classes, especially in courts and cities, as represented to us by the poets, imply the existence of a multitude both of natural and artificial wants,[74] only to be satisfied by a corresponding system of active internal commerce. The constant experience we have of Asia, which shows that royal cities are always the principal depôts of inland traffic, will serve to establish the same fact also with regard to India; let us only compare the picture which the Ramayana draws of the capital town of Ayodhya.[75] "It was filled with merchants, and artificers of all kinds; gold, precious stones, and jewels were there found in abundance; every one wore costly garments, bracelets, and necklaces." And in another passage, in allusion to the mourning which took place on the death of the king, the poet says, "The tables for the

[73] *Ramayana*, iii. 245.

[74] *Ramayana*, iii. 98, in the description of the mourning for King Dasaratha, which put a stop to the fashionable amusements and occupations of the luxurious Ayodhyans. At other times the town always resounded with the noise and bustle of men and women, like the shout of contending armies. The great men were ever going to and fro upon chariots, elephants, and prancing steeds. The gardens of pleasure were always crowded with eager inquirers after their friends and lovers." In all descriptions of this kind, we constantly meet with strong proofs of a highly refined state of social life among the ancient Hindus.

[75] *Ramayana*, i. 94.

sacrificial offerings are empty, the shops where they sold garlands are closed; and the bankers and merchants do not show themselves as usual."[76] Such descriptions as these, even though we make every allowance for poetic colouring, will nevertheless show what was the Hindu idea of a rich and flourishing city; and we may be sure it would represent nothing but what was perfectly well known.

The great quantity of the precious metals, particularly gold, possessed by India, may well excite our attention and surprise. Though it had neither gold nor silver mines,[77] it has always been celebrated even in the earliest times for its riches. The Ramayana frequently mentions gold as in abundant circulation throughout the country. And the nuptial present made to Sita, we are told, consisted of a whole measure of gold pieces, and a vast quantity of the same precious metal in ingots. Golden chariots, golden trappings for elephants and horses, and golden bells, are also noticed as articles of luxury and magnificence;[78] and it has been already shown, in the course of our inquiries into the ancient Persians, that the Hindus were the only people subject to that empire who paid their tribute in gold and not in silver.[79] The quantity of this metal then current in India will therefore enable us to infer, with reason, the existence of a considerable foreign commerce and trade with the gold countries. Where these latter are to be sought for, will be shown in the sequel, when we come to ascertain the connexion subsisting between India and Thibet, as well as the country situate beyond the Ganges; at present we shall content ourselves with remarking, that it is evident from the Periplus, that commercial transactions with India during the time of the Romans, and for some time afterwards, were principally carried on in ready money, which is more than once mentioned as an article of importation.[80]

[76] *Ramayana*, iii. 128.

[77] PLINY, (vi. 20,) indeed, quotes the existence of gold and silver mines in the mountains of Capitalia, which are represented by him as the highest of the Ghât range; but we have no other proof of the fact. The Periplus also (p. 36) speaks, from hearsay, of certain gold mines situate on the Lower Ganges; where, however, there is nothing of the kind to be found now.

[78] *Ramayana*, i. 605, 606. See also the introduction to the Mahabharat in FRANK'S *Chrestomath.* vol. i. p. 147.

[79] See the Persians, in vol. i.

[80] As, for example, in p. 28 of the *Periplus*. Δηνάριον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν,

And who does not recollect the complaints of the elder Pliny, of the vast sums annually absorbed by the commerce with India?[81] How, indeed, could the case have been otherwise, when a country, which produced in superabundance every possible article, whether required for the necessaries of life or the refinements of luxury, would of course export a great deal, while it imported little or nothing in return; so that the commercial balance would always be in its favour. Hence it followed, that from the moment she possessed a foreign commerce, India would enrich herself with the precious metals by a necessary consequence from the very nature of things, and not by any fortuitous concourse of circumstances.

This naturally brings us to the question, whether the Hindus possessed a regular coinage, and how far back the use of it extends? There is no doubt that the precious metals, gold and silver, particularly gold, were in very ancient times the established medium of exchange in India; but this, however, will not prove it to have been coined. If we can repose any confidence in the published translations of native works, the use of coined money would appear to have prevailed in very remote times; for it is expressly mentioned in the fable of Krishna: but it is uncertain whether the passage is taken from the Mahabharat, or the Bhagavat, or from one of the other Puranas.[82] In the Ramayana a distinction is made between gold pieces and gold unwrought;[83] but it does not follow that the pieces bore any impression. In the Laws of Menu, the respective weights of paras and racticas of copper, silver, and gold, are very exactly determined, without, however, any allusion to their being stamped. The list of kings given by Tiefenthaler also makes mention of various changes introduced into the coinage by different monarchs; but we know not on what authority the account rests,[84] and we have already noticed the

which was, moreover, actually exchanged against the native money, ἐντόπιον νόμισμα. The Hindu gold coinage was termed καλτεις, (p. 76,) the *Kaltris* of the present day.

[81] PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* xii. 18.

[82] POLIER, vol. i. p. 456. "Une grande quantité d'argent monnoyé."

[83] *Ramayana*, i. 606. "He also gave a full ajuta (of pieces) of gold; and a like quantity of unwrought gold." Mention is also made of presents of from ten to twenty crores. Ibid. iii. p. 114.

[84] According to this list, King Savein, the thirty-fifth monarch of the first

very little credit to be attached to the list in question.[85] The Periplus expressly mentions pieces of Hindu gold coin, under the name of Kaltris, which were exchanged with profit against the Grecian and Roman money.[86] But whatever may have been the value and character of the ancient Hindu coinage, it is quite certain that its use is of very remote antiquity. This is sufficiently attested by the permission to lend money upon interest, and by the exact definitions laid down in the Laws of Menu with respect to the rate of interest. And, again, in the Sacontala we find the discovery of a lost ring rewarded with a sum of money;[87] and in the Hitopadesa, among other persons, we frequently meet with money-changers.[88]

Precious stones and pearls, both of them indigenous productions, may be comprised among the most ancient objects of Hindu luxury, and, therefore, of commerce; and they are even expressly recommended by Menu, together with coral and woven stuffs, as the most important articles on which the Vaisyas were carefully to inform themselves as to price,[89] etc. It would be superfluous to adduce proofs on this head from native works;[90] for even the oldest specimens of Hindu sculpture, found in the rock temples, sufficiently attest it. According to the Periplus, precious stones of every kind were brought from the interior to the port of Nelkynda;[91] among these, diamonds and rubies are particularly noticed;[92] and as the former is a native of India,[93] we may reasonably conclude that some of the mines where

of the nine races, that of the Pandos, had already issued a gold and silver coinage, containing an effigy of the sun. Rajah Sernaut, of the second race, was the first who added his name; Rajah Bempal, of the seventh race, coined pieces with his name, and the representation of some divinity; and Rajah Gobenchand, of the eighth race, first gave the rupee, which was hitherto square, its present circular form. But we may justly ask, how the author came to know all this? Now it has been already shown that these lists deserve no sort of confidence: the question, therefore, still remains where it did. Is there even any Hindu coinage older than our era? We certainly know of none. There are, indeed, plenty of coins impressed with some emblematical device, but none of them have either date or inscription of any kind.

[85] See above, p. 229.

[86] *Periplus*, p. 26, 36.

[87] JONES's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 280.

[88] Ibid. p. 27, 44, 47.

[89] MENU, ix. 329.

[90] Whoever wishes to see them may read the Gitagovinda, which frequently mentions the ornaments still in use among Hindu women at the present day. See also *Ramayana*, iii. 157.

[91] Λιθία διαφανῆ παντοία ἐκ τῶν ἔσω τόπων.

[92] Ἄδαμας and ὑάκινθος.

[93] Compare VINCENT, vol. ii. App. p. 6.

they are found must have been worked at a very remote period. In another passage we find mention made of the onyx-stone, which was brought from Ozene, and consequently from the Ghât mountains, to Barygaza.[94]

Although pearls were as anciently used for ornament as precious stones, and are, moreover, indigenous to the country, yet it is surprising we find no sort of allusion to the pearl fisheries, in any works of the ancient Hindus that have come down to us; whereas, the islands and sand-banks between Ceylon and the main-land, where these fisheries exist, and where Rama built his famous bridge when he made war upon Ravana, are precisely those spots which are most celebrated in Hindu mythology. But this circumstance is undoubtedly owing to our very limited acquaintance with the ancient literature of India; because the fable reported by Arrian, of Hercules' having searched the whole Indian Ocean, and found the pearl with which he adorned his daughter Pandæa, is of Hindu origin.[95] That the fisheries in question must have existed before the time of Alexander, is evident from their being mentioned by his companions.[96] The author of the Periplus informs us, not only that pearls were found near Manaar, a small island situate between Ceylon and the continent; but that they were also bored there.[97] It is, therefore, pretty certain that these fisheries existed from time immemorial;[98] for the pearl is of no use till it is bored; while the operation itself requires no inconsiderable degree of skill. In the time of the writer just quoted, the principal market for pearls was the town of Nelkynda, or Neliceram.[99]

The use and manufacture of ornamental works in ivory is equally ancient throughout India. Pendants for the ear, and necklaces, both of that material, form the ordinary decorations of the divinities of Elephanta, as was observed to

[94] *Periplus*, p. 28.

[95] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 174. Καὶ ταῦτα μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῶν Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι. Supposing Hercules to have been of Phœnician extraction, we might also understand this tradition to allude to the Phœnicians having pearl fisheries in the Indian seas, as they had in the Persian Gulf.

[96] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 194.

[97] *Geogr. Min.* vol. i. p. 34. In this work Manaar is called the island of Epiodorus, probably from the name of some Greek who discovered it.

[98] *Periplus*, p. 32.

[99] Situate to the northward of Calicut, in 12° N. lat.

be the case even in Alexander's time.[100] Above all, the art of working in ivory must have attained a high degree of perfection, from the circumstance, that the ornamental chains above noticed seem to have been carved out of a single piece.

According to the unanimous report both of history and tradition, weaving is reckoned among the most important manufactures of ancient India; a country which nature has abundantly furnished with all kinds of raw material for the purpose, and especially cotton. We are not informed, however, who was the inventor of the simple loom used by the Hindus, which from its first origin does not appear to have undergone any alteration. The variety of cloth fabrics mentioned even by the author of the Periplus, as articles of commerce, is so great, that we can hardly suppose the number to have increased afterwards. We there read of the finest Bengal muslins; of coarse, middle, and fine cloths, either plain or striped; of coarse and fine calicos; of coloured shawls and sashes; of coarse and fine purple goods, as well as pieces of gold embroidery; of spun silk and furs from Serica.[1] As it is certain this variety of cloth manufactures was then found to exist in India, so is it extremely probable that such was the case long prior to the time of the Periplus; for the industry which produced them was not the fruit of external commerce, but of the national wants themselves. With respect to earlier times, indeed, we cannot expect to find such an accurate enumeration of manufactured articles, as the Periplus is the oldest work we have on the subject; but that they were generally the same, there is every reason to believe; for the Greeks who visited India four hundred years before, in the train of Alexander and his immediate successors, observed the same state of things prevailing. The cotton garments of the Hindus were the first to draw their attention, from the extraordinary whiteness of the cloth; and they are described as being made and worn in the same manner as at the present day.[2] The accounts we find of this cloth in the prophet Ezekiel would lead us to similar conclusions.[3] That the "coloured cloths and rich apparel" brought to Tyre and Babylon from distant

[100] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 179.
[2] ARRIAN, *Op.* p. 179.
[1] *Periplus*, p. 13, 16, 22, 28, 32, 36.
[3] Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.

countries were partly of Indian manufacture will scarcely be doubted, after what has been already said of the extent of the Phœnician and Babylonian commerce.[4] But still older and more important testimony will be found on this subject in India itself. The coloured garments usually worn by the inhabitants of Ayodhya have been before noticed, in the description of that city quoted from the Ramayana.[5] The principal passage, however, to which we would now refer, is the one descriptive of the nuptial present made to Sita by her father the king of Videha.[6] It consisted of woollen stuffs, furs, precious stones, fine silk, vestments of divers colours, princely ornaments, and sumptuous carriages of every kind. Now, what can we understand by the term woollen stuffs, but those Cashmir shawls, which still form part of the female attire in Eastern countries, and even in modern Europe? Only the finest cloths of this material would be a suitable present to a king's daughter, and especially, too, upon such an occasion. The passage, therefore, just quoted, supplies an additional proof in favour of the high antiquity of these celebrated fabrics. Mention is also made of coarse woollen cloths, or tilts to cover waggons.[7] Articles of furriery, so much sought after in warm countries, as in China, for instance, more by way of ornament than for defence against the cold, would of course only come from northern climes. With respect to silk stuffs, they are probably what we should least of all expect to meet with in India at that early period. The above, however, is not the only passage in the Ramayana where they are mentioned. Vestments of silk are usually worn on festal occasions, and even in the interior of the royal harems. Such, also, we find to have been the case upon the reception of Rajah Dasaratha's four beautiful daughters at the court of Ayodhya.[8] "Kausalya, Sumitra, the fair Keikeyi, and the rest of the king's wives, eager to embrace their beauteous daughters, received the happy Sita, the far-famed Urmila, and the two daughters of Kusa Dhwaja. All these ladies, sumptuously clad in silk, and entertaining each other

[4] See the first volume.
[6] *Ramayana*, i. 605.
[8] *Ramayana*, i. 627. Compare iii. 204, 282.
[5] See p. 150 of this volume.
[7] Ibid. i. 201.

with agreeable conversation, hastened to the temples of the gods to offer incense." From the circumstance of these garments of silk being worn on state occasions in the harems of princes, we might immediately conclude the stuffs to have been of foreign manufacture; but to this subject we shall have another opportunity of reverting in the sequel.

Besides the materials hitherto noticed, Herodotus and Ctesias both mention the bark of trees being used in India, from very remote times, for the purpose of manufacturing cloth.[9] In the Sacontala, we find garments of this description worn by pious hermits and penitents;[10] and Sacontala had a mantle of the same kind, expressly distinguished from the magnificent apparel which was presented to her by the Devanies, when she became the wife of Dushmanta.[11] The king also, during the time of his penance, laid aside his robes of muslin and silk, and put on garments of a similar coarse texture.[12] The manner in which this cloth was manufactured, is no where particularly described; but there is a remarkable passage in the Sacontala, which says, that it was dried in the sun.[13] It must, therefore, have been different from that made by the South-sea islanders of the same material, as the latter will not bear moisture. Or, might it not have been first wetted during the process of manufacture, and then exposed to the sun?

Among articles of food, rice, according to the Ramayana, occupies the first place. Of this, various kinds are there distinguished; and in the flourishing city of Ayodhya, the most esteemed, as well as the most usually eaten, was that called *shali*, which ripened in the cold season.[14] One of the most curious passages in the above poem, relative to this subject, is the list of provisions and drink, with which Rajah Vasishtha regaled the well-fed army of Vishva-Mitra:[15] "Every man had what he desired, sugar-cane, honey, laja,[16] mireja,[17] wine, and the most generous liquors; an immense

[9] Herod. iii. 98. ἐσθὴς φλοίνη. Ctes. *Indic.* 22. ἱμάτια ξύλινα.
[10] Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 225, 226. [11] Ibid. p. 257.
[12] Ibid. p. 283. [13] Ibid. p. 289. [14] *Ramayana*, i. 104.
[15] *Ramayana*, i. 463. Compare the description of an entertainment given by Bhurdmaja, iii. 296.
[16] A dish consisting of rice. [Fried grain, in Wilson's *Dict.*]
[17] A fermented drink of molasses and water.

variety of dishes piled mountains high, and containing dainties for sucking, licking, chewing, and drinking,[18] together with rice-curries, sweetmeats, pastry, and large vessels filled with excellent curds and whey; all adapted to the six kinds of taste, and served out in every direction, in thousands of vessels sweetened with the inspissated juice of the sugar-cane." What may excite our surprise in this copious enumeration of provisions is the fact, that although the question concerns an entertainment given to soldiers, we nevertheless find no allusion to more substantial food than mere sweetmeats. The sugar-cane is not only mentioned in the Ramayana, but also in the Laws of Menu[19] and in the Periplus as an article of exportation.[20] The juice of it is sometimes drank in a raw state, at others it is thickened and preserved in vessels for future use; but we meet with no traces of its being refined. Of strong and intoxicating liquors, ancient India was acquainted with more than one sort; the use of them, however, was by no means general. The Ramayana distinguishes the Surs, who indulged themselves in these liquors, from the Asurs, who abstained from them;[21] two sects which even at that time must have been of pretty ancient standing, as they are noticed in the old fable about the descendants of Aditi (who are the Surs) and Diti (who are the Asurs).

Under the head of strong liquors, wine is more than once mentioned in the Ramayana. If we suppose this to mean wine made from grapes, it must, in that case, have been imported; because, to the best of our knowledge, they do not press the grape in India itself.[22] It is very doubtful, however, whether this sort of wine is to be understood in the passages alluded to; and even admitting it to have been introduced into the country as early as the time of the Ramayana, it would scarcely be the usual drink of common soldiers, any more than it is at the present day. It appears, indeed, much more probable that palm-wine is intended by the expression; as this could be easily made in any part of

[18] Let the reader fancy himself in India, where they *suck* the juice of the sugar-cane and other succulent fruits, *lick* ice, and *chew* the betel-nut.
[19] Menu, viii. 341. [20] *Periplus*, p. 9. [21] *Ramayana*, i. 416, not.
[22] In the *Periplus*, wine is several times mentioned as an article of importation; for instance, in p. 22—23, where it is said to have been brought from Italy and Syria.

India, and was, moreover, in the time of the Periplus, imported from Arabia, which is the reason of its being called Arabian wine.[23] The strong liquors, however, in most general use throughout India, appear to have been those obtained by distillation. The Ramayana mentions a beverage of this sort procured from fruits and the sugar-cane;[24] and in Menu we find three principal kinds distinguished,[25] according as the liquors in question were distilled from molasses, bruised rice, or the Madhuca-flower.[26] Of the last we know nothing beyond the mere name; the two former are most likely equivalent to the arrack and rum of modern times. The Brahmans are forbidden the use of all three.

India is the mother country of spices; and we have already shown, in the course of our inquiries into Phœnician commerce, that, from the most ancient times, she supplied the whole western world with that article. Although in the few native works at our present disposal there is no particular mention made of spices, yet we cannot possibly doubt of their consumption in the country itself. This silence, however, is merely the effect of accidental causes; for neither Menu or the Ramayana had any special occasion of alluding to the subject. But it is quite certain that pepper was very early known to the western world as an article of commerce; for Theophrastus even distinguishes several varieties of it.[27] Together with the spice itself, the name also of pepper seems to have migrated, probably through Persia, into the countries of the West.[28] There is little doubt that it came originally from the southern parts of Malabar, from Cochin and the neighbourhood; which was noticed for its growth of pepper by Cosmas in the sixth century, and indeed is so at the present day.

With respect to articles of perfumery, we are enabled to speak more decisively. These are of various kinds, partly foreign, as frankincense, and partly indigenous, as the sandal-wood, which is frequently mentioned in the Ramayana and the Gitagovinda,[29] and was in common use throughout India as well as China. Perfumes in general, and particularly frankincense, were from the most ancient times not confined solely to the purposes of sacrifice; they were also indispensable requisites in Hindu private life, and above all on festal occasions; an example of which will be found in the Ramayana, where the poet describes the solemn entry of Bharata into his grandfather's capital:[30] "The inhabitants, after having watered the streets, had sprinkled them with sand, and garnished them with flower-pots, ranged in order, and containing fragrant plants in full blossom. The city was adorned with garlands, and exhaled the odours of frankincense and sweet-smelling perfumes." The quantity of frankincense consumed in India deserves to be particularly remarked, as it is not an indigenous production, but imported from Arabia.[31] Many other kinds of perfume are mentioned in the Periplus as being of native growth; we can scarcely, therefore, doubt their having been used in very remote antiquity.

This is not the place for enumerating in detail all the objects of commerce mentioned in the earliest accounts of India; such, for instance, as female slaves, destined for the replenishing of harems;[32] different sorts of colours, as lac[33] and indigo;[34] together with base and precious metals; not

[23] *Periplus*, p. 21. [24] *Ramayana*, iii. 289. [25] MENU, xi. 95.

[26] Bassia Latifolia. [Called also Mahwah by the natives. See an interesting description of this very curious and useful tree in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. i. p. 300, sq., together with an account of the native method of distilling the flowers, p. 309. TRANSL.]

[27] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 22.

[28] The Sanscrit name is *pippali*, whence the Greek πίπερι, Latin *piper*, pepper, etc. DR. HUNTER'S Remarks on the species of Pepper, etc., in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 384.

[29] *Ramayana*, iii. 125, and elsewhere; *Gitagovinda*, p. 58, 65, 84. According to which, it grew chiefly on the mountains of Malaya. An odoriferous unguent was also prepared from this tree, by reducing the wood to powder and mixing it with oil. BECKMANN (*Waarenkunde*, vol. ii. No. i. p. 112, sq.) has furnished us with a learned inquiry into the nature and properties of this wood. The passages above quoted must be understood, in all probability, of the best species of sandal-wood, viz. the yellow, which grows in Malabar, and not of the red sort.

[30] *Ramayana*, i. 636.

[31] [MR. COLEBROOKE has satisfactorily shown, that the resinous gum called Olibanum (the frankincense of the ancients) is an indigenous production of India as well as of Arabia. See his "Account of Olibanum," in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 377, sq. According to NIEBUHR, however, (vol. i. p. 202,) it is not even a native of Arabia, but originally brought thither from Abyssinia; in which opinion he is supported by Bruce. See MICHAELIS, Question xxix. TRANSL.]

[32] *Ramayana*, i. 606. Rajah Janaka is there represented as adding to his other presents a thousand female slaves, adorned with collars of gold.

[33] CTESIAS, *Indic.* cap. 21.

[34] Indian black, (called μέλας Ἰνδικὸν in the *Periplus*, p. 22,) as well as cinnabar, (p. 18,) are also mentioned. At the present day indigo, called by the

forgetting the celebrated Indian steel,[35] and many other valuable productions. But enough has been already said for the purpose of showing the extent of ancient Hindu commerce, considered with reference to its principal objects.

The nature of the country, however, rendered the internal commerce of India different from that of the rest of Asia, in respect of transportation; for it was not necessary, nor indeed was it always possible, to employ caravans, as in the extensive tracts of Inner Asia. That this mode of conveyance was nevertheless occasionally resorted to, we learn from the beautiful episode of Nala, where Damayanti in her flight is represented to have joined a caravan of merchants.[36] But the beasts of burden made use of, in this instance, are tame elephants, which were therefore attacked in the night and dispersed by their wild brethren of the forest; and besides, the caravan in question appears to have belonged to some royal personage, rather than to a company of private merchants.[37] The greatest part of India, that is to say, the whole of the peninsula, being traversed with rocky mountains, would scarcely, if at all, admit of the employment of camels;[38] and the moderate distances between one town and another, and the general spread of civilization, would enable merchants to travel alone with perfect security, while river-navigation and the coasting trade afforded unusual facilities for transporting merchandise. The Ganges and its tributary streams were the grand commercial routes of Northern India; and mention is also made of navigation on the rivers of the peninsula in the south.[39] It is not improbable, indeed, that artificial routes between the Ganges and the Indus, as we find to have been the case in after-times,[40] existed even at an earlier period. The great high roads across the country are not only frequently mentioned in the Ramayana;[41] but we also read of a particular

natives *nil*, (i. e. dark blue,) still forms a principal branch of the commerce between India and Bokhara.

[35] CTESIAS, *Indic.* cap. 4.

[36] *Nalus*, ed. BOPP, p. 88, etc. See p. 166 of this volume.

[37] It is called the caravan of King Chandir. *Nalus*, xii. 132.

[38] The *Periplus* (p. 29) expressly remarks, that merchandise was transported from the commercial towns of the interior to the sea-coast on carriages (ἁμάξαις).

[39] *Periplus*, p. 31. The river-tolls are specified in MENU, viii. 406.

[40] *Strabo*, p. 1010. [41] As, for example, *Ramayana*, iii. 228.

class of men who were commissioned to keep them in repair.[42] According to Arrian, the commercial intercourse between the eastern and western coasts was carried on in country-built vessels; and when we consider the high antiquity of the pearl-fisheries in the straits of Ceylon, together with the necessary requisites thereto, we can hardly doubt that such was also the case many hundred years before his time. It would appear, then, that conveyance of merchandise by means of a caravan, as in other countries of the East, continued always foreign to the practice of India, unless the multitudes of pilgrims and penitents, that were continually resorting to places of sanctity, may be said to have compensated for the want of it. The almost innumerable crowds that yearly flock to Benares, Juggernaut, and elsewhere, amounting to many hundred thousands of souls, would obviously give rise to a species of commerce united with devotion;[43] and markets and fairs would be a natural, and indeed an indispensable requisite to satisfy the

[42] The principal passage is in book iii. 226, where the poet describes the preparations made for Bharata's journey. "The people were collected together who superintended different parts of the roads; able carpenters, diggers, engineers, hired day labourers with carts, hewers of wood," etc. It is not, indeed, positively mentioned that these were regular artificial roads; for there is nothing of the sort even at the present day to be found in India; but they were at least beaten or levelled ways. However, in p. 231, we read that "Bridges are built, rocks broken through, canals and wells dug, and the roads planted with flowers and trees: thus adorned, they resemble the causeways of heaven." There is no allusion to milestones, though otherwise well known in the East.

[43] It will be sufficient by way of illustration, to quote Capt. Hardwicke's account of the pilgrimage and fair held at Hurdwar on the Ganges, in 30° N. lat. See *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 312. "This fair," says the Captain, "is an annual assemblage of Hindus, to bathe, for a certain number of days, in the waters of the Ganges, at this consecrated spot. The multitude collected here on this occasion, might, I think, with moderation, be computed at two and a half millions of souls. Although the performance of a religious duty is their primary object, yet many avail themselves of the opportunity to transact business, and carry on an extensive annual commerce. In this concourse of nations, it is a matter of no small amusement to a curious observer to trace the dress, features, manners, etc., which characterize the people of the different countries of Cabul, Cashmir, Lahore, Butan, Sirinagur, Cummow, and the plains of Hindustan. From some of these very distant countries, whole families, men, women, and children, undertake the journey; some travelling on foot, some on horseback, and many, particularly women and children, in long heavy carts, railed, and covered with sloping matted roofs, to defend them against the sun and wet weather; and during the continuance of the fair these serve also as habitations." And yet Hurdwar is by no means in the first rank of holy places! Markets and fairs are expressly mentioned in the *Ramayana*, iii. 482.

wants of such throngs of people. And consequently, too, the establishments already noticed under the appellation of choultries, the erection of which was considered a religious duty, and whose forms not unfrequently displayed all the magnificence of native architecture, might be said to have a similar destination with the caravanserais of other Eastern countries, without, however, the resemblance between the two being exactly perfect.

Although commercial traffic was not carried on in India, as elsewhere, by means of caravans, yet there was necessarily an occasion for the establishment of certain intermediate depôts and places of mercantile resort. These were partly in the interior of the country, and partly also on the coast; and the names of three of them are given by the author of the Periplus: Ozene to the north of the peninsula, and Tagara and Pluthana in the interior. The first of these, Ozene, or, under its modern appellation, Oujein, is the present capital of Scindiah, one of the most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains, but it is also represented by Arrian as an ancient city, and "formerly" a royal residence.[44] At first, Ozene was the market for internal traffic, and supplied the neighbouring country with necessaries; at a subsequent period, however, it also became the emporium of foreign commerce for inland productions, such as the onyx-stone, muslins, coarse and fine calicos, which it transmitted to the haven of Barygaza for exportation; and probably it was also a depôt for the produce of more distant northern countries, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Ozene was at all times reckoned in the number of holy towns, and indeed of the first rank, the surrounding territory, for

[44] *Periplus*, p. 27, 28. The modern Oujein is one mile distant from the ancient town, which was overwhelmed by an earthquake, as report says, in the time of Vicramaditya. At the depth of from fifteen to eighteen feet, entire walls of extraordinary sized bricks, pillars, various utensils, and ancient coins have been discovered; and, what is more singular, a large quantity of wheat. Adjoining these ruins is a subterranean palace, said to have been the abode of Rajah Bhirtiry, the brother of Vicramaditya. It contains a court, galleries, and apartments, curiously carved with figures of men in high relief. It is, however, impossible to explore the whole, a great portion of the ruins being choked up with rubbish. See HUNTER's narrative, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 36. Oujein is, therefore, certainly one of the most ancient towns in India, and it is also a place of great sanctity; both which circumstances would concur in proving it to have been originally an establishment altogether resembling those of Ellora and Elephanta, etc.

the space of two coss in circumference, being held to be sacred.[45] It is, therefore, of course, the resort of pilgrims; and every year, at a particular season, an immense number of people flock together from all parts into the town, a circumstance which immediately explains the reason why Ozene, as the residence of kings and a place of such peculiar sanctity, should become the principal depôt of interior commerce.

In the interior of the Deccan, two places, Tagara and Pluthana, are expressly mentioned as the most important commercial staples in the whole province.[46] The first of these is the ancient Deogur, or Devagiri, "the hill of the gods," celebrated for its pagodas, and also for the close proximity of the still more celebrated Ellora;[47] and consequently we have here, too, another proof of the intimate connexion subsisting between the establishment of inland commerce and religion; for Tagara, being considered one of the most famous sanctuaries in the country, would of course owe all its importance as a place of mercantile resort, to the great number of pilgrims who for more than a thousand years had been wont to assemble there. The author of the Periplus reckons Tagara among the largest cities of India, even in his time; a circumstance which would naturally lead us to infer a long period of antecedent splendour. From hence coarse and fine cotton goods, different kinds of muslin, and other indigenous productions, were conveyed over difficult roads to the port of Barygaza, to be shipped for foreign countries.

The situation of Pluthana is not so well ascertained. According to the present text of the Periplus, it should be sought for at a distance of twenty days' journey to the southward of Barygaza; and Tagara is said to have been ten days' journey to the east of Pluthana. At first we might suppose it to be the same with the modern Patual, which in fact is about a hundred and fifty miles distant to the westward of Tagara, and consequently the journey between the two places would require a space of ten days to accomplish with heavy laden carriages over difficult and mountainous routes; but then the distance from Patual to

[45] *Ayin Acbari*, ii. 546. [46] *Periplus*, p. 29.
[47] See p. 72 of this volume.

Oujein,[48] instead of being only twenty, is at least thirty days' journey. The passage, however, in the Periplus is manifestly corrupt; and we must therefore be content with mere conjecture. Nevertheless, under all the circumstances, it is quite clear that Pluthana was situate among the Ghâts, for it was the general market for onyx-stones, which were transported from this town over very bad roads to Barygaza.[49]

The most active internal commerce, however, was that carried on in the northern parts of India, along the course of the Ganges. Here was the royal highway, extending from Taxila on the Indus, through Lahore, to Palibothra on the Ganges; and which, measured by *schœns*, was upwards of ten thousand stadia in length.[50] The first writer, we believe, who makes any mention of this road is Megasthenes; but whether it existed before the time of Alexander is very doubtful, as Arrian does not expressly notice it; and the admeasurement by *schœns* is not of Indian but Persian origin. On the other hand, the facility with which Alexander was able to advance, as well as the frequent use of chariots among the ancient Hindus, would clearly show that there was no want of levelled roads in this part of India. Even the Ramayana describes in a circumstantial manner, the road leading from Ayodhya over the Ganges, by Hastinapur and the Jumna through Lahore, to the city of Giniberaja in the interior of the Punjab; and by which Rama, after the death of his father, was conducted to Ayodhya.

The observations hitherto made, will at least serve to throw some light on the internal commerce of India; and the latter probably will receive additional illustration by combining therewith the results of our inquiry into the commerce of the same country, as it existed in times anterior to the reign of the Ptolemies. In conducting this inquiry, we shall confine ourselves to the same limited principles of criticism already prescribed for examining the other; that is, we shall only make use of the information contained in later writers, such, for instance, as the Periplus of Arrian, in so far forth as it either directly refers to more ancient times, or is capable of throwing some light on them, in connexion with the accounts furnished by earlier writers. In the mean time, however, we would request the reader always to bear in mind a remark, the propriety of which must by this time be sufficiently evident, and will be further corroborated in the sequel: viz. that the internal commerce of the East has undergone little other change than what would arise from partial deviations in the route; while on the contrary, the direction of Western commerce has been subject to considerable modifications.

[48] [The author probably means Barygaza, though both towns appear to be equidistant from Patual. TRANSL.]

[49] *Periplus*, loc. cit. [WILFORD, with every appearance of probability, supposes Pluthana to be the modern Pultanah, situate on the southern bank of the Godavery; about two hundred and seventeen British miles to the southward of Baroach. See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 369, sq. TRANSL.]

[50] STRABO, p. 1010. CASAUBON has demonstrated the true reading to have been 10,000 stadia, instead of 20,000. It is the same road spoken of by PLINY, *Hist. Nat.* vol. vi. p. 21, and which WILFORD (*Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 48, etc.) and other writers have endeavoured to explain; but they do not inform us whether its antiquity reaches as far back as the times of which we are treating.

The nature of the country and its productions, together with the peculiar genius of the people themselves, both contributed to render Hindu commerce of a passive rather than an active character. For as the productions of India were always in high request with the Western world, the Hindus would clearly have no occasion to transport them to foreign countries themselves; they would of course expect the inhabitants of the latter to come and fetch what they wanted. And again, the Hindu national character has no pretensions to that hardy spirit of adventure, which is capable of achieving the most extraordinary undertakings. While their fables abound with prodigious enterprise, the people themselves are content to lead a quiet and peaceful life, with just so much activity as is requisite to guide the plough or direct the shuttle; without running the risk of hazardous and unnecessary adventure. Their India—their Jambu-dwipa, comprised in their estimation the limits of the known world. Separated from the rest of Asia by a chain of impassable mountains on the north; while on all other sides the ocean formed a barrier, which, if their laws are silent on the subject, yet at least their habits or their customs would not permit them to transgress; we can find no certain proof that the Hindus were ever mariners.

These remarks, however, must only be understood as applicable to the great body of the nation, without at all implying that some particular individuals were not enterprising

enough to pass the seas, and establish themselves in foreign countries, in order to profit by commercial speculation. Merchants of this kind are expressly mentioned in the Ramayana, who "traffic beyond sea and bring presents to the king."[51] In fact, no law had ever forbidden this species of commerce; on the contrary, the Institutes of Menu contain several regulations which tacitly allow it, in giving the force of law to all commercial contracts relative to dangers incurred by sea or land.[52] Moreover, the religion of the Hindus does not recognise the Egyptian principle of the sea being impure. The latter is assigned its own peculiar sovereign; and according to mythological report, the sea, that is, the Bay of Bengal, owed its origin to the influx of the holy stream, the Ganges.[53] It is well known that the Hindu merchants, called Banians, are in the habit of traversing the ocean, and settling in foreign countries. And a modern writer observes,[54] that, "The commerce of Arabia Felix is entirely in the hands of the Banians of Guzerat; who, from father to son, have established themselves in the country, and are protected by the government, in consideration of a certain impost levied upon their estimated property." We can easily conceive this to have been the case also in much earlier times. In the Hitopadesa[55] it is said, "A ship is a necessary requisite for enabling man to traverse the ocean;" and in another passage we read of a "certain merchant, who, after having been twelve years on his voyage, at last

[51] *Ramayana*, iii. 237.

[52] [See MENU, iii. 158; viii. 157. Sir W. Jones has supposed that from bottomry being mentioned in the laws of Menu, the Hindus must have been navigators in the age of that work. Now, that ships belonging to Hindus went to sea, and that a proportionate interest for the hazard of the sea was to be paid on money borrowed, must be perfectly true; but it remains to be proved that the seamen were Hindus. And Sir W.'s endeavour to prove that they used the sea in former ages, proves that it is contrary to their principles and practice in later times. It is only within these few years that the English have been able to carry their sepoys to sea; and in doing this, there seems to have been employed money, discipline, and a variety of fictions, to salve their conscience. Fishermen there are, but they can cook and eat their food on shore; and even fishermen are an abomination in Malabar. Merchants, however, may grow rich at home while other nations are their carriers; and the Armenians, who are no navigators themselves, freight ships in every port of India. TRANSL.]

[53] *Ramayana*, i. 400.

[54] From the accounts of M. CLOUPET, in the *Allgem. Geogr. Ephem.* for November, 1810, p. 235.

[55] SIR W. JONES'S *Works*, vol. vi. p. 94.

returned home with a cargo of precious stones."[56] But what makes the case still more evident, is the story told in the Sacontala of the merchant Danavriddhi, whose immense wealth devolved to the king on the former's perishing at sea, and leaving no heirs behind him.[57] If, in addition to these authorities, the reader wishes for more decisive historical proof, he will find it in the Periplus; which, besides merchants of Arabia and Greece, mentions also the Banians of India, who, for commercial purposes, had established themselves on the north side of the island of Socotra.[58]

The foregoing remarks will, it is hoped, serve to explain in some degree the manner in which the Hindus took a part in external commerce. We have seen that although it was not their general practice to travel in caravans, or to man vessels for the purposes of commerce, yet it by no means follows that private individuals had not extensive mercantile transactions with foreign countries, and even occasionally undertook long voyages themselves. We shall now then proceed to inquire into this foreign commerce of the Hindus, according to its several directions, towards the north, east, and west; and examine each quarter in succession.

The only country in the north with which India had commercial relations was China.[59] Notwithstanding all the obstacles which nature herself has interposed, such as apparently inaccessible mountains, and pathless deserts, it is impossible to doubt the existence, even from very remote times, of a commercial intercourse between the two countries; particularly as we meet with articles of Chinese merchandise in India. Silk stuffs, and garments of the same material, are mentioned in the Ramayana as ordinarily worn in the harems of great men.[60] Whether, indeed, the rich nuptial vestments spoken of in the Sacontala,[61] might not likewise have been made of silk, we shall leave our readers to determine. The Periplus, however, expressly mentions silk stuffs, and also spun silk, as articles of

[56] SIR W. JONES'S *Works*, p. 80.

[57] Ibid. p. 292.

[58] *Periplus*, p. 17. There called the island of Dioscorides.

[59] VINCENT, vol. ii. p. 574, 575, has already shown that the name of China is of Hindu origin, and came to us from India. [The word Sinim occurs in the Bible, Isaiah, xlix. 12. Compare also a passage in *Mengsteu*, i. 121; and the "Nouveaux Mélanges" of M. ABEL, *Remusat*, ii. 334. FR. TRANSL.]

[60] See p. 273, of this volume.

[61] SIR W. JONES'S *Works*, vol. vi. p. 257.]

foreign importation.[62] That silk is the indigenous production of China and the neighbouring country of Tangut, on its western frontier, both comprised by the ancients under the indefinite appellation of Serica, is a fact too well known to require proof;[63] we have, therefore, only to ascertain by what route, and in what manner, the commerce in question was carried on.

It is an undeniable fact, that a land traffic between India and China has existed heretofore, and probably is still in being at the present day. But the obscurity in which this part of our subject is involved, cannot altogether be cleared away, in consequence of the very small number of European travellers who have investigated the countries bordering on the route. With regard to the commerce itself, we shall begin by quoting some decisive testimony from the Periplus, which will set the matter beyond a doubt. The first place mentioned in that work, as being situate on the eastern side of the peninsula, is Masalia; which extended a considerable way along the coast, and was famous for the manufacture of cotton piece goods.[64] That this can be no other than the modern Masulipatan, is sufficiently proved by its situation, name, and produce.[65] The next commercial town mentioned by our author, is one situate on the mouths of the Ganges, and bearing the same name as the river, where betel, pearls, and the finest sorts of muslin were sold. Then follows an account of the island, or rather peninsula, of Chryse, which is mentioned as the furthest part of India towards the east; comprising, in fact, the modern Ava, Pegu, and Malacca. To the northward of this, and contiguous to the ocean, lay a country in the interior of which we find the large city Thina;[66] from whence raw and spun

[62] *Periplus*, p. 36.

[63] [It is not at all improbable that silk was also indigenous in India even at a remote epoch. See SCHLEGEL, *Berlin Kalender*, 1829, p. 9. FR. TRANSL.] [It is worthy of notice, that the Rudra-Yamala-Tantra, in an enumeration of Hindu castes, mentions the Pundracas and Pattasutracaras, or feeders of silk-worms, and silk-twisters; this authority, therefore, in conjunction with the frequent allusions to silk in the most ancient Sanscrit books, may be considered as decisive of the question, provided the antiquity of the Tantra be allowed; of which Mr. Colebrooke seems to have no doubt. See his Essay on Indian Classes, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 61, sq. Silk is known throughout the Archipelago by a Sanscrit name, *sutra*. TRANSL.]

[64] *Periplus*, p. 35. [65] VINCENT, vol. ii. p. 523.

[66] *Periplus*, p. 36. Πόλις μεσόγειος μεγίστη, λεγομένη Θῖνα, ἀφ' ἧς τότε ἔριον, καὶ τὸ ὀθόνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὴν Βαρύγαζαν διὰ Βακτρῶν πεζῇ φέρεται· καὶ εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ. That the Thina of the Periplus must be looked for in the north, that is, in Serica or China, is quite evident from the express words of the passage just quoted. Ptolemy, however, and other writers, place a town of that name in Malacca, near the modern Tenasserim. Concerning this determination and the reasons for it, see MANNERT, vol. v. p. 234, 275.

silk and silk stuffs were conveyed by land through the country of the Bactrians to Barygaza; and also by the Ganges to Limyrica. From the last words of this passage it is evident that silk was imported into India by two different routes; one towards the west altogether by land, through Bactra, and the other towards the east by the Ganges. The city Thina, whether it be Pekin[67] or some other large town in Western China, was in either case the great emporium of silk merchandise in these parts. The next question, therefore, for us to decide is, by whom and by what routes was this traffic in silk carried on?

With regard to the persons engaged in the above commerce, there is a very remarkable testimony contained in a passage of Ctesias, already quoted on another occasion,[68] and which we have always considered as presenting the earliest traces to be found of any connexion between China and the Western world. "The Indians," says he, "who live near the Bactrians, make expeditions into the gold desert, in armed companies of a thousand or two thousand men. But, according to report, they do not return home for three or four years."[69] Now we have before shown that the desert here mentioned is the great one of Cobi, and the "Indians" are the northernmost inhabitants of the country, or those who bordered on the Paropamisus. But the expeditions through this desert, made in such numerous caravans, and for so long a space of time, for what region could they be intended, or whither, in fact, would they lead, except into China? The writer, it is true, having only heard of gold as the object in quest of which these expeditions were undertaken, makes no mention of silk, with which, probably, he was unacquainted. It were superfluous, however, to prove

[67] Some writers identify it with the "Senim Metropolis," of Ptolemy; others take it to be the present Se-Chuen.

[68] See the chapter on the Babylonians.

[69] Apud ÆLIAN. *Hist. An.* iv. 27. This passage is not to be found among the Fragments of Ctesias, because it stands only at the end of the chapter, but that it is really borrowed from that writer is evident from the context.

that silk might have been used as a medium of exchange for gold, and that the most valuable production of China would surely not have been suffered to remain a useless commodity in the hands of the merchant. The individuals in question, then, were North Indians, that is, inhabitants of Cabul and Badakshan, who travelled in numerous caravans for the productions of China, which they either exported themselves, or transmitted for that purpose to their neighbours the Bactrians, in whose country the first principal mart of the carrying trade for Media, as well as India Proper, was most probably situated. At all events, these merchants are represented as travelling through Bactra in order to reach India[70] and Barygaza; but whether their route was altogether by land, or partly down the Indus, can only be determined by conjecture. The accounts we have of Alexander's expedition evidently show, that an active navigation must have existed on that river and its confluent streams long before his arrival; otherwise he could not in so short a time have collected a sufficient number of vessels, for enabling him to embark the greatest part of his army, and so transport them down the Indus to its mouth, passing in his way by Pattala, a commercial port situate on the delta of the river.

That part of our question which relates to the particular routes by which this commerce was carried on, may be answered by applying the accounts of later times, as the nature of the subject will allow us to do, to the elucidation of an earlier period. These accounts are furnished by Ptolemy,[71] who calculates the distances between the Euphrates and Serica according to the determinations of Marinus. He mentions as a principal commercial station, a certain *lithinos pyrgos*, or stone tower, which was situate under the same parallel of latitude (42°) as Byzantium and the capital of the Seres, from which latter place it was seven months' journey distant. The approach to this tower was through a defile at the point of junction between the north and south chains of the Imaus, that is, where the great mountain range

[70] According to the latest Russian accounts, the principal rendezvous of the caravans which set out for India, Persia, and Asiatic Russia, as well as China, is the modern Bokhara. So that what the ancient Bactra was formerly, Bokhara is now.

[71] PTOL. i. cap. 11, 12.

of Taurus, on the western frontier of Little Bucharia, divides itself into two branches, skirting the vast plain of the desert of Cobi.

It is only within these few years that additional light has been thrown on this statement of Ptolemy; and the tower itself, so interesting a monument for the history of commerce, been actually proved to exist. We are indebted for this information to Wilford, who had it from a Russian of the name of Czernichev, who had been made prisoner on the frontiers of Siberia by the Kalmucks, and sold as a slave to the Usbeck Tatars. In the year 1780, his master, who was a merchant, went to trade from Bokhara to Cashgar, Yarkand, and Cashmir; and being pleased with his behaviour, gave him his liberty; upon which, in company with some Armenians, he came to Lucknow, where he was relieved by Sir Eyre Coote, whose generosity enabled him to revisit his native country. According to the Russian's narrative of his travels,[72] Wilford says, "The elevated plains of Meru are, perhaps, the highest spot, or at least the highest flat, in the old continent. Its height towards India and China is prodigious: it is not so considerable toward the north, and is still less toward the north-west, where the ascent between the stone-tower and the station of the merchants trading to China, is by no means very difficult. The stone-tower still exists under the name of Chihel-Sutun, or the Forty Columns,[73] and is famous all over these countries. The station of the merchants is still their place of rendezvous to this day, and is called Takhti-Suleiman, or the Throne of Solomon. The tower is at the extremity of a small branch, jutting out of a range of mountains to the left of the road, or to the north, and which projects toward the south, and ends abruptly in the middle of a plain.[74] Its

[72] *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 323.

[73] The ruins of Persepolis are also called by the Persians Chehl-Menâr, agreeably to their usual custom of expressing an indefinite number by the use of a definite, such as *forty*. Can this tower be the Temple of the Sun, mentioned by Ctesias in the eighth chapter of his Indica? See Persians, p. 94.

[74] In 41° N. lat., 69° 6′ E. long. [In the maps hitherto published, the geography of these countries is extremely defective. The new Atlas by Sidney Hall has a place called Takhti-Suleiman laid down in lat. 31° 20′, which is much too far south to be in the route of merchants travelling from Bokhara to China; to say nothing of its being represented on the left bank of the Indus, on a plain, and far away from any mountains. TRANSL.]

extremity, consisting of a solid rock, has been cut into a regular shape, with two rows, each of twenty columns. The front part is in a very ruinous condition, and the upper row of columns remains suspended from the top; the columns below answering to them, with their entablature, having been destroyed. It is a most wonderful work, and ascribed by the natives to supernatural agents, as usual." The latest Russian information which we have been able to procure, relative to Bokhara, serves to confirm the above account. Bokhara is now what Bactra formerly was, the grand mart of Indo-Chinese traffic. Upwards of three hundred Banians are established there, and the road leading from thence to India through Bactra, which is twelve days' journey distant, is still in common use. The route from Bokhara to China passes through Samarcand, Cocan, Takhti-Suleiman, or the Stone-tower, and the neighbouring town of Owsh, where the mountains begin.

This tower so called was therefore a building of considerable extent; probably a large caravanserai, with a sanctuary attached. According to the Russian accounts, it is still much frequented by pilgrims: it is here also we find the miraculous stone,[75] said to be of sovereign application in all diseases. At the entrance of the desert, some such monumental edifice as the above would naturally enough be required, and therefore easily become an important commercial station. By means of this building, it is easy to determine the particular route as well as the length of time employed by the Hindu merchants in their journey to China.[76] If we assume Cabul, or rather Bactra, as their place of departure, the expedition would take a north-easterly direction as far as the forty-first degree of north latitude. It would then have to ascend the mountains, and so arrive at the stone-tower through the defile of Hoshan or Owsh. From hence the route led by Cashgar, beyond the mountains, to

[75] Qu. The stone called Yusche probably?

[76] The route of Czernichev from Cogend to Cashgar is as follows. From Cogend to Cucan, two days' journey; to Marhelan, one day; to Gheraba and Chihel-Sutun, two days; to the pass of Hoshan, one day; to the lead mines, ten days; to Girrel and the entrance into the plains, two days; to Cashgar, one day. In a "Chart of the Country of the Kirgheez Tatars," (Weimar, 1804,) designed after a Russian MS., we meet with the following places: Cucan (Kotschan); Machalan (Murgalan); the defile of Hoshan (Adjan); and Cashgar; with the distances marked as above.

the borders of the great desert of Cobi, which it traversed probably through Khoten and Aksu (the Casia and Auxazia of Ptolemy): from these ancient towns the road lay through Koshotei to Se-Chou on the frontiers of China, and thence to Pekin, a place of great antiquity, if we are to understand it as the metropolis of Serica, which, indeed, the accounts of Ptolemy would hardly leave any room to doubt.[77] The whole distance amounts to upwards of two thousand five hundred miles; and though the journey to and fro, together with the necessary delays there, is said to have required a space of no less than three years to accomplish, we shall not be disposed to consider this calculation exaggerated.[78]

But the Periplus mentions another route, by which silk was imported into India: viz. down the Ganges to its mouth, and from thence to Limyrica.[79] This way, though it was the shortest, was yet the most difficult, as it must have passed through the lofty mountains of Thibet, in the heart of which the Ganges has its source. Nevertheless, whatever hinderances nature might have opposed to such a route, it is, however, certain that motives of religion and a thirst of gain have been able to overcome them, and have done so for a long time. In prescribing to its votaries the duty of pilgrimage to the sovereign pontiff, who resides in the interior of Thibet, the religion of Lama furnishes strong inducements to undertake the journey. We are in possession of an itinerary of the Dalai Lama himself, from his residence to Pekin, whither he had been invited by the emperor Kien-Long, and where he died of the small-pox.[80]

[77] The latitude given by Ptolemy is nearly correct.

[78] Among the moderns who have travelled this route, we may notice the missionary Goez. He proceeded to Pekin from Cabul, by way of Samarcand, Cashgar, and Yerkand, at which latter place the caravan from Cabul exchanged their merchandise with another coming from China. *Purchas. Pilgrim*, vol. iii. p. 312.

[79] *Periplus*, loc. cit.

[80] This journey was undertaken in the year 1780; and an authentic account of it will be found in TURNER'S *Embassy to Thibet*, p. 443, 457. The principal stations on the road were Ducbu, situate on a river of the same name, forty-six days' journey; Tuktharing, twenty-five; the town of Cumbu-Gumbaw, nineteen, where the Grand Lama was detained four months by a heavy fall of snow; the town of Tumdatelu, fifteen; Nissaur, nine; Karambu, thirty; Tolowar, twenty-nine; Singhding, fifteen; as far as which latter the emperor had come to meet him. The Lama only reached Pekin a year after leaving his residence in Thibet. It is worthy of remark, that the presents made him by the emperor, consisting of silks, pearls, and furs, are precisely similar to those so often occurring in the Ramayana.

This itinerary, however, containing only the names of towns, with which we are otherwise unacquainted, and supplying no accurate determinations of their geography, will not throw much light upon the subject. Nevertheless, every thing concurs to prove that some such commercial route must have already existed in the time of the Periplus: and though we are, indeed, unable to assign the particular stations, yet as in after-times merchandise was usually conveyed down the Ganges, it is quite certain that the route in question must have followed the course of that river, and consequently have proceeded from the south-west of China. The modern route passes by a town called Teshu-Lumbo, situate in 29° 4′ 20″ N. lat. and 89° 7′ E. long.; and as it reaches the Ganges in a direct line from hence, there is less reason to doubt the probability of its being also the ancient one. Teshu-Lumbo is a place in Thibet where the great commercial roads cross each other; and Mr. Turner, from his residence, was able to see at once the roads leading to China, to Nepal, Mongolia, and to Cashmir, through Ladak, the principal market for shawl-wool, and the point of junction for the road leading from Cashgar.[81]

At the mouth of the Ganges, merchandise was conveyed to a town of the same name; situate probably in the neighbourhood of Duliapur, to the south-east of Calcutta, and on the central branch of the river.[82] The Periplus does not inform us in what way the transport of goods was effected from hence to the last Hindu market, Limyrica; but as the whole coast of Coromandel was navigated, we can scarcely doubt that it took place by sea.

The passage above quoted from Ctesias evidently shows that the first described route by land is much older than the Periplus; but whether the second has an equal claim to remote origin, must be left undetermined. That articles of silk, however, were imported into India from China by one or other of the two routes, if not by both, as early as

[81] TURNER, p. 296.

[82] According to MANNERT, vol. v. p. 232. Its situation, however, cannot be defined with precision. It was not merely the emporium for Chinese commerce, but also for the productions of Bengal, particularly fine muslins. As the Ganges, with its tributary streams, formed the high road of inland commerce, we can hardly doubt that the commercial town situate at its mouth was a place of considerable importance.

the composition of the Ramayana, is too well established to admit of the least doubt.

Silk, however, was not the only article of commerce which India received from China. The Periplus mentions a second, under the name of "skins from Serica,"[83] an expression which may be understood in two different senses, either as denoting furs or prepared leather. Whichever mode of interpretation be adopted, the skins certainly came from the land of the Seres. In the first case, supposing furriery to be intended, the expression would prove, that one branch of the fur trade, of which we have already spoken in our inquiry into the Scythians, must have been transmitted through Serica into India; and the supposition is confirmed by a passage in the introduction to the Mahabharat.[84] In the second case, assuming these "skins" to have been dressed or prepared, it is not at all improbable that the preparation of Morocco, and the finer kinds of leather, was formerly as well known in Asia as at the present day, being still indispensable for the manufacture of slippers, usually worn by the great people of both sexes. But what may be considered as certain is, that this species of commerce existed long before the time of the Periplus, and was indeed of very remote antiquity. In the Ramayana we find skins of animals[85] mentioned among the nuptial presents made to a king's daughter, that is, to Sita, together with shawls, garments of silk, and precious stones. So that, whether we understand the term to imply fine leather or furs, the skins in question were obviously, in either case, of considerable value, and an article of foreign merchandise.

The Periplus describes a third branch of commerce, as remarkable as the mode of procuring it was attended with difficulty. We shall quote the passage entire: "It is not easy," says the writer,[86] "to arrive at Thina, and but few individuals have made the journey and returned back again. This country is situate under the Little Bear, and is said to touch upon the Black and Caspian Seas, at the point where the lake Mæotis empties itself into the latter. Every year

[83] δέρματα Σηρικά. *Periplus*, p. 22.

[84] These skins are translated by *pelles villosæ* in FRANK'S *Chrestomath. Sanscrit.* vol. i. p. 147.

[85] "Deer-skins." *Ramayana*, i. 605.

[86] *Periplus*, p. 36, 37.

there come to the borders of Thina a set of ill-formed, broad-faced, and flat-nosed people, who are called Sesatæ,[87] and resemble savages; they bring with them their wives and children, and carry great burdens in mats, which look like vine-branches. They stop short at a certain place between their own territory and that of Thina, where, seated on their mats, they celebrate a kind of festival, which lasts for some days; and afterwards they return home into their own country. The natives of Thina then arrive upon the ground, collect the mats left by the strangers, take out the haulm which forms the *betre* so called,[88] and, joining the leaves together, make the whole up into balls, through which they pass the fibres of the haulm. Of this there are three several kinds, the large, middle, and small, prepared in the above manner, and conveyed by the persons whose occupation it is to prepare it, into India. The country situate beyond Thina is unexplored, either in consequence of cold and severe frosts, which render travelling thither very difficult, or because the immortals have so willed it." From this description we come to the following natural conclusions, viz.

First. The peculiar kind of merchandise here alluded to, though not expressly mentioned by name, can evidently be no other than the betel, that is to say, the areca-nut, enveloped in the leaves of betel, which, as is well known, the Orientals are in the general habit of chewing. The method of preparation described above, though not altogether correct, is yet, however, sufficiently so in its essential points. The betel is a species of pepper, the fruit grows on a vine, and the leaves are employed to wrap up the areca-nut.

Secondly. The people called Sesatæ belong to the Mongol family; and it is scarcely possible to describe them in more striking colours than in the passage before us. They are nomads, and travel for purposes of commerce to the borders of Serica; the festival they celebrate, as is usually the case, is at the same time also a fair. The goods they

[87] Besatæ by Ptolemy.

[88] Πέτρος. We cannot mistake the Hindu name surviving in the Greek appellation: the term elsewhere used in the Periplus to denote betel is μαλάβαθρον, (VINCENT, vol. ii. p. 735,) which is also applied to the prepared balls. The names of the three kinds are Malabathrum hadrosphærum, mesosphærum, and microsphærum. It is evident, therefore, that the passage alludes to the preparation of betel.

bring with them are disposed of to the Seres, by whom they are subsequently transmitted to the Indian markets.

And thirdly. This fair must have been held in some northern country; because Thina itself was situated so far north as to touch upon that region, which is represented to be inaccessible on account of the extreme rigour of the climate.

In this last point, however, lies all the difficulty; as the betel grows only in warm countries, in the two Indian peninsulas, in Malabar and Arracan,[89] and consequently could not have been brought into India from any distance north of the latter. The solution adopted by Vincent, who supposes it to have been imported from Arracan by the Tatars of Thibet, does not seem to bring us any nearer the truth.[90] The author of the Periplus evidently places the mart in question far north; and makes the Sesatæ inhabitants of Middle Asia, under the same parallel as the Black and Caspian Seas, and, in fact, as the lake Mæotis, which is the most northerly part of the former.

At the same time, however, it is impossible to deny that the author of the above work must have had very confused notions of these northern countries, which he had never visited himself, but drew all his information from hearsay. Can we, therefore, do him any wrong, or offend against the laws of true criticism, if we venture to assume that he has, in the passage before us, confounded two very different narrations, one relating to the northern traffic and its commercial mart, and the other to the traffic in betel, which he has incorrectly stated to belong to the former? We shall not take upon ourselves to decide this point; but that the

[89] And so, indeed, the author of the *Periplus* himself had before correctly stated in p. 32, when speaking of Nelkynda, that the Malabathrum was brought thither from the interior, that is, from Malabar.

[90] VINCENT, vol. ii. p. 527. By the Tatars, Vincent understands those of Lassa, or Thibet. But the inhabitants of the latter country have no sort of resemblance to the Mongol physiognomy. WILFORD, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. ix. p. 60, gives another explanation, according to which, the Sesatæ, or Besatæ, were a nomad tribe on the frontiers of Bengal, supporting themselves by the occupation of basket-making. This opinion, however, will not serve to explain the difficulty in question, as the Sesatæ of Arrian are located in countries much further north than Bengal. It is much more likely that the author has here confounded two different narrations. Nor does it seem difficult to account for the fact, in supposing him to have mistaken Thina for Tzina, which latter appellation was used even by Cosmas to designate China.

Sesatæ of the Periplus were a nomad Mongol tribe, appears to be as little questionable as the fact of their residing, not in Southern Thibet, but in Middle Asia, which is obvious from the description itself. Supposing them to have been, as is probable enough from their origin and place of residence, a branch of the Issedones of Herodotus, whom we have already seen to be a nomad mercantile people,[91] this circumstance would serve to explain the commercial intercourse carried on through Central Asia, and establish the existence of a regular chain of mercantile nations, extending from China to India, as well as to the Black Sea. At all events, we are fully justified in applying these accounts of the Periplus, not merely to the time in which that work was composed, but also to the elucidation of an earlier period. The use of betel is very ancient in India; and, besides, the northern commerce just noticed stood in no kind of connexion with that of Alexandria, and consequently, therefore, could not originate from that source.

The second direction which the commerce of India took was towards the east, that is, to the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula, comprising the countries of Ava, Pegu, and Malacca. These are not, it is true, expressly so mentioned in ancient Hindu records; but the pundits are unanimous in understanding Anga, the powerful sovereign of which country is noticed in the Ramayana,[92] to mean Ava;[93] and Yamala is interpreted by Malacca.[94] The traffic with these countries would of course be carried on by sea only, though the transmission of goods across the Bay of Bengal could not be attended with much difficulty. That this navigation existed in the time of the Periplus, is evident from that work itself, as it actually mentions a place situate on the Coromandel coast, from which the passage was usually made to Chrysa.[95] This appellation is manifestly used by Ptolemy to denote Malacca;[96] but in the Periplus it seems to be applied indifferently to the whole region on that side the Ganges. How far the commercial intercourse with this country extended beyond the time of the Periplus, cannot be determined with certainty; as no particular kind of merchandise is there mentioned which would enable us to ascertain the question, if we except gold, from the abundance of which, the Greeks gave the peninsula its name of Chryse, whence we may very reasonably infer that metal to have been an article of foreign export. Nevertheless, the antiquity of this connexion may be inferred from other sources; because, in the first place, the Hindus themselves were in the habit of constructing vessels, in which they navigated the coast of Coromandel, and also made voyages to the Ganges, and the peninsula beyond it. These vessels bore different names according to their size.[97] Nothing, indeed, could furnish better proof that this commerce did not originate from an intercourse with the Greeks, but was the sole product of ancient native industry; a fact which receives additional confirmation from the existence of commercial towns and ports on the Coromandel coast, from time immemorial. Masulipatam, with its cloth manufactures, as well as the mercantile town situate above the mouth of the Ganges, have already been noticed as existing in the time of the Periplus; and if we allow these places to have been, even then, very ancient, of which there is scarcely any doubt, have we not also equal reason for believing their commerce and navigation to be so too? The coast of Coromandel, especially the southern part, is represented by Ptolemy to have been thickly studded with a series of commercial towns; a circumstance which may not improbably serve to throw some light on the ruins of the wonderful city, Mavalipuram, already described.[98] Even as early as that writer's time it was called "a place of commerce," (Emporium,)

[91] See the chapter on the Scythians.
[92] *Ramayana*, i. 159.
[93] Ibid. i. 119, et ib. not.
[94] WILFORD, in the *Asiatic Res.* vol. viii. p. 302.
[95] *Periplus*, p. 34.
[96] See MANNERT, vol. v. p. 242, sq.

[97] *Periplus*, loc. cit. The smallest kind, formed of a single piece of timber, (μονόξυλα,) and used for navigating along the coast, were called *sangara*; the larger sort, in which voyages were made to Malacca, bore the name of *colandiophonta*. This last appears to be a compound term. Are they both of Malay origin? If so, it would prove the navigation in question to have been carried on by the Malays, a fact of which there appears to be little doubt. They are not to be found in Marsden's Dictionary of the Malay, though we might reasonably expect the insertion of naval terms; but there are several words very much like them, which tend to support the above conjecture.
[Colandiophonta has been derived from the Hindustani, *coilan-di-pota*, coilan boats or ships; *pota*, in Sanscrit, signifies a boat or ship, and *di*, or *da*, in the western parts of India, is either an adjective form, or the mark of the genitive case. *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 283. TRANSL.]
[98] See above, p. 79.

that is, if we assume his Maliarpha to be the same as Mavalipuram, a supposition which its geographical site and the magnificence and extent of its buildings abundantly tend to confirm. In what sense Mavalipuram might become a town of very great commercial importance, is clearly shown by its peculiar situation; and admitting it to have been at a remote epoch the central point of intermediate commerce between the two Indian peninsulas, similar to what Malacca became in subsequent ages, we have then a sufficient reason to account for its splendour.

The same observation will also apply to the neighbouring isle of Ceylon. It was through the followers of Alexander that the fame of Taprobana, as the first of Indian islands, and its pearl-fisheries, became known in Europe, and increased with the progress of time. In the accounts of Ptolemy, we find its shores well furnished with commercial ports;[99] and if we cannot venture to refer the precise information which this author gives, not only of the coast, but also of the interior of Ceylon, to a Phœnician source, yet the stupendous monuments, still found there, are amply sufficient to show, that at some distant time, as we know also to have been the case, according to Cosmas, even in the sixth century,[100] this island was the centre of Hindu com-

[99] PTOL. vii. cap. 12.

[100] COSMAS *Indicopleustes* apud MONTFAUCON, *Bibl. Patr.* vol. ii. p. 336. The whole passage is too important, in reference to Ceylon, and the ancient commerce of India, to be omitted here. "Taprobana, called by the Hindus Selandiv, (Sinhala-Dwipa,) is a large island in the Indian Ocean, where the hyacinth-stone (ruby) is found; it is opposite to the pepper country (Malabar); and in the vicinity are numerous other small islands (the Maldives). It is governed by two kings, one of whom rules in the country of the hyacinth-stones, (the mountain tracts of the interior,) and the other on the coast, with its harbours and commercial towns. From all India, Persia, and Ethiopia, between which countries it is situate in the middle, an infinite number of vessels arrive at, as well as go from, Ceylon. From the interior of the continent, as, for instance, from China, (*τζινίτζα*,) and other commercial countries, it receives silk, aloes, cloves, and other productions, which it exports to Malabar, (*Μαλα*,) where the pepper grows, and to Calliene, from whence is brought steel and cloth; for this latter is also a great commercial port. It likewise makes consignments to Sinde on the borders of India, whence comes musk and castoreum; and also to Persia, Yemen, and Adule. From all these countries it receives articles of produce, which again it transmits into the interior, together with its own productions. Selandiv is consequently a great emporium; and being situate in the middle of India, it receives merchandise from, as well as sends it to, all parts of the world." It is therefore evident, from this passage, that Ceylon was, in the year 500 of our era, the principal mart of the carrying trade of India; and that it was so three hundred years earlier, in the time of Ptolemy, is also certain, from that author's own account. And so it was also in the time of the emperor Claudius, according to PLINY, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 24. From this writer, who quotes the testimony of ancient historians, (*prisci memorant*,) namely, those of Alexander's age, "who first discovered Taprobana to be an island," we learn that Ceylon enjoyed this commercial reputation in the time of the Ptolemies, and even in that of Alexander. If we extend this period but a century and a half further back, which no one, surely, will consider unreasonable, we come at once to the interesting historical fact, that during a space of a thousand years, that is, from 500 before Christ to 500 after, the island of Ceylon, so conveniently situated for such a purpose, continued to be the great emporium of the Hindu carrying trade, from Adule on the coast of Africa, Yemen, Malabar, and the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula, even to China. On the other hand, in the mythology and in the oldest epic poems of India, Ceylon does not at all appear in this matter-of-fact shape, but only as the land of fable; a circumstance, however, which tends to establish its claim to remote antiquity. With regard to the ancient monuments still existing in Ceylon, particularly the ruins of Mandotta, and the gigantic reservoirs to be found there and at Trincomalee, see especially BERTOLACCI's *View of the agricultural, commercial, and financial Interest of Ceylon*, London, 1817. See Appendix XII.

merce; for which purpose, indeed, its natural situation and commodious havens afforded singular opportunities.

The western coast of the peninsula on this side the Ganges, contained in the time of the Periplus a chain of ports, of which Barygaza in the north, and Muziris, together with Nelkynda, in the south, were the most considerable. The first is Beroach, not many years since reduced by the British arms, and which in modern times has lost much of its ancient splendour, owing to the neighbourhood of Surat; Muziris in Limyrica, will be found in the present Mangalore; and Nelkynda survives in Neliceram.[1] Pattala, which was a place of considerable importance even in Alexander's time, would appear to be more ancient than the former; according to the illustrations furnished by Pottinger, this town is not to be identified with Tatta, as was once supposed, but with the modern Hydrabad,[2] situate on the Delta of the Indus, in lat. 25. If, as it is said, the word Pattala, in Sanscrit, means "a commercial town," this circumstance would prove the extreme antiquity of the navigation carried on by the Indus; and Agatharchides,[3] who wrote upwards of three hundred years before the time of the Periplus, had previously noticed the active commercial intercourse kept up between Pattala and Yemen. Of the other towns, we shall only mention Calliene, the modern

[1] See the map in VINCENT's edition of the *Periplus*. These places are somewhat differently laid down in MANNERT.

[2] See on the Persians, vol. i.

[3] *Geogr. Min.* i. p. 66.

Gallian, situate over against Bombay and the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, as a proof that in the vicinity of these famous sanctuaries, commerce had once fixed her abode. Calliene is expressly mentioned as having been formerly a place of considerable importance, but that its decay was owing to a certain king, named Sandanes.[4]

From these and other similar towns, the commerce of India was directed towards the west. We have already observed that it would be precipitate to apply what the Periplus reports of their flourishing condition to an earlier period; because the commercial prosperity alluded to in that work, originated altogether in the direct intercourse of India with Egypt; which only commenced under the Romans, and was not even in existence during the Ptolemies. Independently of this, however, a very ancient connexion subsisted between India and Arabia, and mediately with Egypt also, by means of the commercial towns established on the Nile as well as on the Euphrates and Tigris. This point has been already in great measure ascertained, in the course of our inquiries into the Phœnicians and Babylonians; and will receive additional confirmation when we come to treat of the Egyptians and Ethiopians. Without, therefore, repeating what has been formerly said on another occasion, or anticipating the regular series of our remarks, we shall content ourselves with observing in this place, that if Arabia drew largely upon the productions of India, yet in its turn this latter country was no less indebted to those of the former. Frankincense forms an article of commerce peculiar to Arabia, though in part originally imported thither from Africa. Now we have already shown how general was the use of this perfume in India, and yet, according to the express testimony of the Periplus,[5] it all came from Arabia; from which country, indeed, India, in common with the rest of the world, must have derived her supplies of that article from the earliest times.

Besides this commercial intercourse between India and

[4] *Periplus*, p. 30.

[5] *Periplus*, p. 18. The principal mart of the frankincense trade on the coast of Arabia, was Mocha; to which place vessels came from Barygaza and Limyrica, and received in exchange for cotton goods, etc., the incense from the king's officers. From this it would appear that the trade in question, at Mocha, was a royal monopoly.

Arabia, the Periplus informs us of another scarcely less remarkable trade, carried on with the opposite coast of Africa; comprised by us under the general denomination of Zanguebar, that is, the Black, or Caffre coast. After having enumerated the commercial stations as far as the promontory of Rhapta, now called Delgado,[6] which was the most southerly point of his geographical knowledge, and after describing their mercantile relations with Egypt, the author continues,[7] "Moreover, indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter,[8] oil of sesamum, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane honey, (which we call sugar,) are regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka, (Concan,) and from Barygaza to the opposite coast. Some particular vessels are purposely destined for this trade, others engage in it only as occasion or opportunity offer." It is obvious that the navigation just noticed, could have had no sort of connexion with the Græco-Indian commerce; but was perfectly independent, and for that reason, of much earlier origin than the other. From what follows, it is also evident that both the persons and vessels engaged in this trade were Arabian; for the whole coast, though parcelled out among several petty chiefs, was nevertheless dependent on Arabian princes.[9] But further, observes Arrian, "This navigation was regularly managed;" an expression which, as applied in reference to those seas, can mean nothing else than that it was regulated according to the monsoons. Here, then, we have an indisputable proof of the existence in very ancient times of a maritime commerce, carried on by the Arabians between India and the opposite coast of Africa; we see in what manner, and by whom, the productions of the former country were conveyed into the latter; though it is possible, indeed, that the importation of Indian produce into Africa,

[6] Situate in lat. 10° South. See VINCENT's map, vol. ii. p. 121.

[7] *Periplus*, p. 8.

[8] Ghee, or melted butter; an indispensable requisite in India, for religious as well as common purposes. It appears also to have been known to CTESIAS; for the "oil of milk," noticed by him in his *Indica*, cap. xxii., can be nothing else. We may remark, by the way, that several of the stories related by this writer, and which have usually been considered as incongruous absurdities, may be explained in a similar manner. His Cynocephali, for instance, or people with the head of a dog, appear to mean the Pariahs, or some other impure caste.

[9] *Periplus*, p. 10, 18.

by means of the intermediate traders of Arabia Felix, was much more considerable. "Here," says the Periplus, "was Muza, (the present Mocha,) wholly inhabited by Arab shipowners and sailors, who traded at the opposite port of Barygaza, with the productions of their native country."[10]

It is surprising, that under this head the Periplus makes no mention of gold. Now, the eastern coast of Africa, towards the south, contained precisely those countries where this metal is found; and when we observe in later times, that the exchange of African gold for the spices and cloth of India was of regular occurrence, and considering moreover that similar commercial transactions took place on the Indian Ocean both before that time and afterwards, we are naturally led to inquire whether the exchange above mentioned did not exist also at a much earlier period. In the time of the Periplus, the establishments, or at least the dominion of the Arabs on the African coast, extended as far down as Rhapta;[11] and when Pliny wrote, the same adventurers had already naturalized themselves in Ceylon; and had even introduced their religious worship into that island.[12] Admitting then the fact of the Arabs having navigated the Indian seas, can we possibly imagine them to have neglected an article of commerce, which, more than any thing else, was calculated to excite their love of gain? It is true, indeed, that we have no positive testimony in support of the direct commercial intercourse between India and the eastern shores of Africa; but then if we conceive the navigation to Ophir as extending not merely to Yemen, but also with great probability to Africa, we have immediate proof that the gold countries of the latter were well known even in the time of Solomon, and that the natives of Yemen enriched themselves by the discovery. In this manner, therefore, it might, if not by direct means, yet at least indirectly, find its way into India; a circumstance which will also serve to explain the great abundance of this precious metal in the latter country.

Whatever opinion we may choose to entertain on this point, for I merely adduce the above as a probable conjecture, yet the early navigation of the Indian seas, and the

[10] *Periplus*, p. 12. [11] Ibid. p. 10. [12] PLINY, vi. 24.

commercial intercourse of the surrounding nations, are facts not the less generally certain. They are indeed completely established by the consumption of Indian produce in the Western world; that is, in Egypt and Western Asia. Nor is it less true, that from time immemorial the Arabs, as a seafaring people, had monopolized the whole carrying trade of the Indian Ocean; and continued in undisturbed possession till the discoveries of the Portuguese.

The preceding observations, referring as they do to Africa, naturally bring us to a point which I have reserved for the termination of this part of our inquiry; as it prepares us, in some measure, for the transition from Asia to Africa; I mean the affinity existing between the Hindus and the Egyptians. By the term affinity, I would merely understand the resemblance discoverable between the two nations; as it is by no means my design to attempt deducing the origin of either from the other. When I shall have placed in juxtaposition, not only the various points of resemblance, but also the peculiar shades of difference which distinguish both people, I shall then leave it to the reader to determine whether such comparison leads to the conclusion that one is derived from the other. With regard, however, to my application of the term people, it is necessary to observe beforehand, that I merely allude to the higher classes, or castes, of each nation; as, on account of the greater degree of interest attached to their superior civilization, they may not unreasonably be said to comprehend the whole people respectively.

Upon comparing, then, the Egyptians and Hindus together, many and very remarkable points of resemblance will certainly strike the observer. First of all, we notice a physical similarity in colour, and in the conformation of the head; the brighter complexion of the higher Indian castes has been already mentioned, and the ancient paintings still found in Egypt attest the same peculiarity with regard to the upper classes of the latter country; a fact which will be incontestably demonstrated in the volume on the Egyptians. As to the form of the head, I have now before me the skulls of a mummy and a native of Bengal, from the collection of M. Blumenbach; and it is impossible to conceive any thing

more striking than the resemblance between the two, both as respects the general form, and the structure of the firm portions. Indeed, the learned possessor himself considers them to be the most alike of any in his numerous collection.

But the resemblances we discover between these two people, upon comparing their civil and religious polity, their arts, customs, and manner of life, are no less striking, while they are much more varied than the other.

The constitution of the ancient Hindu and Egyptian states evidently bears the same character. Both were sacerdotal; legislation, and every other species of science, was in the exclusive possession of a caste or tribe of priests, who also confined the power of the sovereign; elected, in both cases, not from their own body, but from the warrior castes. The same form is observable in the courts of these limited monarchs; their authority and occupations, as well as familiar connexions, are perfectly similar.

The rise and progress of these states in political civilization appear to have followed the same course. Originally, Egypt also contained several petty communities; which, however, owing to their limited extent, might be consolidated into one great kingdom, more easily and more permanently than was possible in India, where nature, by the interposition of lofty mountains, pathless deserts, and broad and rapid streams, has thrown almost insuperable obstacles in the way of such a union.

In both countries, the constitution was based on a division of caste; which, as far as the higher orders were concerned, was perfectly similar; and the only difference with regard to the lower classes, necessarily arose from circumstances of a purely local character. In Egypt, as well as India, the impure castes are distinguished from the pure. The sacerdotal orders of both countries exhibit various points of resemblance. Their possessions and their rights are the same; their manner of life is connected with a similar ritual; and the costume of the one differs not from the cotton garments of the other. Both are married, and yet in neither country is there any female priesthood. Each order possesses its holy books, the perusal of which is confined to its respective members alone. The influence of both is established by the

same means; that is, by their being the sole depositaries of knowledge; for they are not only priests, but also astrologers, physicians, judges, etc.

The warrior castes of both countries present an equally striking resemblance to each other; the Egyptian, however, was the more powerful of the two; though even this in the end was obliged to emigrate. Their costume, and manner of equipment, appear to have been alike.[13] They had their war-chariots, but no cavalry, precisely as the Hindus, only the Egyptians did not employ elephants in battle.

In all states of this kind, the inferior classes naturally form themselves according to local circumstances. In Egypt as well as India the right of propriety in the soil originally obtained; and we learn from the Bible that the patriarch Joseph, during his abode in the former country, took occasion of a famine to transfer the landed property from the original owners to the king.

Whether the gods of Egypt were derived from those of India, is a question which I must leave for the professed inquirers into mythological history to determine. In such an undertaking, however, it is scarcely possible to advance much beyond simple conjecture, more or less probable; that in certain divinities, common to both people, we may recognise the same general idea prevailing is certainly very true; but it does not at all follow therefore, that either were borrowed from the other. The worship of the Lingam was as natural to Egypt as it was to India; but might not the natives of each country have invented and introduced it independently of the other?

The most surprising resemblances, however, are those we meet with in their external worship. This among both people is attached to particular sanctuaries and particular localities. Bloody and unbloody sacrifices are prescribed by the religion of both, as indeed they have been also among other nations. The same authority required the observance of pilgrimage; whence the numerous assemblies

[13] Compare the representation of two Kshatriyahs, from an Indian drawing in DALBERG's treatise *Ueber die Musik der Inder*, tab. ii., with the numerous designs of Egyptian warriors in the *Description d'Egypte*. It is remarkable that the head-dress of these two Kshatriyahs, is the same as that of the Indian warriors represented in vol. ii. plate 10, of the *Description d'Egypte*. See vol. ii. p. 820.

of people that crowded together upon festal occasions; with these were connected penances, and even personal sacrifices. Not only bathing in the holy river, but drowning also is supposed to confer peculiar sanctity.[14] The religious processions are likewise similar in certain points of view. Images of the gods too are not only carried about the person, but also conveyed from one temple to another on enormous stages, erected upon four-wheeled cars.[15] The worship of animals is found in both countries, but not so generally nor so fully developed in India as in Egypt. As much reverence indeed is paid to the Bull Nandi of the former, as to the Apis of the latter; and the cow is an equally sacred animal, which it would have been as great a profanation to sacrifice on the banks of the Nile,[16] as it still is on those of the Ganges. But we hear nothing of the worship of any other species of animal in India;[17] and indeed, it is sufficiently evident from what has gone before, that the Hindu idea of the brute creation was totally different from the Egyptian.

With respect to the state of the soul after death, the notions of both people were pretty much the same, their priesthood inculcated the doctrine of a metempsychosis; the popular creed contained the same representation of Hades. And even the judgment of the dead, so celebrated in Egypt, is reproduced in India with every feature of exact and astonishing resemblance.[18]

The progress of art among these two people generally followed the same path. The study of architecture was the predominant taste, to which sculpture and painting, in Egypt as well as India, served only as accompaniments.

[14] HEROD. ii. 90. [15] Ibid. ii. 63; see also above, p. 96.

[16] HEROD. ii. 18.

[17] [The Hindus have also a religious veneration for monkeys, probably out of respect to Hanuman, so celebrated in the Ramayana: the late Bishop Heber in his Journal alludes to a case of two young officers, who shot at one near Bindrabund, being driven into the Jumna, by a mob of Brahmans and devotees, where they perished. And MENU, ii. 132, 136, enumerates a list of animals, the slaughter of which by an individual of the Sudra caste would entail the punishment of death. TRANSL.]

[18] POLIER, ii. p. 426. Jamray (Yama) the Hindu judge of the dead, like the Egyptian, has also two assessors, one of whom enumerates the good, and the other the bad actions of mankind. The resemblance in fact is so strong that the designs lately published of the Egyptian doomsday might be almost explained by referring to the Hindu representations alone.

The architecture of the Egyptians, however, is not precisely the same as that of the Hindus, though it is impossible to mistake a similarity of general character prevailing in both. That of India evidently took its rise in grotto constructions, and the same feature prevails in that of Egypt. The internal arrangement of the great temples, their component parts, the flat-roofed halls supported by a forest of pillars, the pyramidal form of the large entrances or porticos, found in both countries, involuntarily remind the observer of one another.[19] The same taste and the same mode of procedure obtains likewise in the ornaments of both. Colossal statues of gods and animals, reliefs on the walls covered with stucco and painted in various colours,[20] the grand entrances of the sanctuaries adorned on festal occasions with flags[21]—all this is still seen in India as formerly in Egypt. We nevertheless meet with certain variations; the general character only of the art was the same in both countries, as its ulterior development in the one as well as in the other necessarily varied according to local circumstances. The ornaments of the capital of a pillar, for example, are in both cases copied from native plants. Add to this another more important distinction: in India, where they burn their dead, the grottoes are inhabited by the living; in Egypt, on the contrary, where they did every thing to preserve them, they were the receptacles of the dead. What influence this distinctive peculiarity would naturally exercise upon the architecture of the Egyptians, will be shown hereafter, when we come to treat more particularly of that people. In sculpture and painting the two nations appear to have reached very nearly the same degree of perfection; and both undertook the execution of complicated subjects in relief: in this department, however, the Egyptians perhaps succeeded better than the Hindus. In painting, neither people understood the art of blending colours, or paid any attention to the rules of perspective.

Both nations had their literature; but that of the Egyptians was by no means so rich, in poetry at least, as that of

[19] See above, p. 93, sq., and compare the general accounts of Egypt.

[20] *Asiatic Res.* vol. vi. p. 389.

[21] *Ramayana*, iii. 209, 212, in connexion with the vignette title of vol. ii. book ii.

the Hindus. The epic poem, so intimately connected with the civilization of India, appears to have been completely unknown in Egypt. How, indeed, could the poesy of that gorgeous world have flourished in the narrow valley of the Nile, hemmed in on both sides by a wilderness of sand? The clime of Egypt seems to have been equally unfavourable to the other higher species of song. And even though we allow her to have possessed what we may term her sacred books, in the writings commonly attributed to Hermes, yet these latter do not appear, in an equal degree with the Vedas, to have been the sources of the sacerdotal religion. The knowledge of history, apart however from accurate chronological determinations, was confined in both countries to the family registers of the kings, and the popular traditions of their individual exploits; but the Egyptian, nevertheless, depended more upon public monuments than that of the Hindus.

But the most remarkable dissimilarity between the two nations is exhibited in their different modes of writing. The Egyptians had their hieroglyphics, of which there appears to be no sort of trace among the Hindus. As far as we know, the latter were only acquainted with literal writing, which in fact was not unknown to the former people; but then, owing to the circumscribed extent of their literature, it evidently would not be so comprehensive as that of the Hindus. But how unfavourably must the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians have operated, not only upon their general literature, but also upon the free development of its particular branches, scientific (astronomy, for instance) as well as religious and ceremonial! Had indeed that intimate connexion subsisted between the religious opinions of the Egyptians and those of the Hindus, which some modern writers are inclined to suppose, could the Vedas have been unknown in Egypt, or the hieroglyphics in India?

In their customs and manner of life, the two nations as closely resembled each other as the different nature of their respective countries would allow. Agriculture was the principal occupation of both; and exercised principally on the same objects, wheat and rice. To this, both people added another branch of industry, which their other indigenous productions, and above all cotton, seemed naturally

to call for. The art of weaving, which in both countries was more the business of men than of women, goes back to as remote a period of antiquity in Egypt as in India. The simple Egyptian loom coincides with the Hindu; as does also the ancient plough, if we may judge from a representation of it copied from the monuments of Thebais. The domestic society of either nation was organized on the same principle. Polygamy was allowed, without however being generally practised; and therefore also the many legislative enactments bearing upon this subject, would of course be nearly similar among both people.[22]

The foregoing comparative sketch of these nations will furnish the reader with abundant matter for reflection; and must itself necessarily precede our discussions upon Africa. It is by no means my present intention to confine the circle of our view, and terminate this inquiry by asserting the derivation of the Egyptians from the Hindus. That is not at all my own opinion. But as we have already proved the antiquity of a commercial intercourse between the natives of the southern world, there is nothing improbable in such an opinion; on the contrary, it is perfectly agreeable to Hindu manners that colonies from India, i. e. Banian families, should have passed over into Africa, and carried with them their native industry, and perhaps also their religious worship.[23] The objection drawn from the fact that the Hindus were not a seafaring people, proves nothing to the contrary; for the Egyptians were even less so, and yet it is notorious that they planted colonies in Crete and Greece. And as the latter probably employed Phœnician vessels for that purpose, so might the Hindus have had recourse in a similar way to the Arabians. Whatever weight may be

[22] [Whoever wishes to see this question examined more in detail, should consult the excellent work of P. BOHLEN; especially dedicated to a comparison of ancient India with Egypt. TRANSL.]

[23] [The colonization of the eastern coast of Java, a fact so well established by Sir Stamford Raffles, is sufficient to prove that they were Brahmans, and not Banian merchants, who effected these settlements. And had any portion of the ancient literature of Egypt been preserved to our time, it is more than probable the author's supposition would be found correct. FR. TRANSL.] [See SCHLEGEL's *Ind. Bibl.* tom. i. p. 400—425. A writer in the *Asiatic Journal* (vol. iv. p. 325) gives a curious list of the names of places in the interior of Africa, mentioned in Park's Second Journey; which are shown to be all Sanscrit, and most of them actually current in India at the present day. TRANSL.]

attached to Indian tradition, and the express testimony of Eusebius,[24] confirming the report of migrations from the banks of the Indus into Egypt, there is certainly nothing improbable in the event itself; as a desire of gain would have formed a sufficient inducement. Moreover, how could such a thickly peopled, and, in some parts, over-peopled country as India, have disposed of her superabundant population, except by planting colonies; even though intestine broils (witness the expulsion of the Buddhists) had not obliged her to have recourse to such an expedient?[25]

Supposing, however, the Hindu origin of the Egyptians to admit of historical proof, which it does not at present, and most probably never will, yet the fact would allege nothing against the civilization of Egypt being exclusively of native growth. In such case, the germ only would have been introduced, and in an Egyptian soil, and under an Egyptian sky, must have developed itself somewhat differently from what it did in India. And let not the reader forget that the question before us concerns an interval, not of one, but of many hundred years. Such a germ as we speak of was transplanted from Egypt into Greece; but how very different were its fruits in the latter country from those which had ripened on the banks of the Nile!

Here, then, with a mind still free and unprejudiced, we take our leave of Asia, in order to examine the political and commercial phenomena which Africa presents to our notice. And should we succeed in rendering the subject as familiar to the apprehension of our readers, as we have endeavoured to make it with regard to Asia, the dark cloud which now hangs over that interesting portion of the globe will be dispersed, and a new and instructive prospect unfold itself to our view.

[24] See MARSHAM, *Chronicon*, p. 335. [The most decisive evidence of the fact, may be found in Philostratus and Nonnus. FR. TRANSL.]

[25] It is hardly possible to maintain the opposite side of the question, viz. that the Hindus were derived from the Egyptians; for it has been already ascertained that the country bordering on the Ganges was the cradle of Hindu civilization. Now, the Egyptians could not have established themselves in that neighbourhood; their probable settlement would rather have taken place on the coast of Malabar.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

FARGARD I.

I. *The two first Fargards of the Vendidat, from the Zendavesta.*[1]

Ormuzd, speaking to Sapetman Zoroaster, said as follows: "I have created, O Sapetman Zoroaster, a place of delights and abundance, such as no other being besides myself could have formed. It is called Eeriene Veedjô, and is more beautiful than the whole wide world. Nothing, indeed, can be compared to it for pleasantness.

"I have acted first, but Peetiarê,[2] whose soul is immortal, has exercised his own power after me.

"The first abode of happiness and abundance which I created without any mixture of impurity, was Eeriene Veedjô. Upon this came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which waters Eeriene Veedjô, the great serpent of winter, the offspring of Div.

"Here there were then ten months of winter and two of summer; whereas formerly the warm weather lasted seven months, and the cold only five. The winter spreads cold all over the water, land, and trees; and is very severe in the middle of Eeriene Veedjô. This scourge, however, is highly beneficial to mankind; for scarcely has winter begun to appear, than all good things shoot forth in abundance.

"The second place of happiness which I, Ormuzd, created

[1] *Zendavesta*, by Kleuker, tom. ii. p. 299.
[2] The source of evil, Ahriman.

for an habitation was Soghdi,[3] abounding in men and herds. But the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman produced swarms of flies, which destroyed the herds.

"The third place of abundance which I fashioned for an abode, was the great and holy Môore;[4] then came Ahriman and introduced evil speeches.

"The fourth place of delights created by me was the pure Bakhdi,[5] decorated with lofty standards; thereupon came Peetiarê Ahriman, bringing death, and produced an army of ants.

"The fifth place of abundance which I, Ormuzd, created was Nesa,[6] between Môore and Bakhdi; then came the deadly Ahriman, and brought forth there reprehensible doubt.

"The sixth place of plenty created by me was Haroin,[7] celebrated for the number of its inhabitants. Upon this, Ahriman the destructive produced there the highest degree of misery.

"The seventh country and town of abundance which I created, was Veékéreânte[8] with numerous villages. Here the deadly Ahriman instituted the worship of Peris, (Fairies,) which inflamed the anger of Gueshap.

"The eighth country and place of felicity created by me, was Ornan,[9] fertile in pastures. Thereupon came Ahriman breathing death, and poisoned men's hearts.

"Khneântê,[10] the abode of wolves, was the ninth place of abundance created by me; but the destructive Ahriman there perpetrated an act which rendered the passage of the bridge Tschinevad impossible, which is a sin against nature.

"The tenth place of felicity which I, Ormuzd, created, was

[3] Without doubt, the modern Al Sogd, or Sogdiana. Whether this country is still infested with gadflies must be determined by future travellers.

[4] Môore, in Chorasan, the Margiana of the Greeks.

[5] Certainly Balkh or Bactria. How formidable an invasion of ants may be, is well known from their ravages in Guinea and the West Indies.

[6] Nesa, a city in Chorasan, the position assigned to it in the text will not allow us to confound it with Nysa on the Indian frontier.

[7] Probably Herat or Asia, properly so called.

[8] In Pehlvi Kawûl, which bears a striking resemblance to Kabul.

[9] Perhaps Lahore, though we have not sufficient evidence of its identity.

[10] This place is uncertain; some writers suppose it means Kandahar. The bridge of Tschinevad leads from the mountain Albordi to the vault of heaven, the habitation of the blessed.

the pure Heerekheeti.[11] Hereupon the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman instigated men to a crime, which obstructs the passage of the bridge; namely, the burial of dead bodies in the earth.

"The eleventh country and town of abundance created by me, Ormuzd, was Heetomeante,[12] the intelligent and happy; but the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there magic, the bad art which produces all manner of illusions and procures all things. Specious as it may seem, it is nevertheless the offspring of the evil principle, the father of all calamity. Far is it from the great one, from him who doeth good!

"The twelfth place of felicity created by me, Ormuzd, was Raghan,[13] the abode of three germs, rich in understanding and free from passion. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman sowed there the seeds of fatal doubt and presumptuous insolence.

"The thirteenth country and town of abundance created by me was Tschekhre,[14] the powerful and holy. Here, however, the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman instigated to an action which prevents the passage of the bridge, namely, the practice of burning the dead.

"The fourteenth place of happiness created by me, who am Ormuzd, was Verene,[15] with four corners, forming a square, and the birth-place of Feridoun the vanquisher of Zohak. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there, and into all its dependencies, the monthly purgations of women.

"The fifteenth place of felicity, which I, Ormuzd, created, was Hapte Heando,[16] which rules over the seven Indies. India surpasses all the rest of the world in power and extent. But the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman, the enemy of nature, inflamed (precipitated?) the monthly terms of the women.

[11] In this word we may recognise Arokage (Arachotus) on the borders of India.

[12] Probably Hendmend in Shehestan.

[13] Supposed to be the town of Rey or Rages.

[14] This should be Chark in Chorasan.

[15] Apparently the district of Pars; if any doubt remains as to the identity of name, it is removed by the circumstance of its being mentioned as the country of Feridoun, a great hero among the Persians.

[16] There can hardly be any doubt, that Heando is the Zend form for Hind. The end of this, as well as the preceding verse, seems to allude to the premature puberty of women in hot climates.

"The sixteenth country and town of happiness and abundance which I created, was the mighty Rengheiao;[17] the abode of numerous cavaliers who acknowledged no superior. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman brought hither, and into all its dependent villages, the raw cold of winter, the pernicious gift of Div.

"These countries and towns were all pure and embellished with fruitful valleys—there was not the least uncleanness among them.

"Abundance and Bihisht are the reward of him who is upright and pure.[18] He alone is holy and pure who doeth holy and pure actions."

FARGARD II.

Zoroaster asked Ormuzd as follows: "O Ormuzd, surrounded with majesty, thou equitable judge of the universe, who dost exist by thine own power, and who art purity itself; what man has first interrogated thee before myself, O thou who art Ormuzd? To whom hast thou communicated thy law?" Ormuzd replied, "The pure Jemshid, the chief of men and herds, was the first man who inquired of me as thou doest now, O Zoroaster! To him I imparted a knowledge of the law.

"'I am Ormuzd,' was my reply to him; 'be obedient to my law, O pure Jemshid, thou son of Vivengham; meditate upon it and convey it to thy people.' 'But,' answered Jemshid, 'I am not just enough to execute thy law, to meditate upon it, or to convey its blessings to mankind.' Upon this I replied, O Zoroaster, I who am Ormuzd, 'Cannot Jemshid execute my law; can he not meditate upon and communicate it to mankind? still less then will he be able to make happy the world, my property; to bless it with fertility and abundance, to be its nourisher, its chief, and its sovereign.' In answer to this, O Zoroaster, the pure Jemshid replied, 'Yes, I will make the world thy peculiar possession, both happy, fruitful, and blessed; I will provide

[17] The locality of this place is uncertain: according to some, it is to be found in Assyria.

[18] The ordinary formula of benediction.

for its necessities, will nourish and govern it like a father, so that under my sovereign care there shall be no frosty or scorching wind, no corruption, no death; and the dews shall disappear as soon as I repeat the words of thy law.'

"The holy zeal of Jemshid was great before me, and therefore he reigned. Whatever his sublime tongue commanded, was done immediately. I gave to him and his people nourishment, intelligence, and a long life; his hand received from me a poniard, the blade and hilt of which were gold. Upon this, King Jemshid traversed three hundred parts[19] of the earth, inhabited by domestic animals as well as savage, by men, dogs, and birds, and filled with ruddy and brilliant fires. Before him there were neither tame nor savage animals, nor men, nor red-flaming fires; the pure Jemshid, the son of Vivengham, produced all.

"Jemshid arrived in the country of light (the south) and found it beautiful. He clave the ground with the blade of his golden poniard, and said, 'Sapandomad,[20] bless us!' He proceeded still further, and pronounced the holy word, accompanied with prayers for wild and tame animals and for men. Accordingly the expedition of Jemshid through these countries became the source of happiness and prosperity to this third part of the world. The domestic animals and wild beasts as well as men ran together in great crowds.

"In the same manner did Jemshid traverse the two other parts of the world.

"Jemshid now built Ver, the vast extent of which was comprehended in a square enclosure. Hither he brought the germ of wild and tame animals, of men, dogs, birds, and the ruddy bright flame of fire. The water burst forth in torrents, and surrounded the grand palace of Ver. Here were fowls of all kinds; and the ever-fruitful golden fields produced every thing that was good to eat. Here too the youth were shamefaced, modest, respectful, strong, and well nourished.

"Into Ver Jemshid brought the seed of men and women. The land was charming and excellent, and as pure as Bihisht. Hither, too, Jemshid conveyed the germ of all kinds

[19] That is, the third part.

[20] The Ized (genie) of the earth.

of animals, of all trees, and all nourishment. The little hills of this country exhaled agreeable perfumes.

" Among all the inhabitants of Verefchue,[21] there was no man who commanded with severity; no beggar; no impostor who would seduce people to the worship of Diu; no concealed enemy; no cruel tyrant, the oppressor of mankind; no ravenous tooth.

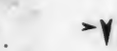
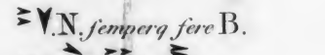
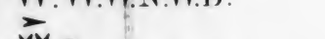
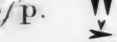
" Jemshid caused nine streets to be built in the large towns, six in those of moderate size, and three in the small ones. Jemshid constructed at Ver a palace on an eminence, which was surrounded with a wall, and its interior was divided into several apartments and well lighted.

" Jemshid endeavoured with all his might to render Ver complete, according to the commandment which I, Ormuzd, gave to him."

Abundance and Bihisht, etc. etc.

[21] That is, Ver, rich in every blessing.

Alphabetum Zendicum Persepolitanum.

É.			*Sphalmata.*
S.		س	 B.
E.			 B.
V.		ف	 B.
R.		ر	 N. *semperq fere* B.
D.		د	 B.
N.		ن	 B.
B *ſ* p.		پ ب	 B.
G.		ڭ	 B.
Ô.			 B.
Gh.		غ	 B.
incerta.			
Ê *ſ* â.		ا	 B.
Th?			
T.		ت	 N.

M.		ر	 N. ?
O.			N. *etc.* B.
K?		ق	
Dj?		ج	
Tsch.		چ	B. N.
A.			B.
Sch.		ش	B.
Z (ds *et* ts)		ژ ز	N.
Û.			B.
Kh.		خ	B.
Ng.		نگ ?	
H.		ه	B.
I.		ي	? N.
F *ſ.* ph.		ف	
(comp. lect)	rex.		

Inscriptio ap. Niebuhr. Tom. II. Pl. XXIV. G.

KH · SCH · H · Ê · R · SCH · Ê : KH · SCH · Ê · H · I · Ô · H : E · GH · R · TCH · Â · O : D · Â · I · H · E · Â · Û · SCH : KH · SCH · Ê · H · I ·

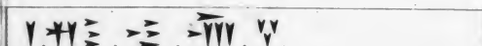
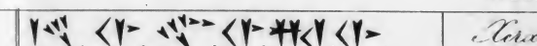
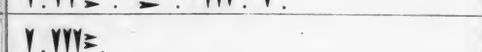
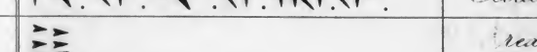
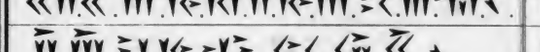
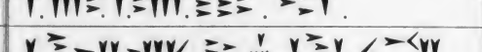
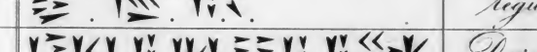
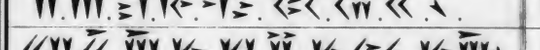
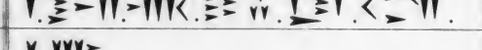
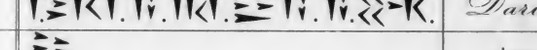
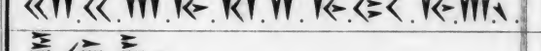
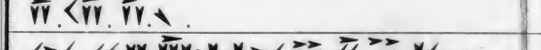
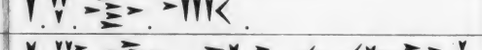
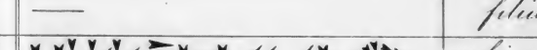
Xer---------xes : rex---------: for---------um: *(filius)* Da---------ri---------i---------: re---------

É : KH · SCH · Ê · H · I · Ô · H : KH · SCH · Ê · H · I · Ô · H · Ê · Ô · H · Â · H · Ê : B · Û · N : A · KH · É · Ô · TCH · Ô · SCH · Ô · H :

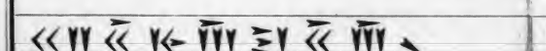
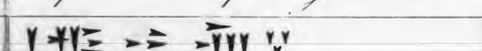
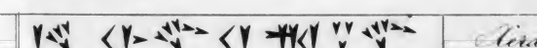
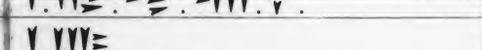
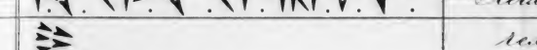
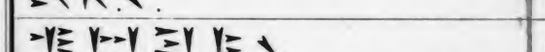
-tis : rex---------: reg---------gis---------: stirps : mun---------di rec------to----ris :

Exempla comparationis trium cuneiformium quae Persepoli exstant scribendi generum.

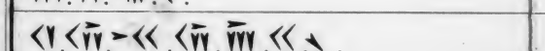
1. Inscriptiones ap. Niebuhr. Tom. II. Tab. XXIV. G. F. E.

I. Niebuhr. G.	*II. Niebuhr. F.*	*III. Niebuhr. E.*	Versio.
			*Xerxes.*
			*rex.*
			*fortis.*
			*rex.*
			*regum.*
			*Darii.*
			*regis.*
		—	*filius.*
			*orbis rector.*

2. Inscriptio vasis ap. Caylus. Tom. V. Tab. XXX.

			*Xerxes.*
			*rex.*
			*fortis.*

3. Inscriptio Cyri Pasargadis ap. Morier. Tab. XXV. N. 5.

			*Dominus.*
			*Cyrus.*
			rex.
			orbis rector.
E primo scribendi genere.	*E secundo scribendi genere.*	*E tertio scribendi genere.*	

APPENDIX II.

On the cuneiform character, and particularly the inscriptions at Persepolis, by G. F. Grotefend.

You request me, Sir, to furnish you with a brief sketch of the result of my inquiries into the cuneiform character, and particularly the inscriptions at Persepolis, for the purpose of subjoining to the new edition of the first part of your Researches into the Politics and Commerce of the Nations of Antiquity. To a request so flattering, I shall endeavour to furnish the best answer I am able, and so much the more willingly, as I have been for some time waiting for a favourable opportunity of publicly testifying my acknowledgments to your kindness and friendship. Although in the present sketch we have only to do with the inscriptions of Persepolis, and specially with the kind I have deciphered, I shall nevertheless take advantage of your permission, to extend my remarks to the other kinds of cuneiform inscriptions, as far as may be compatible with the limits of the present essay; it having been discovered that the general conclusions drawn in my first Treatise, were only applicable to the inscriptions at Persepolis. I shall therefore, first of all, endeavour to determine with exactness the particular as well as general character of all the known species of cuneiform writing, and then submit the results obtained from an examination of all the species, before I proceed to a detailed notice of the Zend inscriptions which I have succeeded in deciphering.

In my first Treatise, the cuneiform inscriptions are divided according to the countries where they are found, into three classes; viz. the Babylonian, the Persian, and the

Ægyptico-Persian. But as both the Persian and the Babylonian species have been discovered in Egypt, it is obvious the above division is inadmissible, in a case where the cuneiform character is to be examined with reference to its distinctive peculiarities. Neither can we admit of a classification of these inscriptions, according to the nail or arrow-headed form of the letters, because the very same characters, which, on the Babylonian bricks, resemble nails, or daggers, are observed to take the form of an arrow or hammer, or even simple lines, when graven on a finer sort of stone. Under these circumstances I shall endeavour to define the several species in some other manner, first pointing out the distinctive character of cuneiform writing in general, and then classifying the different kinds according to the different construction of their letters.

In the first place, I exclude all kinds of writing, more or less alike, which were used in the west and north of Europe, and confine to the term cuneiform those inscriptions only which have been discovered in the different provinces of the ancient Persian empire.[1] These inscriptions are distinguished from all other modes of writing adopted in the East, by the absence of every thing like roundness: some specimens, it is true, present the appearance of circular characters; but upon comparing them with others, it is evident, that this form is rather a fault of the copier than the true shape of the original. In my opinion, the cuneiform letters appear to have been exclusively destined for the purpose of engraving on stone, or other durable materials employed in public monuments; on urns, gems, seals, talismans, or amulets, etc.; and were never intended for the ordinary purposes of writing, as in the latter case they were, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, probably replaced by another kind of character more adapted to the wants of the people.[2]—The

[1] With respect to the extent of country over which cuneiform writing prevailed, see the *Hall. Allg. Litt. Zeitung.*, for April 1820, No. 106.

[2] A particular kind of very hard baked bricks, found in the ruins of ancient Babylon, of which I gave the first account, in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi. No. 2, p. 161, and on which Münter fancied he discovered some astronomical observations, have been compared with other specimens, and found to contain documents. On certain of them the name of Darius, or some other Persian king, is engraved, in the third species of Persepolitan character, which is the same as the Babylonian; most of them are sealed on the sides, with a device, under which is found the name of the witness; or

elementary strokes of all cuneiform writing are composed of wedges, so called, and angles, which M. Murr has also denominated swallow-tails. Those writers who consider angular forms simply as the union of two wedges placed obliquely, and who therefore assume the wedge as the only stroke peculiar to this species of writing, are certainly mistaken, because, in consequence of such union the character receives quite a different form. Besides, these small angles, in many of the inscriptions, except those of Persepolis, appear to make up but one perfect triangle, the principal angle of which inclines to the left, so that, particularly when connected by a transverse wedge, they bear the appearance of a single wedge turned towards the left. In addition to the wedge-like and angular forms, we find on bricks, gems, and cylinders, and in both the large inscriptions discovered in Babylon and Persia, certain marks of conjunction, which however cannot be considered as integral portions of the cuneiform character, because in precisely similar cases, where they would be no less essential, they are altogether wanting, and in fact do not occur in any of the Persepolitan inscriptions. On the other hand, when, upon comparing similar passages in different inscriptions, we find these marks of conjunction employed instead of small wedges, this interchange of the two characters must be attributed to a mistake of the copier.[3] The elements of the cuneiform character

instead of a seal, they bear the impress of a cylinder. Two of them are furnished with an illegible inscription, the characters of which partly resemble Chaldee; though they do not appear to differ from the Pehlvi engraved on ancient monuments, still unexplained. This writing, engraven by some more recent possessor of the documents, (one of which is subscribed with the name of Darius, and the second with that of another king, in the cuneiform character of Babylon, the original being partly erased, in reference to which the new inscription is upside down,) has been confounded by M. Kopp, in his *Bilder und schriften der Vorzeit*, (hieroglyphics and writing of antiquity,) vol. ii. p. 154, with a Phœnician inscription also of later date, and faintly inscribed in three lines on a Babylonian brick, in such a way, however, that, to use the expression of M. Bellino, it is very easy to leave the characters out altogether, though not, as M. Kopp supposes, to decipher them. In these characters, which are graven on a brick, simply baked in the sun, I think I can discover the words "Ben dulkalnin," (son of the rays of the sun,) though M. Kopp is of a different opinion.

[3] It is necessary to repeat here an observation which has not been sufficiently attended to. It is, that the most exact copier has not always, or indeed even could copy an inscription with such minute accuracy as to represent all the peculiarities of the original. Nay, more, it is very possible for mistakes to have crept into the original itself, as well as the copy; and an enlightened critic is therefore free to correct the draught of an inscription when

from the ruins of Persepolis are exhibited in the most perfect manner, and in their full size, by M. Murr, in the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte*, vol. iv. tab. i. fig. E. 1, 2, 3. In order to characterize them with definitive accuracy, I shall make the following observations.

1. The wedge-shaped characters, whether primary or accessory, great or small, in every specimen of inscription, assume chiefly four directions, but always so that their principal inclination is from top to bottom, or, in other words, from left to right. They are either perpendicular or horizontal, or inclining obliquely upwards or downwards: but their points are neither turned directly upwards, nor transversely to the left. Should they appear occasionally to assume the latter direction, it is either owing to the fault of the copyist, or else the particular character is composed of an angle. The initial sign upon all the bricks, which represents an assemblage of all the directions of the cuneiform character crossing each other, is copied in Murr's Journal (vol. iv. tab. i. fig. C.) under the form of a star with eight rays. Pietro della Valle, who discovered the same sign on some bricks in the desert, compares it, in like manner, to an eight-rayed star; but in no one species of cuneiform writing are all these eight directions found to exist at the same time.

2. The angular-shaped character, whether great or small, affects only one direction, so that the opening is constantly turned to the right. When it happens to be otherwise, it is in consequence of the copier having confounded the angular with the wedge form, as for instance, in the inscription of the royal mantle quoted by Le Bruyn; or from his having reversed the character, as is the case with the name of Gushtasp in Niebuhr, fig. C, which M. de Murr has cited as the only instance in Niebuhr's inscriptions where the angular letters are placed one over the other, like a roof. The Babylonian angular character, the opening of which is turned towards the left, is composed for the most part either of lines of conjunction crossing each other, as is observable upon a comparison of certain bricks, or of the union of two

he can do so on valid grounds. In fact, had I depended solely on Niebuhr's copy, my attempts to decipher these inscriptions would have succeeded just as little as those of my predecessors who were more scrupulous.

oblique wedge-shaped letters. Accordingly, we find on some bricks a character which appears to consist of two half moons turned to the left, and placed one over the other, but which, in point of fact, according to its real design, is composed of four oblique wedges, so placed as to form a zigzag.

This very character, which on the cylinders ordinarily stands at the commencement of the second line, has, in various copies, the appearance of a Latin B unrounded, thus ⊱, or without the stroke of conjunction which precedes it, that of a Latin W placed sideways, as ≻, besides many other distorted and connected forms, which seriously augment the difficulties of deciphering them.

These preliminary notices are enough to show, beyond the possibility of mistake, in what direction we are to read a cuneiform inscription. That is to say, we must place ourselves in such a manner, that the points of the vertical wedge letters may look downwards, and those of the oblique ones, as well as the openings of the angular letters, may be turned to the right. This being observed, we shall find that no cuneiform writing has a perpendicular, but always a horizontal direction, and that the accompanying figures occurring on gems and cylinders, afford no sort of criterion as to the real direction of the writing. The fragment of a stone covered with cuneiform letters, which was found near Suez, and copied by Gen. Dugua for Denon, (*Voyage*, pl. 124,) and which represents the head of a Persian, with a hawk's wing above it, in token of apotheosis, will furnish a striking example of the very little connexion subsisting between these figures and the direction of the writing by their side, as well as the slight dependence to be placed on some copies. The inscription on the above stone, is only distinguishable from the cuneiform writing in the Zend language at Persepolis, by the absence of any division between the words; and, with the exception of two or three inconsiderable mistakes in the copy, and an unfinished U standing by itself, represents pretty clearly the words *Dârheûsch Khschêhiôh eghrê* (that is, Darius the valiant king); in the beginning, however, three letters and a half, and at the end, three are wanting, and the royal title is expressed in the ordinary manner by a monogram. We cannot reasonably doubt the correct-

ness of this interpretation, as Count Caylus has already published an account of an Egyptian urn furnished with a similar inscription relative to Xerxes, and the hawk's wing alludes to the apotheosis of Darius, an honour which, according to Diodorus in his first book, was never rendered in Egypt to any other living monarch but Darius. Supposing our explanation to be correct, we may remark, that the characters of this inscription are traced in such an inverted manner, that it is almost impossible to read them, except by elevating the stone itself above one's head.[4]

The different species of cuneiform writing are determined by the degree of simplicity apparent in the formation of characters, by means of the two elementary strokes before noticed. The letters on the monuments at Persepolis are the least complicated of any; and of the three kinds of writing there found, the first place is assigned on the urn discovered by Count Caylus to the most simple, and the second to the more so of the two others. According to this arrangement, therefore, the various kinds of cuneiform character may be classified in the following manner.

1. First of all, rank the cuneiform characters of the Persepolitan inscriptions, which in their turn may be subdivided into three classes, each of them exactly indicated on the ruins of Persepolis, as well as on the urn of Count Caylus. The first, deciphered by me in the Zend, that is, in all probability, the Median language, is found above one of the windows of Darius's palace. The second, which is to the right of these windows, would seem to belong to the Parsi, the language of the true Persians. The third, which is situated to the left, or to the right of the spectator, likewise exhibits all the characteristics of some other Persian dialect; the absence of any prefixes shows that it cannot belong to the Semitic family. The second species, which occupies an intermediate rank between the two others, is distinguished from the first, which I consider to be the ancient Assyrian

[4] It has subsequently been ascertained that the inscription and figures upon this stone were copied from different parts of a monument erected under the Persian king Darius, on the canal which joined the Nile with the Red Sea; and that the absence of any division between the words was entirely the fault of the transcriber. A perfect copy of this inscription would furnish the best proof of the correctness of my interpretation. Compare my treatise in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi. No. 3, p. 252, sq.

writing mentioned in one of the letters attributed to Themistocles, by the circumstance of its containing less of the angular than the oblique wedge letter; while it differs from the third kind by the absence of any oblique, or crossing wedge letters.

2. Next to the above, we must class the writing on a stone described by M. Millin, (Monumens Antiques, pl. viii. ix. No. 1,) the characters of which partly resemble the Persepolitan of the third kind, and partly those of the Babylonian bricks, gems, and cylinders, without however being perfectly similar. We may also remark in this writing some of the strokes of union which characterize the Babylonian cuneiform letters.

3. The third and last rank will be assigned to the characters of the large inscription found in the ruins of ancient Babylon, together with those on the bricks, gems, and cylinders, recently published at London by the East India Company. These are the most complicated of any, and present not only the same characters, but also the same words, and occasionally even the same contents. This kind of writing is distinguished by the multiplication of the strokes of union, and by the sign resembling a star with eight rays, which occurs at the commencement of all writing on bricks, as may be seen in the large inscription of London. As this peculiar sign is only met with in the cuneiform writing of this class, I have for that reason included under it the bricks and gems of the desert extending from Basora to Aleppo, which are mentioned by Pietro della Valle, as well as the jaspers, made known to us through the medium of the East India Company.

Of each of these specimens of cuneiform writing, I shall venture to submit the following elementary principles, as the general result of my examination.

1. The cuneiform inscriptions are all written in a horizontal direction, from left to right, by no means however vertically, or alternately from right to left, and from left to right.

It is almost two hundred years since Pietro della Valle (Voyage, Paris, 1745, tom. v. p. 320, sq.) and Figueroa, the ambassador from the court of Philip III. of Spain, came to a similar conclusion from examining the wedge-shaped

and angular inscriptions of Persepolis; viz. that the cuneiform writing proceeded from left to right; and this general principle has been confirmed by so many particular examinations of each species, that I have not room to notice them all. When Chardin, however, (Travels, p. 168,) accompanies the remark of Figueroa with the observation, that cuneiform writing is also read from top to bottom, like the Chinese, (alluding particularly to the inscriptions over the windows of Darius's palace,) he no more contradicts our opinion, than if he said that it was also read in a circular manner, as is actually the case with an inscription which completely surrounds the head of a cameo in Tassie's collection, (*Raspe Catal. No.* 655,) because in the latter instance the characters are arranged like the legends on our money, so that the direction from left to right is still preserved, as in the horizontal situation. The analogy between the three species of the Persepolitan writing proves incontestably that they are to be read from left to right; and the same holds good also with regard to the Babylonian bricks. It is evident also, that Niebuhr must have drawn the same conclusion, from his having remarked, (vol. ii. p. 143,) that in the inscriptions graven on the door-posts of the building I. (Nieb. tab. xxiv. E. F. G.) two characters occurring on one of the doors to the right, at the end of the third line, were repeated on the other door to the left, at the commencement of the fourth line.

When M. Hager, at the end of his last treatise, *Illustrazione d'uno Zodiaco Orientale*, maintains that the cuneiform writing of Babylon descends like the Chinese in perpendicular columns, of which the farthest to the right is the first; his opinion certainly corresponds with the series of signs I have adopted, though he reverses the inscriptions themselves, being misled by the lines drawn as a mark of separation, and by the position of these inscriptions on the cylinder alongside of the figures. That all the Babylonian inscriptions are to be read in the manner I have before prescribed, that is to say, in the initial sign of all the bricks, the vertical wedge-letters turn their points downwards, while the oblique ones, on the contrary, turn theirs to the right, is proved by the great London inscription, which is written from left to right, as demonstrably as M. Millin has already

shown in the case of the stone found near Tak-Kesra. The same may be said of the gems and cylinders charged with similar writing; though being intended for impression, and for the purpose of attesting documents, they generally present the characters reversed. M. Lichtenstein was therefore too precipitate, when he inferred from the Oriental origin of the cuneiform writing, that it must in consequence be read from right to left. He was supported in this conclusion by a specious argument of M. Wahl, (*Algemeine Geschichte der Morgenländischen Sprachen, General History of Oriental Languages*, p. 618,) (who however really maintained a different opinion,) and forthwith he set about deciphering the cuneiform character, upon principles altogether arbitrary, with the assistance of some known alphabet, without having previously compared the different inscriptions together. In confounding the term Oriental with Aramean, it never occurred to him that the writing of an Oriental people might very well have a direction quite contrary to the Aramean; and that there might be inscriptions engraven on stones from left to right, while the ordinarary mode of writing followed an opposite direction.

2. All cuneiform writing is composed of letters, and not merely of syllabic signs.

The principle which I have just laid down has scarcely been combated, except by a single writer; and yet in reference to the more complicated species of cuneiform writing, almost all my predecessors have taken an opposite view of the question. It will therefore be worth my while to establish its correctness by a particular review, under certain limitations, of each kind of cuneiform writing.

It is perfectly certain that none of these writings are composed of signs or compendious characters, for, generally, several enter into the composition of one word; and there are words compounded of as many as eleven characters in the first species of Persepolitan writing, of nine in the second, and of seven in the rest. Besides, under the supposition that any of the complicated specimens of cuneiform writing were hieroglyphic, I cannot conceive why the same characters should be so often repeated, or why several of them should even immediately succeed each other two or three times running. In the first case, supposing the mode

of writing to be by signs, it is obvious, the circles of ideas must be extremely confined; while the other supposition is inadmissible, except we limit the number of these signs to a few such words as "king," "lord," "prince," "sacred," etc., not expressed in as many characters. It is very true, that the reduplication of a sign might signify the dual number, as its triple repetition might stand for the plural, because in Du Perron's Vocabulary of the Zend and Pehlvi, the dual is usually marked by the number two, as the plural is by three. But then the repetition of these signs would be more frequent than it is; we should meet with several signs following each other in immediate succession; and, what is of much more consequence, the triple repetition, as a mark of the plural, would be more common than the simple reduplication; the reverse of which, however, is evident from examining the inscriptions. I am convinced, therefore, that none of the cuneiform writings are composed of signs or whole words. It would be less easy to prove that they do not consist of simple syllabic writing in the strict acceptation of the term; but that, on the contrary, the whole of the signs employed, though with considerable variations, might be arranged under one alphabet. It is essential to remark, that the more complicated the characters are, the fewer of them enter into the composition of a word; a circumstance which would lead us to infer, that even though all cuneiform writing was alphabetic, yet the manner of composing syllables and words of letters was necessarily subject to considerable variation. I shall therefore endeavour to enumerate all the possible varieties of compounding alphabetical signs before I proceed to examine each species of cuneiform writing in detail.

Literal writing then may either employ consonants alone, and designate the vowels by intercalated signs, placed above or below the consonants, as is the case in several Eastern alphabets; or, agreeably to Western usage, it may elevate the marks for repeating consonants, as well as those for vowels, to the rank of independent letters; or, in short, it may employ particular signs for denoting a short or long vowel, an acute or a grave, as, for example, in the ancient Persian. Accordingly the letters of a particular syllable might be written in an isolated form, or they might be

joined together, and in fact, like several alphabets of Southern Asia, certain accessory marks might be added to the consonants, according to the different vowels subjoined to them, so that the writing would appear at first to be syllabic, while in reality, from its alphabetical construction, and the analogy of its signs, it would truly be a writing composed of separate characters. If we consider this last species of writing as formed of letters, I will boldly venture to assert, that every kind of cuneiform writing is in like manner composed of characters; but if the propriety of that appellation be disputed, I must certainly allow the most complicated species of cuneiform writing to be syllabic, though it may also possess certain signs to represent the vowels; thus in the Persepolitan inscriptions we meet with monograms to denote whole words. The perfectly opposite nature of the Persian and Aramean tongues will not allow us to suppose, in the case of the Persian or Babylonian remains, the existence of any syllabic writing, like that of Japan.

It is now time, however, for me to speak of each kind of cuneiform writing in particular, for it becomes necessary in this place more especially to mark the distinction between them.

The first of the Persepolitan kinds of writing is now generally allowed to be alphabetical, since M. M. Tychsen and Münter were so fortunate as to discover the sign, denoting the separation of words, and which intercludes from two to eleven characters on both sides, though the sum of all the primitive characters never exceeds forty. M. Tychsen has observed, that in several inscriptions, the series of signs so frequently occurring is replaced by a monogram; and very probably he might have succeeded in deciphering the whole writing before myself, had he taken this monogram for the title, and not for the name of the king. A more successful attempt has now proved that this species of writing has not only particular signs to represent the vowels as well as the consonants, but that, like the ancient Zend inscription discovered by Anquetil Du Perron, it also distinguishes the long vowels from the short and acute. M. Tychsen appears to consider the second and third kinds as specimens of this mode of writing; while M. Münter regards the second as syllabic and the third as hieroglyphic. For myself, I am

no more at liberty than my predecessors entirely to reject this opinion, as long as the inscriptions in question have not yet been completely deciphered; nevertheless, from the comparison I have made of analogous inscriptions, I feel myself justified in asserting, that neither of these two kinds is a writing of signs; since both in one and the other, though less frequently in the third, we may remark the occurrence of inflections composed of several signs. With respect to the second kind, owing to the great number of multiplied signs which it exhibits for detached words, I must allow its employment of particular signs for the long and short vowels, as well as signs of consonants, including the vowel, provided I am not mistaken in my opinion, that certain words of the first kind are cited literally in the second. On the other hand, as to the third species of writing, which has occasion for very few signs in the composition of words, though the number it employs is nevertheless much greater than that of our alphabets, I must absolutely deny it the use of vowel signs altogether; and therefore I concede the employment of consonants, including a vowel, in cases where one consonant alone would be insufficient. As far as regards the other specimens of cuneiform writing, I have not been able to compare them with any that has already been deciphered, such as the Persepolitan; but after having compared them with several analogous inscriptions, such as those on bricks, and collated numerous passages from the large inscriptions, I can confidently venture to assert, that they do not contain a compendious writing of signs, because it is easy to discover in them instances of four or five characters following in succession, and, as it were, connected together. I have already observed in another place,[5] that I consider syllabic and literal writing, to a certain extent, as identical terms, as long as we can apply them indifferently to a species of writing which, like the Hebrew, excludes the vowels from the rank of consonants, and unites, by means of connecting strokes, such of the consonants as are immediately dependent on each other. Whoever wishes to know my reasons for holding this opinion, will find them detailed at length in the literary periodical already alluded to; I shall only add, that

[5] *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgemeinen Litteraturzeitung*, 1824, No. 101.

considered under this point of view, I allow the great inscription, published by Millin, to possess the same character as the Babylonian cuneiform writing. It would be unreasonable to expect more decisive proofs, till such time as we possess a complete interpretation of one of the most complicated specimens of this kind of writing; for the present, it will be enough to have shown, that none of the cuneiform inscriptions are stenographic, or composed of signs representing whole words, and that consequently their explanation is by no means impracticable.

Let us now, then, proceed to an examination of my own method of deciphering the first species of Persepolitan writing; after which I shall endeavour to furnish a brief sketch of the results obtained from my interpretation as far as they may interest the general historian. With regard to my mode of procedure and manner of deciphering, they are both so excellently laid down by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, in a letter to M. Millin, (Magasin Encyclopédique Année VIII. tome v. p. 438,) that I need only refer the reader to that source. But as it might prove interesting to know how a person, without any profound acquaintance with Oriental languages, has been able to decipher a species of Asiatic writing of the most remote antiquity, of which the alphabet, the language, and the contents, were equally unknown, I may as well enter into a few details relative to the history of my interpretation.

Among the inscriptions of the first kind, there are two very accurately copied by Niebuhr, vol. ii. tab. xxiv. B. and G. They are accompanied with translations evidently made from the two other kinds of writing which are of the same size, and, according to all appearance, of the same contents; and therefore as the first kind is in general the most simple of all the cuneiform writings, my predecessors have applied themselves to decipher it in preference to the rest. From the same point also I took my own departure, particularly as the word recognised by Tychsen and Münter as the key of the whole alphabet occurs most frequently in the species in question; and supposing with Tychsen, that we must look for titles of kings in the inscriptions placed over their portraits, (Niebuhr, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 112, 117,) I felt convinced that the word so often repeated, must sig-

nify "*King*." Having therefore arrived at the same principle as Tychsen and Münter, without perusing any work upon cuneiform writing, and without seeing any other copies than those of Le Bruyn and Niebuhr,[6] I translated the two inscriptions according to the analogy of those in Pehlvi deciphered by M. de Sacy in the following manner.

N. N. REX. MAGNUS (?) REX. REGUM. (REX.—UM.) FILIUS—. (REGIS). STIRPS. ACHAEMENIS (?) (-----)

I was thus naturally led to infer, that these two kings must be father and son, because the king in Niebuhr's pl. *G* was called the son of the king in pl. *B;* and because in both the translations of the other kinds of writing, there existed the same connexion between the two names. Upon this I examined Heeren's Researches, and the essay of M. Münter, in order to ascertain the particular age of the Persian kings, to which the bas-reliefs in the ruins of Persepolis belonged, and thereby to discover the names applicable to them, the only way in which I could possibly succeed in finding out the signification of certain letters, and ultimately by this means elucidate the whole of them. Being fully persuaded, from the examination of the contemporary Greek historians, whose writings are the most circumstantial of any we know, that I must in this case look for two kings of the dynasty of the Achæmenides, I in consequence ran over the list, and successively applied the names to the characters of the inscriptions. These names could obviously be neither Cyrus nor Cambyses, because the names occurring in the inscriptions do not begin with the same letter; Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally inapplicable, because in reference to the characters, the first is too short and the second too long; there only remained, therefore, the names of Darius and Xerxes; and these latter agreed so exactly with the characters, that I could not hesitate in selecting them. Besides, in the inscription relative to the son, the royal title was also

[6] I cannot omit expressing my obligations to my fellow-helper and friend M. Fiorillo, at that time secretary to the library, and afterwards *magister legens* at Göttingen, who first persuaded me to attempt deciphering these inscriptions, and assisted me with his advice for the first eight to fifteen days, during which I was busied in establishing the general principles. To the same person I am also indebted for the liberal and friendly communication of whatever essentially concerned the literature of cuneiform writing.

attributed to the father, but not in the one relating to the latter; an observation which holds good with regard to the Persepolitan inscriptions generally. Having thus found out more than twelve letters, among which were precisely those composing the royal title, with the exception of only one, the next business was to give these names, hitherto merely known to us by Greek pronunciation, their true Persian form, in order, by ascertaining the correct value of each character, to decipher the king's title, and thereby also to determine the particular language in which the inscriptions were written. The Zendavesta of Anquetil Du Perron appeared to furnish the best information on the subject, especially as the frequent use of vowels had already inclined M. Münter towards the Zend. From this authority I learned that the Greek name of Hystaspes was pronounced, in Persian, Goshtasp, Gustasp, Kistasp, or Wistasp. Here, then, were the seven first letters of the word Hystaspes in the inscription of Darius, already pointed out; while a comparison of all the royal titles led me to conclude, that the three last formed the inflection of the genitive case singular. It is scarcely possible to admit the conjecture of M. Du Perron, that the name of Darius was pronounced, in Persian, *Eanteraffesh;* for in Reland's Dissertation, *De vet. ling. Pers.*, I observe the following quotation from Strabo;[7] τὸν Δαρειαύην (consequently in the nominative *Dariaves*, or, according to the Persian system, *Dariavesh*) Δαρεῖον ἐκάλεσαν; and it is not easy to conceive why the Greeks and the Hebrew writers should have transformed *Eanteraffesh* into *Dareios* or *Dariavesh*. I confined myself, therefore, to the word Darius, or Dariavesh, and only endeavoured to find out the Persian sounds in the name of Xerxes. Without stopping at the name of Artaxerxes in the Pehlvi or the modern Persian, I gave the preference to the Zend, taking as a model the word Araxes, on which Du Perron makes the following remark in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi. page 367. "Araxes is formed from Weorokeshe or Warakshe, simply by dropping the first letter; and *Kshe* is always represented in Greek by ξ." In consequence, I had no hesitation in transforming the name of Xerxes into Kshershe or Ksharsha, being guided by

[7] STRAB. xvi. sub fin.

the letters indicated in the words Hystaspes and Darius; the only difficulty was the occurrence of an additional sign between the first *sh* and the *e*, which last Münter rightly conjectured to be the first letter of the Zend alphabet, and which has also the value of an open *a*. Having compared afresh all the inscriptions given by Niebuhr and Le Bruyn, in order to assure myself that the names were faithfully copied, I found that the fourth character in the word Hystaspes ought to be composed of three principal wedges of the same length; but that in the name of Xerxes, the third character ought to be written with only one, and the fifth, on the contrary, with three transverse wedges. This circumstance led me to remark, that the third character in the name of Xerxes was synonymous with the fourth and last of the royal title; and as the three first signs in his title had been ascertained by means of the name of Xerxes, and the last but one by that of Hystaspes, I endeavoured to decipher the whole, in order to find out the meaning of the unknown sign, which also occurs in the name of Darius, after the three first characters representing the syllable *Dar*. The vocabulary of the Zend language, by M. Du Perron, presented no word under the letters *Kshe*, signifying *King*, but a number of equivalent forms under *Kshhe*, which led me to understand the language of the inscription, and proved to a certainty that the first letter in the name of Xerxes was *Kh*; but I found no clue to the meaning of the unknown sign. In the mean while, however, as no form of the Zend accorded better with the characters of the inscription than that of *Khsheïo*, I assumed this unknown sign as the mark of aspiration, or a long *h*. I was the less scrupulous in admitting some such sign of aspiration, as I had before observed in the Zendavesta a number of words written sometimes with, at others without an *h*; and had also met with a remark (in the *Mémoires* already quoted, page 365) to the effect, that "a final *a* is aspirated as if it was followed by an *h*." This also would serve to explain satisfactorily the third character in the name of Xerxes, as well as the fourth in that of Darius; and the *h* would apply with equal propriety to the inflection of the genitive case singular *ahe*, and to the end of the word *ah* so often occurring, as *tsh* does to the inflection of the genitive plural *etshao*. I have

recognised this aspiration in several words of the Persepolitan inscriptions; as for example in *Dahutshao*, which I at first supposed to stand for *Daharum*, but which a continued study of the Zend language has shown me to be synonymous with *populorum*. But since M. de Sacy has made several well-grounded objections[8] relative to the names of Xerxes and Darius, I began to conjecture, that this sign might also serve to determine the correct pronunciation of the names in which it occurs, and provide against their being enounced *Khsher-she* instead of *Khsh-ershe*, or *Da-reush* instead of *Dar-eush*.[9]

In this case, one might imagine the aspirate to be changed, after certain consonants, into *w* or *y*, so that the two names just mentioned would be pronounced *Khshwershe* and *Daryeush* or *Daryeoesh*; a supposition which may serve to explain how the Hebrews, like the Egyptians, by placing an *a* before each word commencing with two silent consonants, in order to facilitate the pronunciation, as the French would employ an é for the same purpose, might easily change the name of Xerxes into אחשורש *Ahhashverosh*, and Darius into דריוש *Daryavesh*. In all probability the Persian name of Xerxes might contain the sound of *w*, omitted by the Greeks for want of a corresponding sign, as in the case of Ἀράξης for *Worokeshe* or *Warakshe*; such at least might be gathered from the different ways of spelling this name, that is, if we admit the words Ἀσσονῆρος, Ὀξυάρης, Ὀξυάρτης, and Ἀξάρης (in Κυαξάρης) to be nothing more than

[8] I am not so scrupulous as M. de Sacy about the transposition of *h* in the word *Khshhershe*, instead of *Khshehrshe*; particularly as that learned scholar himself observes in his *Mémoire, M. de Sassanid.*, p. 175, (see also, p. 191,) "In the name of *Sapor*, the *heth* of the last syllable is placed after the *resch*, which makes *Schapourh*."—"On the reverse, the name of the king is well engraved, but the *vaw* of the syllable *pouhri* is placed after the *heth*, which makes *Schahphouri*."

[9] The names of Darius and Xerxes do not appear to be simple, but compound words, of which the first part is an abbreviation of *Dara* (Lord) and *Kshah* (King); which is the reason why Œlius Lampridius in Alex. Severus, calls Artaxerxes "*potentissimum regem tam re quam nomine*." Herodotus, on the other hand, (vi. c. 98,) explains Artaxerxes by μέγας ἀρήϊος, and Ammianus Marcellinus by "*bellorum victor*." Herodotus seems to have merely translated the latter parts of the names Darius and Xerxes by ἐρξείης and ἀρήϊος, imitating, after the Greek fashion, the sound of the Persian word, though in an inverted order: at all events ἐρξείης is a term fabricated by Herodotus himself, for ῥεξίας or πρηκτήρ, that is to say πολεμικὸς, according to the explanation of the *Etymologicum magnum*, in which Δαρεῖος is, after Hesychius, derived from the Greek δῆρις, i. e. φρόνιμος.

different modifications of Ξερξης, just as Αρτοξάρης, Αρταξάρης, and Αρταξάστης, are of Αρτοξέρξης or Αρταξέρξης, (in Zend *Artakhshethr*, in Pehlvi *Artashir*, in Persian *Ardeshir*, in Arabic *Azdeshir*,) with the initial *Art* or *Ard* (strenuus, magnus, fortitudine pollens, Herod. vi. 98). Not being myself sufficiently versed in the Oriental languages to pronounce decisively on this point, I shall merely add that M. de Sacy himself has confessed his complete failure in every attempt to give the characters another signification. M. de Rozière, in his *Déscription de l'Egypte*, (Antiquités, Mémoires, tom. i. livraison iii. p. 265, 276,) objected to the introduction in the name of Darius of the letter *h*, so difficult for French organs to pronounce; and M. Saint-Martin also, in his last essay has changed it into *é*, a mode of procedure which has led him to other deviations from my method of deciphering; but he adduces so little reason for his alterations, that I cannot venture to adopt any of them. The hieroglyphics engraven on the urn of Count Caylus, entirely confirm my interpretation, as, according to M. Champollion, they exhibit the name of Xerxes in literal characters, *Khshharsha*. Again, the name of Hadrian, in which the sign asserted by M. Champollion to represent a Greek *h* precedes the letter *a*, proves that this sign is rather a Latin *h*, or the fifth character of the phonetic alphabet, which, instead of vowels, has only their *fulcra*, and therefore employed the *hé* to designate the Greek *e*. This remark alone is sufficient to overthrow the whole structure of M. Saint-Martin's plan of deciphering, as far as his determination of the sign in question is concerned, even though it were free from numerous misconceptions of another kind.

There is no occasion for me to detail the particular method which I followed, in gradually tracing out the signification of all the other characters, as it must be sufficiently evident, from what has already been said, that my mode of procedure, so far from being conducted on arbitrary principles, has been as circumspect as possible, and that my plan of deciphering least of all deserves the imputation of blind chance, which certain partisans of my antagonist have been pleased to throw upon it. I shall only observe, that if I flatter myself with having succeeded in deciphering the first specimen of

Persepolitan character, it can scarcely in fairness be required of me to furnish also a satisfactory explanation of the writing itself, though it is too much the general custom to confound the business of a decipherer with that of an interpreter. Being little acquainted with the Oriental languages, I have merely endeavoured to determine the value of each sign by a species of logical induction, founded on a comparison of all the cognate inscriptions, and the different combinations of their characters. The way being once laid open, it will be the appropriate task of the Orientalist alone to furnish a complete interpretation of the writing now first rendered legible; it were too much to call upon the decipherer himself to prove the validity of his system by engaging in such an attempt, particularly when there is no such thing as dictionary or grammar of the deciphered language in existence, but only a few detached fragments. This will serve as an answer to those who, inconsiderately enough, require what is beyond one's power to effect. In the mean while, however, the following corroboration of one of my conjectures may be advanced as a satisfactory proof of the little reason there is to doubt the reality of the Persepolitan Zend alphabet having been actually deciphered.

M. Münter informed me by letter, that M. Fuglsang, a clergyman, well versed in the Sanscrit, and who returned two years since from Tranquebar, had communicated to him, among other things, the remark, that some Englishmen were in the habit of writing and employing the word *bun*, as a Sanscrit term, signifying *descendants, race;* and that in consequence they made use of the expression, *surya buns*, and *chandra buns*, to denote, *descendants of the sun and moon*. Whoever is acquainted with the striking analogy existing between the Zend and the Sanscrit, will immediately recognise in the above fact no small confirmation of the truth of my rather daring hypothesis at first, when asserting that the word *bun* must signify *stirps*, though M. Du Perron had only given *root*, *foundation*, as its meaning. Further, M. de Sacy assures us that he met with the word *pun* (as he writes it, though M. Du Perron constantly has *bun*, *bon*, or *bonem*) in the above sense, on several monuments of the Sassanide dynasty. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that this word, as well as *pothré*, or *pothrém*, which Du

Perron (Zendavesta, i. 2, p. 179, No. 2,) translates by *son* and *germ*, might also signify *son;* and I refer it to the preceding genitive cases, because in the great inscription of Le Bruyn, (No. 131, lin. 14,) we read *bon darheaush khshehiohahe*, and the word *bome* (lin. 12, in Pehlvi, *boman;* "son") is expressed in the translation of the second species of cuneiform writing by the same character as *bon*. So that there is no occasion to supply the word *son* in the titles of Darius and Xerxes: and the word *akheotshoshoh*, which ordinarily follows that of *bun*, may perhaps be considered as an epithet of the latter.

I shall not detain the reader any longer with unseasonable conjectures relative to the interpretation of these inscriptions, as there is reason to expect, that M. Du Perron's observations on the Zend will at some future day be entirely cleared up. It is sufficient to have shown that the Zend is the language of the first class of inscriptions, and that my deciphering of the alphabet, a few signs only excepted, reposes on solid grounds. Although I cannot flatter myself with having done as much in this case as M. de Sacy has for the Sassanide inscriptions, yet I feel abundantly recompensed for my labour by the conviction, that the rational system I have adopted has at length set bounds to the prevailing mania for arbitrary hypotheses, and secured the public from an inundation of writings, which threatened to embroil rather than to elucidate the question. From my researches then I come to the following conclusions.

1. All the cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis at present known, have reference to Darius Hystaspis, and his son Xerxes; consequently to these kings belong all the edifices on which they are inscribed, and the bas-reliefs of which attest the high degree of Persian civilization and taste at this early period. In order, therefore, to furnish the reader with an exact notion of what concerns the two monarchs respectively, I shall proceed to a particular enumeration of all the inscriptions alluded to; first of all remarking, that those found on the royal mantle, which Le Bruyn (No. 133) assures us that he put together again from several broken pieces, are in fact fragments of two inscriptions, relating to the two kings whose portraits are placed side by side, and which inscriptions are written in all the three kinds of

character, but have been confounded by Le Bruyn into one, and in such an inverted manner, that it is necessary to read them from bottom to top, so that in consequence the four first lines contain the inscription relative to Darius, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh, that concerning Xerxes. The former is almost entire, at least in the first kind of writing, and evidently represents these words:

DARHEUSH K - - - - H EGHRE GOSHTASPAHE BUN AKHEOTSHOSHOH. DARIUS REX FORTIS HYSTASPIS FILIUS (?)

The inscription which refers to Xerxes can only be restored by a comparison of all the three species of writing, as it exhibits for the most part only fragments of isolated words. Upon comparing it with the inscription of Darius, above deciphered, and with Niebuhr's perfect copies, E. F. G., we find the contents to be:

XERXES REX FORTIS DARII REGIS FILIUS (?)

Somewhat more circumstantial than these are the inscriptions over the figures of the kings, placed on the doors in the interior of the buildings;[10] those relative to Darius (Niebuhr, B. D. C.) are from the building marked G. (Nieb. tab. xxvi. in Heeren's ground-plan *s*); those of Xerxes, on the other hand, (Nieb. G. F. E.,) are from the building marked I. (in Heeren's plan, *t*.) This circumstance confirms the opinion of Niebuhr, (vol. ii. p. 142: compare vol. i. p. 150, of this work,) who, from the interior form and architecture of these buildings, was led to assign them a different origin; at the same time, however, it shows that Niebuhr mistook the more ancient building to be a later erection.[11] The inscriptions over the windows prove that the edifice marked G, was intended for Darius, to whom also they themselves refer: only at the south-west angle of the building there is an upright stone, about twenty feet in height, presenting on its upper face the long inscription, (Le Bruyn, No. 131,) relative to Xerxes, the contents of which are almost the same with the one marked A, in Niebuhr, engraven on the front of the principal terrace of

[10] See *Lettre de M. Silvestre de Sacy à M. Millin sur les inscriptions des monumens Persépolitains:* Extrait du Magasin Encyclopédique, année VIII. tome v. p. 438.

[11] Unless, indeed, as appears likely from the four words subjoined to the end of the inscriptions relating to Darius, we suppose this building to have been erected by Xerxes himself, in honour of his father.

the esplanade. According to Le Bruyn, this stone was erected at a later epoch. There are no other inscriptions relating to Darius, besides the one marked H. I. K. L. in Niebuhr, which is found nearly in the middle of the southern wall of the building, on a stone twenty-six feet long by six in height. The other cuneiform inscriptions are scattered about in all directions over the ruins of Persepolis; a proof that the whole of these ancient buildings were erected by the two kings above mentioned; that Darius began them, and that Xerxes made considerable additions, without, however, completely finishing them; for, in the portions constructed by the latter prince, we still meet with stones bearing no inscription. M. de Murr (Journal, vol. iv. p. 125, sq.) has enumerated thirty-five Persepolitan inscriptions, reckoning some of them over again as many times as they are repeated, though they are all the same, and omitting on the other hand a number of others, of which we have no copies. Of the twelve inscriptions enumerated by him as occurring on the pilasters of the grand entrance, we possess no copies that are legible; their height from the ground rendering it difficult to distinguish them. Gemelli Carreri, who visited Persepolis about the end of the seventeenth century, alone pretends to have transcribed two lines, (Voyage, tom. ii. fig. i. p. 246,) the first of which corresponds with the former half of the twenty-first line in Niebuhr's A., and the second contains the isolated characters of an inscription which appears to have been the same as Niebuhr's G. Tavernier (*Relations de divers voyages curieux*. Paris, 1663) had already given the same characters, and in the very same order. I consider the opinion of M. Tychsen rather too hazardous, when he affirms the grand palace, marked L., to have been erected by the Arsacides; though the ruins of Nakshi-Rustam appear to belong in part only to the era of the Sassanides, as together with some inscriptions in the cuneiform character, they contain others in that of the Pehlvi dialect.

2. The language of the first species of Persepolitan writing is the Zend; the ancient existence of this dialect, first discovered by M. Du Perron, being as little subject to be called in question as that of the Pehlvi or Parsi, we may therefore consider the Zendavesta as a genuine religious

code of the old Persians, by reference to which we are enabled to judge of their peculiar notions in matters of religion. Although the language of the deciphered inscriptions does not exactly correspond with that of the Zendavesta, if we may conclude from the forms and inflections published by Du Perron, (for the Zend must necessarily have undergone considerable modifications during the time when it flourished,) yet the conformity in point of language discoverable upon comparing the inscriptions with the manuscripts of the Zendavesta, proves equally beyond a doubt the ancient existence of the Zend, as the Sassanide inscriptions deciphered by M. de Sacy prove that the Pehlvi flourished some centuries later.[12] It is possible, indeed, that the Zend alphabet published by Du Perron might have been in use even under the old Persian monarchy, and might just as possibly have been written from right to left, while the cuneiform character was engraved in an opposite direction. For however beautiful and convenient the latter is for engraving on stones, it must have been equally tedious and troublesome for ordinary purposes. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion that it was only employed for inscribing on public monuments, solemn deeds, seals, and amulets, as a kind of sacred and venerable writing, and do not think it improbable even, that its two elementary signs might originally have contained some mysterious meaning.

The direction of the characters would seem to be explained by the Oriental custom of sitting cross-legged to write, in which position the order from right to left is the most natural, as it is the most convenient; while, on the other hand, in monumental inscriptions the eye loves to follow a contrary direction.[13] Such was the case in ancient Egypt, where the

[12] In a recent publication, breathing the very spirit of dogmatism and conceit, the writer coolly asks, "To what country and epoch does this pretended language belong? Has any ancient dialect ever borne the name of Zend? or is it not rather a corruption of the Sanscrit *Chhandas*, one of the most usual appellations of the Vedas?" As to the Zendavesta, our literary dictator supposes it to be a comparatively recent forgery by Guebres or Parsees of Guzerat; an opinion indeed which others besides himself have entertained. See *Réflexions sur l'étude des Langues Asiatiques*, par A. W. DE SCHLEGEL, etc. Bonn. 1832, 8vo, pag. 69. TRANSL.

[13] This distinction seems rather fanciful; it is not very easy to see why the direction from right to left should be considered the most natural, or even the most convenient, or why any connexion should be supposed to exist between the eye and the material on which the characters are traced. Few,

hieroglyphics were occasionally written from left to right, as I observe by a comparison of certain inscriptions resembling each other, and disposed in a square; whereas the ordinary mode of writing evidently proceeded from right to left. Admitting the cuneiform writing, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, to have been a sacred writing, only employed on public monuments and amulets, etc.; it must of course have declined in estimation with the fall of the Persian empire, and gradually have come into disuse. Perhaps however it might have been still known in the time of the Sassanide dynasty, as the inscriptions at Nakshi-Rustam are copied from those of Chihel-Minar. But that it was understood as late as the fourth century of the Hegira, which is the opinion of M. de Sacy in his explanation of the cufic inscriptions at Persepolis, is utterly groundless and improbable.

3. The inscriptions of Persepolis that have been deciphered, speak of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, as grandfather, father, and son; but they never attribute the title of king to the first, while the two others are represented as kings even on the monuments of Egypt; and it is in this latter quality that the sign manual of Darius appears on two Babylonian documents hitherto unpublished. Here then we meet with a full confirmation of the history of the Persian kings, as preserved to us by the Greeks: a history which is as little liable to be affected by the monstrous traditions of the modern Persians, as by the unconnected narratives of the sacred writers, and which, notwithstanding the corruptions it may have undergone, bears nevertheless so many marks of intrinsic credibility, that I cannot but consider its agreement with the inscriptions as one of the strongest proofs of the correctness of my interpretation. The very manner in which Darius is said to have come to the

perhaps, if any, who have seen the Arabic sentences so beautifully sculptured on the walls of Mohammedan mosques, complain of their eyes being annoyed by having to read them from right to left, or seem to have thought this circumstance any diminution to the beauty of the writing. Besides, there need be no question about posture in the case, for the Hebrews followed the same direction in writing as the Arabs, and yet there is nothing to show that they wrote sitting cross-legged. In the abstract, indeed, either direction appears equally natural; or if there is any difference, it should be in favour of the European system from left to right; because, were the Asiatic method the most natural, how came the European ever to be adopted? TRANSL.

throne, is altogether in the true spirit of the Persian religion; agreeably to which, the sun, as representing the visible apparition of the divinity, could only communicate an oracular response by the neighing of his sacred animal the horse, at the moment of his own appearance above the horizon. The history of a foreign people, written by contemporaries, naturally deserves more credit than that which the natives themselves have composed several centuries after the events recorded. An attempt, therefore, to illustrate the ancient history of Persia from modern Persian sources, would be just as futile as to study the ancient history of our own country in the chronicles of the middle ages. The expectations which were conceived by learned men of being able to form new conclusions respecting the ancient history of Persia by means of the cuneiform writings, have not yet indeed been realized; but that person would betray no small want of taste for true learning, who should regard all the attempts hitherto made in deciphering these inscriptions as abortive, the study itself as useless, and its consequences as unimportant! Because, when once the true method of interpreting the character has been pointed out, to what important results may not a scrupulous collation of the inscriptions already known, as well as the discovery of others of the same kind, lead us, and particularly the documents and inscriptions at Hamadan and Bissutun, together with those found on the canal of Suez, or in the desert between Aleppo and Bassora. Besides, in those ancient monuments, which have been supposed to contain profound mysteries, or interesting information on curious subjects or remarkable events, every step towards positive certainty, and even the very conviction that we shall be disappointed in our search, is a positive gain, which none but a frigid compiler can affect to deny, to whom every additional acquisition made in the knowledge of history is of much more consequence than the limitation of his materials for constructing hypotheses.

Postscript by Prof. Heeren.

M. Grotefend, in the preceding essay, has so expressly declared that his object was merely to decipher, and not to explain the inscriptions, that it would be superfluous to call

the reader's attention to this point, were it not for the extreme partiality with which his labours have been reviewed by some of our critics. Whoever reflects on the scanty knowledge we have of the Zend, confined as that is to a meagre list of two or three hundred words, furnished by Anquetil Du Perron, will rather be surprised that so much should have been effected, than complain of so little. Up to the present time no person has succeeded in refuting M. Grotefend's method of explanation; for dogmatic assertions prove nothing to the contrary, even when emitted by Oriental scholars, who being unacquainted with the Persian, cannot possibly be considered judges of the question, the Zend having just as little connexion with the Semitic dialects, as the German has with the Turkish. In England, on the other hand, his method has been generally recognised as correct. It is no business of mine to undertake the defence of M. Grotefend; he has already done it himself to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind. Within these few years, however, a decided adversary to his system presented himself in the person of the late M. Saint-Martin, who read before the Asiatic Society of Paris a memoir relative to the ancient inscriptions of Persepolis, an extract from which is given in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1823. But if I may be allowed to judge from a perusal of this extract, M. Grotefend has every reason to congratulate himself in meeting with such an opponent, who, so far from confuting his interpretations, actually appears to confirm them in their essential points. What Saint-Martin finds fault with in Grotefend, is confined chiefly to his method of deciphering certain characters, (which the critic asserts to have been too arbitrary,) and to his explanation of a few words. In other respects, Saint-Martin himself adopts the whole system of M. Grotefend; allows him the credit of having first correctly read the names of the kings, which furnished a clue to the rest of the alphabet; and in his explanations, a few points of secondary importance excepted, comes to precisely the same conclusions as the German scholar. According to M. Saint-Martin, the inscription relating to Xerxes reads thus: "*Xerxes the powerful king, king of kings, son of king Darius, of an illustrious race.*" According to Grotefend, (see vol. i. p. 253,) "*Xerxes the valiant king, king of kings, son of Darius the king, successor of the sovereign of the world.*" The inscription on Darius, as translated by the first-mentioned scholar, is, "*Darius the powerful king, king of kings, king of the gods, son of Vyshtasp, of an illustrious and very excellent race.*" By Grotefend, "*Darius the valiant king, king of kings, king of the people, son of Hystaspes, successor of the sovereign of the world.*" Such being the general agreement of these two scholars in their respective modes of interpretation, we may, I think, safely leave them to settle their other differences together in an amicable manner, without any apprehension that the system adopted by M. Grotefend will eventually turn out to be false, or that any other scholar will venture to contest with him the merit of discovery. Being desirous of enabling the reader not merely to form an opinion of this branch of study, but even to prosecute it himself should he feel curious to do so, I have accordingly subjoined to the end of this volume a copper plate, tab. i., in which, with the assistance of M. Grotefend's treatises, I have laid down the whole apparatus necessary for reading the cuneiform inscriptions of the first species, written in the Zend language, and found on the ruins of Persepolis, which up to the present time have been deciphered by the above scholar only. In this table then we observe,

1. The deciphered Zend alphabet, not however in grammatical but in chronological order, so that the student may proceed from the most simple to the most complicated method of arranging the wedge-letters, and subsequently to the composition of the angular with the wedge-form. It is evident this order must throw some light on the origin and development of the alphabet itself.

2. Opposite to each character of the Zend is placed the corresponding one in Latin and Persian. But as the latter possesses no marks to denote the vowels, they are only represented in the Latin. The last sign is an abbreviation of the royal title *Khshéhióh*, (Pers. *Shah.*) *Rex.* composed of the initial and final characters of the word.

3. By the side of the alphabet descends a column entitled *sphalmata*, which contains the mistakes of the transcriber.[14]

[14] The letters N and B stand for Niebuhr and Le Bruyn.

In the course of deciphering the alphabet itself, as well as upon comparing the several copies made by Niebuhr, Le Bruyn, Chardin, and others, M. Grotefend was led to notice the occurrence of numerous errors, rendered almost inevitable by the state of the inscriptions, and the peculiar circumstances under which they were copied. It was altogether necessary to point out these mistakes, otherwise the reader would have been stopped by the frequent recurrence of characters not to be found in the alphabet. They are therefore so arranged in the table, that by the side of each letter he will also observe the corresponding erroneous form.

4. Although the preceding directions might seem sufficient for enabling the reader to commence the study of deciphering, I have judged it convenient to add also a specimen of reading, in order to remove the serious difficulties he would still have to encounter; this specimen I have taken from M. de Sacy's *Lettre à M. Millin sur les inscriptions des Monumens Persepolitains;* and together with the alphabet, and the rest of the apparatus, has been copied with the most scrupulous fidelity, Professor Tychsen having had the goodness to undertake the trouble of revising the plate.

5. M. Grotefend had also enriched the third edition of this work with another plate, (tab. ii.,) containing the abovementioned specimen in all the three kinds of writing, together with the cuneiform inscription on the urn of Count Caylus, which is the same as the former, word for word. His object in making this addition was partly to explain what he had previously remarked of the character of cuneiform inscriptions in general, and of the three Persepolitan species in particular; and partly also to show that these three species of writing read from left to right, correspond verbally with each other; and that each of them is composed of letters, of which several go to make up a single word, with the exception of the royal title, which is represented by a monogram, either with or without inflection. From the same plate, also, we learn the peculiar method by which M. Grotefend, notwithstanding the absence of any division between the words of the second and third species of writing, succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting their separation; and before he had actually deciphered any part of them, put himself into a way of translating a considerable number of

detached words, with the assistance of the first species, and also of discovering the ὕστερον πρότερον, already referred to, as committed by Le Bruyn, (No. 133,) in confounding together the fragments of two different inscriptions.

It must, however, be confessed, that, notwithstanding the progress hitherto made in deciphering and explaining the cuneiform inscriptions, we have as yet scarcely passed the threshold of the science, for want of other aids than we now possess, towards understanding the ancient Persian dialects, and particularly the Zend; nevertheless the attempts made by learned scholars, up to the present day, are quite sufficient to interest the attention of every friend of antiquity in their favour. Independently of the new conclusions they promise to supply with respect to the ancient history of Persia, they serve also to make us better acquainted with one of the most important of all human inventions next to language, I mean the art of literal writing. And if they do not throw a full blaze of light on the art itself, and the place where it originated, they at least supply us with a feeble ray to guide our researches into these distant regions, which indeed is all that we have reason to expect.

The cuneiform writing is so simple in its character that it evidently bears all the marks of an original invention. It only consists of two signs, the wedge and the angle, and it is impossible to construct a literal writing with a fewer number of elements. This is the reason why a single letter is often composed of more wedges or angles than at first sight would be thought necessary; which is the more remarkable, because, from the total absence of curved lines, it would be impossible to connect the signs together without considerable difficulty. At the same time it is equally clear, from the very nature of this kind of writing, that it could not have proceeded from hieroglyphics, as the latter from their first origin necessarily retain a character of variety, which an alphabet derived from them (admitting such to have been the case) would scarcely fail to betray: and even if we regard the two elementary signs above mentioned as hieroglyphical, that is, for example, supposing them to represent the idea of two sexes, yet the writing itself still remains essentially distinct from that of hieroglyphics. That it is neither a syllabic writing has already been proved

by M. Grotefend; and, in fact, it is not very easy to see how its elementary characters could be composed of syllables. What other supposition, therefore, can we entertain, than that the writing in question was originally formed of letters only, allowing even that it was developed slowly, and by degrees? It is, however, true, particularly with respect to the first species of cuneiform writing, that it appears in a remarkable manner to betray all the characteristics of an infant state of the art, in the quantity, or rather the superabundance of letters in certain words. Does not this peculiarity evince an anxious effort on the part of the inventor to leave no sound, however insignificant, or even aspiration, without its appropriate symbol? or, in other words, does not this writing bear all the marks of having been carefully written in conformity with the spoken language? In the second and third species, the fact just mentioned is much less frequently observable; a circumstance which might lead us to infer, though they contain more complicated specimens of particular characters, that they are less ancient than the former.

As to the question, in what country this writing was invented, we may answer without hesitation, that it is of Asiatic origin. It differs to such a degree from the Egyptian writing, not merely that of hieroglyphics, but also the literal, as existing on the Rosetta stone, that they scarcely deserve a moment's comparison. The discoveries made at Persepolis and at Babylon, prove further, that its use extended over a considerable portion of Upper Asia, and that being divided into several alphabets, (of which the three kinds found on the ruins of Persepolis are again distinguished from those engraven on the Babylonian bricks,) it was adopted by several different nations, the original elementary signs being variously modified in constructing the new alphabet. It appears certain, that the invention of cuneiform writing was long anterior to the Persian monarchy, from the circumstance of its being engraven at this early epoch, under three forms, on the buildings of Persepolis; but to determine the precise spot where it was first brought into use, is not so easy. As there can be no doubt, however, that the first Persepolitan species, which is also the most simple, was employed for writing the Zend language, we might with

great probability assume its original country to have been Media, where the Zend, and with it the doctrines of Zoroaster, once flourished. But when, on the other hand, we find in the ruins of Babylon bricks and tablets, themselves of very remote antiquity, covered all over with cuneiform inscriptions, we feel equally disposed to attribute to them an Aramæan origin. The latter hypothesis derives great confirmation from the fact, that in all probability the writing which the Greeks and Persians termed Assyrian, was no other than the cuneiform. I am particularly led to this conclusion by a passage in Herodotus, (iv. 87,) where he speaks of the two columns on which Darius, after crossing the Bosphorus in his Scythian expedition, caused the names of the different nations composing his army to be engraven, on one in Greek, and on the other in Assyrian characters; the latter of which columns the historian himself saw in the temple of Bacchus at Byzantium. Now the cuneiform character being in general use among the Persians for inscribing on public monuments, is it likely that Darius would have employed any other in the case just alluded to? There is no sort of occasion to suppose that the Babylonian or Assyrian writing was of Aramæan origin, under the idea that it was brought to Babylon by the Chaldæans, at the epoch of their power, because it has been already shown, in another part of this volume, that the Chaldæans were a branch of the great Persico-Median tribe.

APPENDIX III.

On Pasargadæ and the Tomb of Cyrus; by G. F. Grotefend.

THE Essay contained in the preceding Appendix had already been printed off, when, during an accidental stay at Göttingen, I received from M. d'Olenin, director of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, through the medium of Prof. Rommel, a cuneiform inscription in all the three forms of the Persepolitan character, which had been copied from a pillar in the neighbourhood of a village called Murghâb, distant about fifty-two miles from Persepolis, by Sir Gore Ousely, the British envoy at the court of Persia. Upon comparing it with the Persepolitan inscriptions already deciphered by me, I found that it consisted of four words in the three known species of writing, the first of which formed the beginning of Niebuhr's I. and K. Judging by analogy from the inscriptions of Persepolis, the second word should represent a certain name, which in the third and fourth is followed by the titles of "king" and "sovereign" respectively. In the first specimen of writing, this name consists of six characters, which, according to my alphabetical table, and presuming Sir Gore Ousely's copy to be correct, furnish us with the word "*Zushudsh.*" But the uppermost wedge representing the letter *d* is made so long, that we might suppose it to have been drawn over three perpendicular wedges instead of two, which would in that case give us *â* or *ê*, the first letter of the Zend alphabet.[1] It is true I have in my table explained the first and third signs by *z* and *sch* respectively, because I conceived them

[1] A later copy of the inscription made by Sir Robert Ker Porter, shows that the above character does not exist in the original.

to be synonymous with certain other characters of similar import; but a more scrupulous examination has convinced me that they are different, as it is only in particular words that they occur without variation; the first sign in the forms "*ezutshush*," "*ezutsheo*," and the other in those of "*pshutsheo*," "*pshueotshetshao.*" I have no hesitation therefore in considering the first to represent a *k*, and the second the double consonant *sr*; the whole inscription then may be interpreted in the following manner:

EDO. KUSRUESH. KHSHEHIOH. AKHEOTSHOSHOH.

Dominus. Cyrus. Rex. Orbis terrarum rector.

What leads me to infer that the inscription contains the name of Cyrus, is the circumstance of its being expressed in the two other specimens of writing by no other than three signs, which could hardly stand for a name of greater length than the one in question.[2] The reason why this name in both the other kinds of writing presents no sign common to those of Hystaspes, Darius, or Xerxes, is because the original appellatives of the kings of Persia sounded differently in different languages; a circumstance which, in addition to the titles of "king" and "sovereign" being designated by a monogram, has prevented my deciphering the other specimens.

The occurrence of the name of Cyrus in the above inscription necessarily excited my curiosity to know whether the ruins of Murghâb had ever been the residence of that monarch. Upon this, M. Blumenbach, with that kindness which always distinguishes him, was so good as to lend me a copy of Morier's Travels, in the French translation of 1813, in which I was not a little surprised to find the very inscription itself, and the ruins of Murghâb described in such a manner as to make me unite with Morier, in believing them to be the identical remains of Pasargada. And as the further I examined the subject only served to confirm me in my opinion, though Pasargadæ had hitherto been sought for in quite an opposite direction from Persepolis, I willingly complied with the request of Prof. Heeren, to explain my reasons for this conjecture in a separate treatise.[3]

[2] M. Saint-Martin reads *Huschusch*, which he considers to be synonymous with *Ochus*. How far this supposition is admissible will be shown in the sequel.

[3] A particular defence of my hypothesis, in opposition to the attacks of M.

The name of Pasargada occurs only in Ptolemy and Solimus (cap. 55). All the other writers, with the exception of Q. Curtius, who in one place (v. vi. 10) has "Persagadum" (i. e. Persagadarum) "urbs," and in another (x. 1, 22) "Persagadæ," uniformly call it by the name of "Pasargadæ," or "Passargadæ;" which latter appellation deserves the preference, as we generally find it attributed to the Persian tribe surnamed from this place. The method of spelling it Pasagarda adopted in modern maps, is founded solely on the untenable supposition, that its site was on the present Fasa, near a river of the same name. It is far more probable that the term Pessargadeh, signifying "the abode of princes," has been corrupted into that of Persepolis by a very common transposition of the letter *r*, because Stephanus of Byzantium explains Passargadæ by "Persian camp," just as Kyreshata (Koreshgadeh) has been converted into Cyropolis. We must confess, however, notwithstanding the similarity of name, that Pasargadæ, where the tomb of Cyrus was, is altogether distinct from the Persepolis, (i. e. Persarum urbs, called by Arrian simply Πέρσαι, the *Pârs* of the cuneiform inscriptions,) which was burnt by Alexander. At the same time, we are not to look for it at such a distance from Persepolis as the ruins of Fasa, or in so perverted a direction as to suppose the modern Shiraz, merely on account of the resemblance between Cyr and Chyâs, as written by the French, to have been the ancient capital of Cyrus.

The Greeks first became acquainted with Persepolis and Pasargadæ in consequence of Alexander's expedition. According to the unanimous accounts of all writers, the Macedonian conqueror in his progress towards the east, arrived first at Persepolis, and afterwards at Pasargadæ, so that the possession of the former immediately led to the capture of the latter. Upon this is founded the statement of Pliny, (Hist. Nat. vi. 26, compare Solinus, cap. 55,) and also of Strabo, that Pasargadæ was situated at the eastern extremity of Persis. A still more decisive passage is that of Strabo, (xv. p. 1060, or 729,) where he says, that in the country of Pasargadæ, the river Cyrus, a name altered from the original one of Agradates by Cyrus himself, flowed through

M. Hœck and Hammer, is inserted in the *Hallische Allgem. Litt. Zeitung*, No. 140, for June, 1820.

Hollow Persis, so called. The latter appellation evidently denotes the valley extending from Persepolis to Murghâb, along the banks of the Ruh-koneh-siwond, which is also termed by Oriental writers the Abkhuren or Kervan. We must not however look for Pasargadæ in a direction due east from Persepolis, because the eastern part of the plain in which the latter is situated abuts upon the marble mountain of Rachmed, where, according to Diodorus, (xvii. 70,) the tombs of the Persian kings were to be found; while a similar chain of marble rocks form the boundary of the plain towards the north. But in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Istakhar, and along the banks of the above river Kervan, which flows between Nakshi-Rustain and Chihel-Minar into the Bend-Emir or Araxes, we find a valley, (represented in Morier's chart, further to the east; in that of Kinneir, on the contrary,[4] more to the east,) which runs in a north-easterly direction, parallel to the road from Shiraz to Ispahan. The same road conducts us over two mountain-chains to the ruins from which the inscription before alluded to was copied; after passing these mountains, which, on account of the snow, is only practicable in summer, we arrive by another route at the "valley of Heroes," the favourite hunting-place of the ancient kings of Persia, and where Bahram-Gur, who is said to have derived his surname from the wild asses of this country, (*Gur* or *Khor*,) had seven palaces all of different colours. As early as the year 1471, these ruins had been visited by Josaphat Barbaro, the Venetian envoy; Morier, however, is the only traveller who has examined them with attention. Kinneir, who has made us acquainted with several routes leading through this valley, observes, in his Geographical Memoir, that "he saw nothing remarkable along the above road, except a singular edifice in the neighbourhood of Murghâb, called Takhti-Sulеiman, which was in a superior style of architecture, and, to judge from an inscription[5] on one of the pillars of a portico, seemed to be contemporary with the buildings of Persepolis. This pillar, which is round, is about forty feet high and eight in circumference. A hill in the vicinity bears evident traces of having been once fortified; and about a mile fur-

[4] In his *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London, 1813, 4to.
[5] This is the one copied by Sir Gore Ousely.

ther to the west, is an ancient structure, said to have been erected to the memory of a certain sultan Suleiman." From the circumstantial description and drawings furnished by Morier, we learn that the very edifice in question is the tomb of Cyrus, and that the surrounding ruins are no other than those of ancient Pasargadæ.

The writers from whom the Greeks, and subsequently the Romans, derived their first knowledge of this country, were Onesicritus, Nearchus, and Aristobulus, the contemporaries of Alexander the Great. Of these, Onesicritus appears to have mixed up a good deal of what is fabulous in his accounts; the second has led both Ptolemy and Pliny into the error of confounding the rivers of the coast, which empty themselves into the Persian Gulf, with those of the interior, to which latter, according to Kinneir's Geography, (p. 59,) the Cyrus of Pasargadæ and the Araxes of Persepolis belong.

The only writers likely to be of service in determining the locality of Pasargadæ, are those who have borrowed their accounts from Aristobulus, the principal of whom are Arrian and Strabo. According to the last-mentioned author, (compare also Diodorus i. p. 43; Ælian. Hist. Anim. i. 59,) Pasargadæ was built by Cyrus to commemorate the victory which secured to the Persians their dominion over the Medes; and Morier informs us, that the mountainous defile leading from this country into Media, considered in a military point of view, presents very favourable advantages for obstructing the march of an enemy. For that reason Cyrus made Parsagardæ the principal seat of empire, of his treasures, and, as Plutarch writes, the place of coronation for the Persian kings, where the newly-elected monarch, in order to his solemn inauguration at the hands of the Magi, was obliged, in addition to many other ceremonies, to put on, in the *temple* of the *goddess of war*, the robe formerly worn by Cyrus before he came to the throne. Here also did that monarch erect his own tomb, which, by its peculiar form of architecture, was distinguished as much from the tombs of his successors, as it was from all others. The burying-places of the Persian kings and the satraps were in general lofty edifices, into which the coffins were wound up by means of machinery, and afterwards placed

in shrines; the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, however, according to Ctesias, (Pers. cap. 15,) was hewn out of a rocky mountain; that of Cyrus, on the contrary, is reported by Arrian, (vi. 29,) and Strabo, (p. 730, or 1041,) on the authority of Aristobulus, to have been built of square stones in the midst of a delightful paradise. Making every proper allowance for the great alterations which must necessarily have taken place in this ancient monument since it was pillaged in the time of Alexander, it is worth while to examine the following circumstantial description of it furnished us by Arrian. "It was in the royal paradise at Pasargadæ," says this writer, "that the tomb of Cyrus was erected, on a foundation of square blocks of stone, above which was raised a building also of stone, with a roof, and having a doorway so extremely narrow, that it was difficult for a small-sized man, and altogether impossible for a large one, to enter. Within the building stood a golden sarcophagus, which contained the body of Cyrus; near this was a kind of throne, the feet of which were carved in gold; and underneath the sarcophagus were carpets of Babylonian manufacture, while over it were spread rich vestments and coloured stuffs in the Median and Babylonian taste, together with collars, scimitars, earrings of gold, and precious stones. In the neighbourhood was built a small habitation for the Magi, to whom was committed, in hereditary succession, the guardianship of the tomb. According to Aristobulus, the tomb of Cyrus is reported to have borne the following inscription, written in the Persian character and language. "O man, I am Cyrus, (the son of Cambyses,) who laboured to give empire to the Persians, and who reigned over Asia. Therefore, envy me not the possession of a monument." Onesicritus and Aristus of Salamis, give this inscription in a more concise form, as in the following hexameter:—Ἔνθαδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κῦρος βασιλεὺς βασιλήων. Although it is not likely that the Greek verse, as pretended by some, should have been engraven in Persian characters alongside of the other inscription, yet it certainly corresponds better with the spirit of the Persepolitan inscriptions, than that mentioned by Athenæus, (Diepnos. x. 9. p. 434,) Ἠδυνάμην καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολὺν καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς. The latter betrays the same fictitious character, as that of Sarda-

napalus in Cilicia, or as the inscription represented to have been engraved on the tomb of Darius. *Φιλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην· κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν· πάντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.*

The town of Pasargadæ was destroyed by Alexander, (Arrian, iii. 18,) but the tomb of Cyrus still remains uninjured, though no longer exhibiting the sumptuous ornament described by Aristobulus, or the same appearance it did when restored by Alexander after the pillage of its treasures. The building is situate at no great distance from the mosque, as it is called, of Solomon's mother, (*Mesjidi-Madari-Suleiman,*) and on account of the peculiarity of its structure is named the "devil's court;" it still subsists entire, just as described by Arrian, and a representation of it may be seen in Morier's Travels, pl. 18. It consists of a stone apartment raised upon a foundation of large blocks of marble in several layers, which are so disposed, that each upper one, in succession, comprehends a less extent of surface, and consequently the whole foundation or base of the structure has a pyramidal form. The general outline is that of a parallelogram, the lowest course of masonry being upwards of 43 feet long, and 37 in breadth. The apartment above measures 20 feet, by 10 feet 5 inches, and the roof terminates in a sharp angle just like our houses. The whole is constructed of one kind of marble, and the blocks are held together by cramps of iron. One of the blocks composing the base is 14 feet 8 inches long, 5 feet high, and 8 feet 6 inches broad. In the interior of this marble edifice, by peeping through a chink in the door, (for the key is in the hands of a woman, who permits nobody but those of her own sex to enter,) we observe a small chamber blackened with smoke; the door itself is so narrow, that to effect an entrance would be attended with no small difficulty. The guardians of the key declare that nothing is to be found in the inside except a large stone, which probably supported the sarcophagus of Cyrus.

Although there is not the slightest resemblance between this ancient monument and the tombs of the Mohammedan saints, the common people nevertheless imagine it to be the burial-place of the mother of Solomon, a name with which they connect all sorts of miraculous legends. In the vicinity

is shown a spring of water, a draught of which is said to cure the bite of a mad dog, and prevent all dangerous consequences arising therefrom. All around the edifice is strewn a vast quantity of blocks of marble, and fourteen shafts of pillars, which appear to have once formed a colonnade; at present, however, they are half buried under a mound of earth, which encloses the whole of these ruins. The paradise in which the tomb of Cyrus was formerly situated, is now a cemetery, filled with grave-stones of modern date. The building itself is covered on all sides with inscriptions, written by persons who have been led to undertake a journey thither, from motives of superstitious veneration; among which Josaphat Barbaro read the words *Madari Suleiman*, in the Arabic character. Morier, however, no where discovered any traces of ancient Persian writing, inscribed on the walls; though at no great distance, near the above-mentioned mosque of Solomon's mother, he found three pilasters so inscribed, and which appeared to be the ruins of some hall or other, adorned in the inside with columns. From one of these pillars was copied an inscription, which resembles that taken by Sir Gore Ousely, though it is not so well executed.[6] At a distance of a hundred and sixty feet, we meet with similar ruins, and similar inscriptions, while the whole plain is covered with fragments of marble, which Morier considered to be the ruins of some large city. There can scarcely indeed be any doubt that it was Pasargadæ; for every particular, even the most minute, recorded of this capital of Cyrus, is perfectly applicable to the situation before us. To the left of the above-mentioned pilasters are the ruins of a fire-temple, which, in its dimensions, style of architecture, and ornament, altogether resembles Nakshi-Rustam; and about a thousand feet more to the east, is a hill on which are the remains of a fort, constructed of marble blocks, as large as those found in the buildings of the plain. This marble is white, and polished in the most exquisite manner. The village of Murghâb, situated about ten miles from the fort, contains several fine springs, which water the whole plain, and derives its appellation (of Murghâb, i. e. Birdwater) from the very singular property

[6] See pl. II. at this end of the volume.

ascribed to the water of one of these springs, which is said to attract certain red and black coloured birds, which, like starlings, follow the course of the stream in large flocks, screaming incessantly all the time, and are very useful to the inhabitants, in exterminating the immense swarms of locusts which infest the country. What is more extraordinary, if bottles be filled with this water and exposed, uncorked, in the open air, the birds are equally attracted to them by some unknown charm; and it is incredible with what quickness and voracity they despatch all the locusts they find on their passage. Villamont also, (Livre ii. p. 39, 40,) alludes to properties something similar belonging to the water and birds of the island of Cyprus; and says, that the Persians and Turks dignify these birds with the appellation of Mohammedans. According to other authorities, they are called Abmelekh, or locust-eaters, and the water, Abi-murghân. Chardin (Voyage en Perse, édition de Langlès, tom. iii. p. 390) makes this water spring from a source in Bactriana; but Father Angelus à St. Joseph, (Ange de la Brosse,) a Carmelite friar, who travelled in the East as a missionary, and wrote a book, entitled "Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum," (Fol. Amstelod. 1684,) places the source of the Birdwater in the district of Lâdjân, (the Laodicea of Pliny,) between Shirâz and Ispahân; while Villamont, whose Travels Chardin himself is in the habit of quoting, says, it is in the neighbourhood of the Persian town of Cuerch, by which it seems likely he meant Khoneh-Kérgab, situate about nine miles from Murghâb.

We must beware of confounding two different edifices, both named from Solomon's mother, a mistake which Chardin, nevertheless, has committed. Almost all the travellers who have visited Shirâz, mention a building so called, and which Chardin, (Voyage en Perse, tom. viii. p. 432,) has described and illustrated with the most complete drawings; this building, however, is in the plain of Shubsâr, scarcely more than five miles from Shirâz. Kæmpfer indeed, (Amæn. Exot. Fasc. II. Relat. vi. p. 357,) speaks of a place called Abi-murghân, from the springs it contained; but then the marble ruins of a building which he calls the temple of Solomon's mother, (p. 354,) are in fact the three porticos to be found at Shubasâr, built of the same kind of marble, and

furnished with the same figures and ornaments so generally prevailing at Chihel-Minâr. Besides, there are several ancient structures in Persia, bearing a similar appellation; thus, among others, we meet with a Takhti-Suleiman on the high road from Cocan to Cashgar, about nine hours' distance beyond Murghelan; so also the river Margus of the ancients, which flows through the province of Margiana, and rises in the mountains near Gur, bears the name of Murghâb. It is not improbable that Chardin confounded this river with the Birdwater, in the neighbourhood of Pasargadæ, just as, in the passage already alluded to, he has confounded Josaphat Barbaro's tomb of Solomon's mother, (according to Bizari, Rerum Persicarum Historia, Frankf. 1601, p. 325,) with his own three porticos of the same name at Shubasâr.

APPENDIX IV.

On the Indian Words occurring in Ctesias; by Professor Tychsen.

It was long ago asserted by Reland, that the remains of the Indian language, preserved by Ctesias in his *Indica*, might to a certain extent be interpreted with the help of the Persian, and accordingly that scholar himself first made the attempt.[1] His explanations, however, seeming neither complete nor altogether satisfactory, I have myself undertaken to comment on the Indian glosses of Ctesias without any reference to the explanations of Reland; and will now therefore proceed to submit the result of my study to the learned reader.[2] In order to facilitate the comparison of our respective essays, I shall also subjoin the interpretation proposed by Reland. The particular words we have severally endeavoured to explain, are the following, arranged according to the order of the paragraphs, in the *Excerpta* of Ctesias:

1. Ctesias (§. 2) speaks of a stone, called *pantarba*, (περὶ παντάρβας τῆς σφραγῖδος,) which had the property of attracting precious stones when thrown into the water; he has not, however, supplied any explanation of the word itself, and therefore it is not very easy from his description of the stone to determine what Persian word it corresponds with. *Pandâr*, (پندار) means *firm, stable*. If the letter ς is the sign of the Greek genitive, we might explain the last member of the word in question by پاي *páy*, i. e. *running water;* the whole would then signify, *firm in running water;* or perhaps the word may be interpreted by بند در پاي *Bend der páy*, i. e. Band or attraction in the water. These comparisons, however, are too artificial to lay much stress upon; and Reland has omitted to notice this word altogether.

2. The name of the parrot, βίττακος, (Ctesias, §. 3,) is compared by Reland, (*De Ophir*, p. 184,) with the Persian تدك, *tedek*, which is the modern appellation of the bird. From this might come τέδακος, τίδακος, σίτακος, and finally, ψίττακος; it is just possible that Ctesias may have written it with ب instead of ت as βίττακος.—All this, however, it must be allowed, is mere conjecture; though I have nothing better to substitute in its place.

3. The name of *martichora*, (Ctesias, §. 7,) applied to a fabulous animal, having the body of a lion, the face of a man, with the tail of a scorpion, may be very satisfactorily explained from the Persian. According to Ctesias, μαρτίχορα means in Greek, ἀνθρωποφάγος, the man-eater; this is neither more nor less than the Persian خور مرد from مرد *mard*, man, and خوردن *khorden*, to eat. *Khor*, the eater, is an abbreviated form of the participle *khordeh*, which is still in use. The Persians usually style an intrepid warrior *mardam-khor*, the eater of men, which is the same expression at bottom. *Mardam*, however, at present is the general form, *mard* being for the most part employed in a more elevated sense to denote a hero or warrior.

In the above comparison we have considered the final α to be merely the Greek termination: if on the other hand it be viewed as a component part of the Persian word, we have only to substitute the participial form, مردخورا *mardikhorâ*, (abbreviated from مردخوران *mardikhorán*,) as Reland has already done, (p. 223,) and we obtain precisely the same signification.

4. The Greek term for *griffin*, γρὺψ, (Ctesias, §. 12,) seems to be of Persian origin; at all events it may easily be derived from that language. For example, گرفتن *giriften*, means to gripe or seize: upon cutting off the termination we have گرف *girif.* which in sound as well as meaning corresponds well enough with the word γρὺψ. The modern appellation for griffin in Persian, is *Si-murgh*, (i. e. thirty

[1] Reland, *Diss. Miscellan.* Pars I. Diss. vi.

[2] An extract from this Essay will be found in the *Gott. Gel. Anzeig.* for 1796, p. 1997, sq.

birds,) or *Si-reng*, (i. e. thirty colours,) equivalent to "great," or "variegated." The two last names are obviously nothing more than epithets.

5. The bird δίκαιρος is reported to be synonymous with δίκαιος, *just* (Ctesias, §. 17). I can compare this word with no other than the Persian دي *di*, good, the good principle, and كار *kar*, doing, a participle of the verb كردن *kerden*; the whole then means benefactor, and might possibly allude to the supposed custom of this bird's taking care to bury its own excrement, which is said to possess very deadly properties. Reland supposes the word to be altogether of Indian derivation, and he may be perfectly right in his conjecture; but the Persian ديلمك *dilmek*, which he compares with δίκαιρος, (p. 221,) is too far-fetched, and moreover signifies a venomous spider.

6. The tree called πάρηβον, (Ctesias, §. 18,) in Apollonius πάρύβος, the wood of which is said to have the quality of attracting any substance, may be compared with the Persian بار, *bâr*, weight, burden, and آور *âver*, bearing, drawing, the participle of اوردن, *âverden*. *Bâr-âver* would then signify *drawing a weight*. This comparison however is too defective; we are not told the meaning of πάρηβος, and the sound is very different from that of the Persian term. Reland has forgotten to notice this word.

7. In India, says Ctesias, (§. 19,) there is a river called ὕπαρχος, which means φέρων πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, i. e. "*producing all good things*." To explain this word I adduce the Persian آور *âver*, bringing, carrying, from the verb آوردن *âverden*; and خوش *khosh*, good; consequently *âver-khosh*, bringing good, which corresponds exactly with the signification pointed out by Ctesias. The word should properly have been written ἄβαρχος or ὕβαρχος in order to represent the Persian; but it is well known that the Greeks, who were seldom able to appreciate foreign sounds with correctness, generally expressed them according to Greek etymology, or a fancied resemblance to certain words in their own language; as, for instance, in the case of Ἱεροσολυμα for Jerusalem, Ἱεραμαξ for Jarmuch. We might also compare برخوش, *berkhosh*, good, so that the initial letter ὕπαρχος would be merely euphonic, but then, the participle φέρων

would not be expressed. Reland (p. 46) compares it with اوبرخ *av-perkh*, from *âv*, water, and *perch*, utility, convenience; the whole expression thus amounting to *aqua utilissima*.

8. In the same passage with the above, Ctesias also speaks of an Indian tree called σιπταχόρα, from which *electrum*, probably some odoriferous gum, distilled, and which likewise produced a kind of fruit something like a grape. *Siptachora* is represented to signify γλυκὺ, ἥδυ, sweet, agreeable. We may compare this with the Persian شبفته خور, *shifteh-khor*, that is, "agreeable to eat," which applies very well to the signification alluded to. *Shifteh* from *shiften*, "to be in love," properly means "amorous," but is also attributed to any object that inspires affection, and thus comes to signify "agreeable." In the same manner the Persians call an apricot شبفته رنك *Shifteh reng*, literally "agreeable colour." The other part of the word خورد or خور *khôrd* or *khor* means "eating," "food." Reland (p. 229) follows the reading in Höschel's edition of Photius, viz. σιπαχορα, and derives the word from صفا *safa*, "pleasing," "delightful," and خوردن *khôrden*, to eat. *Safa* however comes from the Arabic, a language we dare not have recourse to for explaining the Persian words of the age of Ctesias. But the correctness of the former reading, even with the τ, is confirmed by a passage in Pliny, (Hist. Nat. 37. 2,) where the word occurs, though in a disfigured shape; he says "arbores eas Aphytacoras vocari." It is otherwise not a little surprising, that Reland preferred the reading of σιπαχόρα, because forsooth it came nearer to his proposed Persian etymology, as if the convenience of the commentator ought to decide when such and such a reading is to be adopted as the correct one!

9. The mountains in the neighbourhood of the Indus, according to Ctesias, (§. 20,) were inhabited by a wild race of beings, with dog's heads, of a black colour, and speaking an unintelligible language; these the Indians termed καλύστριοι, that is, κυνοκέφαλοι, or the dog-headed. Admitting the Greek translation of the name to be not altogether literal, and that the Indian sound has not been correctly expressed, I would nevertheless venture to compare

it with the Persian كلك *kelek*, or *keluk*, a wolf, and سر *ser*, the head; that is to say, كلكسر *kelukser*, wolf-headed; which in Greek would properly be καλυκσιριος, and in the plural, καλυκσιριοι. But pronounced rapidly, the word might sound to a Greek ear like καλυκσρ, from whence came καλυστριοι.

Another word more exactly answering to the sound of the Greek, would be كالوستريں *kalusterin*, the superlative degree of *kalus*, stupid, foolish, which would convert these "dog-headed" people into "blockheads." But although this latter epithet agrees well enough with the description of the Cynocephali, it is nevertheless too little consonant with the translation of the term as furnished by Ctesias, to admit of our regarding it as the more probable etymology.

Reland (p. 213) compares the Persian كله شكاري *kalla shikâri*, caput caninum, dog-headed. He supposes that Ctesias at first wrote καλίσκυροι, which was altered by the copyist into καλύστριοι; nevertheless he himself hesitates in adopting this explanation, and very justly observes, that شكاري *shikari*, means properly a *hound*, from شكردن *shikardan*, to hunt; and that كّله *kalla*, signifies the top of the head, rather than the head itself.

10. As to the unicorn described by Ctesias, (§. 25,) in a very circumstantial manner, but without the addition of its Indian name, I must beg leave to make it the subject of a few remarks. If there really is such an animal as a unicorn, resembling the stag or the horse, a notion which appears to be again entertained in modern times, we must look for it in Africa, the only country in which it has been reported to exist, by the concurrent testimony of all travellers, from Barthema down to Barrow. But the animal described by Ctesias, after the Persian manner of representing it, and which occurs frequently on the ruins of Persepolis, seems to me, in all its essential characteristics, to be no other than the Asiatic rhinoceros. To the latter will apply, 1. what Ctesias says of its wildness and strength, (§. 26. Compare Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 105,) which prevented its being ever taken alive; 2. its at first slow, but continually increasing pace; (Bruce also, p. 97, says that the rhinoceros sets off at a gentle trot, which after a few minutes

is increased to a rapid gallop, and which the animal keeps up for a long time, though a horse can easily overtake him;) 3. the circumstance of its flesh being unfit to eat (Ctesias, §. 26). It is true the Abyssinians, according to Bruce, eat the flesh of the elephant, as they do also of the rhinoceros, but it has a disagreeable musky flavour. The flesh, however, of an animal of the stag or horse kind (Ctesias calls it a *wild ass*) would not be *bitter*, as represented in the above paragraph. 4. A still more evident proof, in my opinion, of its being the rhinoceros, is the single horn, together with the property attributed to it of counteracting the effects of poison; for which purpose it is still the custom in Asia to make drinking cups of that material. The colour of this horn, according to Ctesias, is red at the point, black in the middle, and white at the base; which agrees very well with the account of Bruce, (p. 93,) who describes its exterior surface as of a reddish-brown. It is probable, also, that Ctesias may be describing the animal's horn after it had been formed into a drinking vessel, in which case, the variety of colour he notices might be produced by artificial means, and by the removal of the outer covering.[3]

The figure of an ass, with the size of a horse, which Ctesias attributes to his unicorn, agrees also with the size and unwieldy appearance of a rhinoceros. On the ruins of Persepolis, indeed, it is represented with a more slender shape, and more like a horse; this, however, is due to the imagination of the sculptor alone; and when we recollect that it was also a fabulous animal which he meant to portray, we shall have as little reason to expect a faithful adherence to natural history in this case, as we have in those of the martichora and the griffin. Ctesias further remarks, as a peculiarity worthy of attention, (§. 25,) that all asses, tame as well as wild, (among which last he reckons his unicorn,) and other solid-hoofed animals, have no huckle-bones,

[3] This conjecture is reduced almost to a certainty, by a passage in Manuel Philo *de animal. propriet.* cap. 37, which treats of the Indian onager and its horn, and is evidently borrowed from Ctesias. The author asks an Indian prince what the cup out of which he drank was made of, and which was ornamented with three rings, of a white, black, and red colour? Τί δή ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ κρατὴρ ἐξ οὗ πίνεις; (καὶ γὰρ διανγὴς καὶ προμήκης εὑρέθη, καὶ τρεῖς ἔχει ζωστῆρας ὡς λίθου φλέβας,) λευκόντε μέλανά τε καὶ τὸ χρῶμα πορφυροῦν. The reply is, that it was made of the horn of the ὄναγρος, or wild ass.

(ἀστραγάλους,) or gall in the liver; whereas the unicorn possesses both. He himself declares he had seen such a huckle-bone, which resembled that of an ox, but was as heavy as lead, and throughout of a bright red colour (ὥσπερ κινάβαρι, like cinnabar, or rather, like vermilion). He observes also, that the animal was hunted as much for the sake of these bones, as for its horn. The circumstance of the unicorn having a gall-bladder agrees perfectly well with the rhinoceros, which, as I am informed by M. Blumenbach, actually has one, and of a considerable size. Here then we discover an additional proof of the identity of these two animals. Ctesias merely notices the fact as remarkable, because he classes his unicorn with the *Solidunguli*, which, as he very justly observes, do not in fact possess a gall-bladder. What he says of the *astragalus* is so far correct and applicable to the rhinoceros, inasmuch as the latter certainly has huckle-bones, provided that be the true meaning of the Greek word. But how Ctesias, himself a physician, could possibly assert that solid-hoofed animals had no huckle-bones, which, on the contrary, they really have, just as much as the cloven-footed, and which are, moreover, common to all animals, quadrupeds as well as quadrumanous, not omitting the human subject itself—this we must confess is perfectly unaccountable. According to Blumenbach, there is nothing particular in the huckle-bone of a rhinoceros, either as regards colour or specific gravity. It is possible, therefore, that Ctesias may have seen one of these bones artificially stained with red, which he mistook for the natural colour; and as it was also one of the objects for which the animal was hunted, we can scarcely doubt its being applied to some sort of use, and consequently, that it was fashioned by the hand of art, and perhaps some addition made to its natural weight.

On the other hand, however, I must not omit to notice certain difficulties in the description of Ctesias, which seem to contend against my hypothesis, and point to some other animal than the one I have supposed. The first of these respects colour. According to Ctesias, the unicorn is white, with a red head, and blue or dark eyes; whereas the rhinoceros is all over of a yellowish or greyish brown, his flanks only present a slight tinge of flesh colour, while the eyes

are dark brown.[4] We must not, however, examine Ctesias too rigorously on the subject of colours, for his martichora is also said to be of a bright red, and he describes the griffin to be black, with a red breast. In fact, I am strongly inclined to suspect that he took these colours from some painted representation of the animals in question. His unicorn, both as described by himself, and as it is represented on the ruins of Persepolis, has a solid hoof, and one horn on the forehead; neither of which is the case with the rhinoceros. But if we consider the Persians to have derived their knowledge of the animal merely from hearsay and exaggerated reports, this apparent difficulty will soon vanish; for having heard it described as strong and quick-footed, they naturally attributed to it a slender form, with a solid hoof, and placed the horn on the forehead as the most convenient situation. Besides, the hoof of the rhinoceros is not entirely cloven, like that of oxen and other animals, but only in part. For the same reason, the Arabs attribute to the *Kerkend* or rhinoceros a single hoof, and also speak of its horn as placed on the head or fore part of it. Even Marco Polo, (lib. iii. 15,) though certainly describing the rhinoceros of Asia, nevertheless observes, "in medio frontis gestat unum cornu." It is not improbable that the curvature of the horn, when viewed in front, may make it appear to be situated higher up than it really is.

The exaggerated statements of Ctesias relative to the strength and swiftness of this animal, are nothing compared to what the Arabian authors relate; according to whom, the *Kerkend* requires upwards of a hundred parasangs of land for his support, that he chases all other animals away from his neighbourhood, carries off elephants upon his horn, and so forth!

The observations already made appear to be confirmed by the Indian or Persian name of the unicorn, as preserved to us by Ælian, *De Natura Animalium*, xvi. 20.

"There is also," says this writer, "among them (the Indians) a one-horned animal, which they call *kartazonon*."[5]

[4] For these and several other particulars, I am indebted to the kindness of M. Blumenbach; and I have myself also seen a living specimen of the animal in this country.

[5] Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ζῶον ἐν τούτοις εἶναι μονόκερων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι καρτάζωνον.

From the description he gives of it, though somewhat incorrect, it is evident that the Indian rhinoceros is the animal meant, and that Ælian drew his account from good authorities. Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. p. 934) wanted to change the above appellation into καρκαζωνον, in order to make it correspond better with the modern term, which is *kerkeddan*, or *kerkendan*, (كركدّن كركندن;) he has omitted to notice another form, *karkadan*, كركدان, which would have been still more applicable. But as the word in question occurs twice, the proposed change seems too hazardous, and the termination دن or دان, *den*, *dân*, is too remote from ζωνος, as the letter د *d* is usually expressed in Greek by a τ. Suppose, however, we take καρταζωνος without alteration, as a word compounded of كرك *kerk*, the ancient and still surviving Persian term in use, to signify a rhinoceros, and تازان *tâzân*, currens, velox, irruens? *Tâzân*[6] is the participle of تازيدن, to run, to fall upon; the whole expression, therefore, would designate the rhinoceros: or, if we reject the idea of ριν, "the nose," which is not implied in the word *kerk*, it would mean *fera velox*, "the swift beast;"[7] an appellation very suitable to the notions of strength and swiftness, popularly attributed to this animal. From the distinguished situation the unicorn occupies in the entrance of the palace of Persepolis, it might perhaps have been a symbol of strength and activity, as the martichora was of courage and wisdom.

With regard to the *winged unicorn*, I must confess the appellation appears to me inappropriate.[8] This fabulous animal is also noticed by Le Bruyn (tab. 158). It is, however, perfectly distinct from the unicorn, by the circumstance of its being represented with the head of a lion and the body of a griffin: the only thing it has in common with the former is the horn. It is consequently a monster of a peculiar kind, which the fanciful imagination of the sculptor

[6] The long â in Persian occasionally sounds something like the Greek ω.

[7] The true meaning of *Kerk* is lost. It also denotes a species of goat with red hair; a large kind of eagle, *avis magna quæ elephantem tollit*, (the *Roc* of the Arabian Nights,) and also *Hylactor* (see Cast. Lex. Hept.): the latter meaning is probably the same as *Molossus*. Perhaps the word may signify, generally, *bellua fera*, θηρ.

[8] [It has since been altered. HEEREN.]

has furnished with the head of a lion, the horn of a unicorn, and the figure of a griffin; it is in fact only another way of representing a griffin, and perhaps a more suitable designation for it would be, the *lion-headed griffin*.

12. A large tree, (proceeds Ctesias,) which distils an odoriferous oil, is called in the Indian language, κάρπιον, but in Greek, μυροπόδα, i. e. "unguent-roses." (Ctes. §. 28.) This word seems to be compounded of كار *kâr*, faciens, and بوي *bui*, odor suavis; *karbui*, then, suave olens, expresses the Greek μυροπόδα, not, indeed, literally, but yet as far as the sense is concerned. *Kâr*, the participle of *kerden*, forms several compound words, mostly, however, as an affix, though sometimes also as a præfix; for example, كار ساز *kâr sâz*, faciens concordiam. The expression بوي كردن *bui kerden*, is still generally applied to perfumes. Reland (p. 215) considers the tree in question to be the cinnamon, which is called in Persian قرفه *kirfah:* the Singhalese call it *koredhu*, whence *kirfah* and *karpion* have been derived. *Kirfah*, however, is properly an Arabic word, from the root قرف *karafa*, decorticavit, and denotes the peeled bark of the cinnamon tree, cassia, etc. Paulinus à S. Bartolomæo, (in his dissertation, *De Antiquitate et Affinitate Linguæ Zendicæ, Samscrdamicæ et Germanicæ*, Paduæ, 1798, 4to, p. 49,) remarks, that the Sanscrit name of the cinnamon tree, is *karuva*, of the bark, *karuvatoli*. The first of these words has certainly some sort of resemblance to Karpion, and may possibly be the very word Ctesias meant to express. The signification, however, of κάρπιον is not mentioned.

13. Lastly, Ctesias (§. 30) describes a certain kind of mineral spring, called by the Indians, βαλλάδη, which he interprets to mean ὠφελίμη, "useful" or "wholesome." With this I shall compare the Persian ولا or ولاد *velâd* or *velâ*, "eminent," "strong," "mighty," though it appears to have formerly signified, "excellent;" as, according to Castell, the word is also applied to a sort of rich silk stuffs. Reland (p. 211) cites بلاد *belâd*, laudatus, because what is useful deserves praise. According to Father Paulino, *ballam*, in Sanscrit, means "water," and *nallada*, "good:" in this case, the word

βαλλάδη, would be properly Indian, though expressed in a very concise manner.[9]

In the Appendix to the *Excerpta* of Ctesias, (§. 32,) which is only found in the MS. of Munich, and probably does not belong to that writer, mention is made of an Ethiopian animal, under the name of κροκόττας, which is interpreted in Greek by κυνολύκος. According to the description, it should be the hyæna, but then the word is not Ethiopic, as might be supposed; for the proper name in that language is *Tekula*. I am almost inclined to look for κροκόττας in the Persian كرگ which usually means a wolf, and كوت which signifies "lame," pedibus infirmus. "Lame wolf," would be no improper designation, as applied to the hyæna, for the Arabian naturalists always describe that animal with an infirm gait, for which reason he has the epithet of العرجا *Alárjá*, or the "lame." (See Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 113.)

From the above comparisons, which are certainly not all of them far-fetched or strained, it would seem, that the words cited by Ctesias, as Indian, are in fact of Persian origin, or nearly related thereto. There are, besides, several Indian glosses to be found in Hesychius,[10] and other writers, to which the same observation will apply. One example from the former may suffice: Hesychius writes, Μαὶ, μέγα, Ἰνδοί; now μαὶ, being pronounced in later times like the word *may*, is evidently the Persian مه *mih*, which signifies "*great*." In Sanscrit, it is *mah*, or *mahe* [maha]. Here then we meet with a sound more nearly allied to the Persian than the Indian.

How are we to explain this phenomenon? can we suppose that Ctesias knowingly gave out these Persian words for Indian, or that he really mistook them for such? The last is the opinion of Reland, according to whom, (p. 209, 211, 219,) the Greeks and Romans, owing to their ignorance of

[9] *Balada*, in Sanscrit, would mean, "giving strength;" which might very well allude to the sanitary virtues of the spring, but whether such an epithet ever occurs is another question. TRANS.

[10] They have already been in part collected and explained by Reland; but a great many still remain for future discussion. Some of them, however, are pure Indian, as for instance, ἀναγκης, ὄρνεόν τι Ἰνδικὸν, which, according to Father Paulino, is the Sanscrit for a "bird:" again, παταλα, Sanscrit, *pattala*, a "commercial town," etc.

the countries and languages, very often confounded the latter, and mistook Persian words for Indian. This may certainly apply very well to the Greeks of later times, but Ctesias, who resided so long in Persia, cannot but have been perfectly able to distinguish the language of that country from the Indian, while, on the other hand, it is impossible to conceive for a moment, that he seriously meant to deceive his readers. We may easily allow certain words not expressly mentioned as Indian, in the Excerpta, to be Persian names of Indian objects or productions; most of them, however, are accompanied with the remark, that they are Indian, though, nevertheless, they have a Persian sound, as in the case of σιπταχορα, καρπιον, etc. The more probable supposition is, that in the northern parts of India, which Ctesias is particularly describing, a dialect of the Persian was spoken; and perhaps we might infer as much from the ancient tradition which represented Bokhara and the countries on the Oxus, to have been colonized from Istakhar or Persepolis, that is, admitting the report to extend so far back. But without laying too much stress on this tradition, we must bear in mind that the Sanscrit, which is the parent source of all the Indian dialects, and was certainly at one time a living language, and, according to all appearances, current in Northern India, is most intimately connected with the Persian, both in matter and form, as Father Paulino has shown in the Treatise already alluded to. And when we reflect on the influence which emigration, the admixture of different tribes, and a variety of other circumstances, occurring through a space of so many hundred years, must unavoidably have exercised on the languages in question, we shall readily believe the affinity between them to have been still greater in ancient times.

This very resemblance, however, may possibly appear, to some of my readers, to interpose a serious objection to the truth of my comparisons; and certainly it may seem strange to look in the modern Persian for words quoted by a writer who lived upwards of two thousand years ago. In reply to this, I shall merely observe, that the Parsi dialect has, for the most part, undergone but little apparent change, and, notwithstanding the revolution of empires, and the overwhelming effect of Arabian dominion, religion, and litera-

ture, has, like its Occidental sister, the German, managed to preserve its radical words and primitive form. It has indeed introduced a number of Arabic terms, but its peculiar and altogether Western character has effectually secured it from essential change. Owing to this fortunate circumstance, we are enabled to detect in the modern language of Persia, most of the Persian words occurring in Herodotus and other ancient writers, when they have not entirely disappeared in the lapse of centuries.

APPENDIX V.

On the words Pasargada and Persepolis; by Professor Tychsen.

You desire to know, my dear Sir, first, whether the words *Pasargadæ* and *Persæ*, considered as the names of a people, are etymologically distinct, or whether they are synonymous? and, secondly, whether *Pasargada* and *Persepolis*, as names of places, have a different signification? To this question I have only a few observations to offer as a reply, though, at the same time, I am obliged to confess they are nothing more than conjectural. The explanation of ancient Persian words by the help of the modern language of Persia is very frequently uncertain, owing to our ignorance respecting the pronunciation; as, for example, whether we are to say, Pāsargādæ or Păsargădæ; and, in the next place, because the modern Persian, though really descended from the ancient, has nevertheless lost a great number of words, and undergone other considerable modifications, in the course of time. In many cases, therefore, we are reduced to the necessity of guessing at the signification of the word in question, when not pointed out by ancient documents.

Pasargadæ is evidently a compound term, formed of *pasar* and *gadæ*. Of both these words, several etymologies have been furnished from the Persian, of which I shall only notice the most probable.[1] At setting out, I take it for

[1] D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orient.* voce *Presser*) explains *Presser-gheda*, or *Keda*, by "sons of the house;" and goes on to say, "there is no doubt that the word *Pasargades*, which signifies 'children of the house,' or princes of the blood royal of Persia, was corrupted by the Greek writers from *Pessergheda*." I must be allowed to doubt the correctness of this etymology: for although *Presser* certainly does mean "son," yet the idea of "royal house," is not contained in the word *keda*; which does not signify "house," in the acceptation

granted that both *a*'s are short, because there is no word having the *a* long (ا) that will furnish any tolerable etymology.

To begin, then, with Gada; which I consider to be the same as the Persian *Kedeh* or *Kadeh*, (کده) signifying "place," "abode," etc., and often joined to substantives, in order to form a compound word; as, for example, *Atesh-Kedeh*, "the place of fire" or "fire-altar," *Mei-Kedeh*, "wine-house," etc.

Pasar may either be compared to the well-known Persian word بزرك *buzurk*, "great," "magnificent," "powerful;" in which case the final letter, being repeated in the second member of the compound, will suffer elision; or, still more probably, with بزر *bezer*, "light," "splendour," "ray." In the first case, therefore, *buzurk-kedeh* would signify, "the place" or "abode of the great;" in the second, *bezer-kedeh* would be, "the abode" or "country of light."

Upon comparing the proper name *Persæ* with the last-mentioned word, we discover a very striking affinity of signification. According to Anquetil Du Perron, *Pares*, (پارس) in the Zend language, means, "pure," "brilliant," an appellation which, in a physical sense, applies very well to Fars, or Persia Proper, as enjoying an ever clear sky; and is equally appropriate in a religious point of view, as alluding to the introduction of Magianism, the religion of light and purity. Even in the modern Persian, the word *Parsa* (پارسا) means "pure," though it is more correctly employed in a moral sense, as denoting "holy," "pious." *Persæ*, therefore, as the name of a people, would signify "the inhabitants of *Pars*," or, according to the etymology just given, "the country of light;" and *Pasargadæ*, as a patronymic formed by the Greeks from Pasargada, would have precisely the same meaning, that is, provided we are right in our comparison.

With regard to the second question, viz. whether Pasargada and Persepolis, considered as names of places, are of different signification; we may easily answer it by what has gone before. *Pasar*, (Bezer,) and *Pares*, mean very nearly the same thing, and *Gada*, (Kedeh,) as we have just noticed, is synonymous with πόλις. The interpretation of ancient writers who explain *Pasargada* by *castra Persarum*, is so far correct, as *Pasar* agrees in sense with *Pars*, from which the proper name *Persæ* was derived.

In drawing the above comparisons, the Greek σ has been rendered by the Persian ز (*ze*,) not altogether in conformity, I must confess, with the general rule laid down for comparing languages, according to which the *sigma* of the Greeks should correspond with the Arabic *sin* (س). But the Greeks and Romans frequently expressed the ز of Persian words by an *s*; for instance, the name *Pyroses*, occurring in Ammian, (lib. xix. 3,) is undoubtedly the Persian فيروز *Firuz*, "victor," as Ammian himself explains it; the case is the same with Hormisdas, Isdegertes, etc. The liberty I have taken may therefore be justified by analogy; and the interchange of the letters *b* and *p* can present no difficulty whatever.

Supposing the Greeks to have written the word incorrectly, as they very often did, when translating a foreign term into their own language, we might bring *Pasargada* and *Persepolis* into still closer affinity with each other, merely by a slight transposition of the letter *r*, as *Parsagada*; the name would signify "place of the Persians," and be exactly equivalent to *Persepolis*. Reland (Diss. viii. *De Vet. Ling. Pers.* p. 213,) has already adopted this reading, which he found in Curtius, (v. 6,) who correctly writes *Persagada*. Explanations, however, which render it necessary to alter the original word, are for that very reason to be rejected, particularly in a case where it so often occurs as the one in question; and, besides, very little dependence is to be placed on the authority of a writer so comparatively modern as Curtius, who most likely wrote *Persagada*, purely and solely for the sake of etymology. I am of opinion, too, that after what has been already observed, the emendation of Reland is altogether unnecessary.[2]

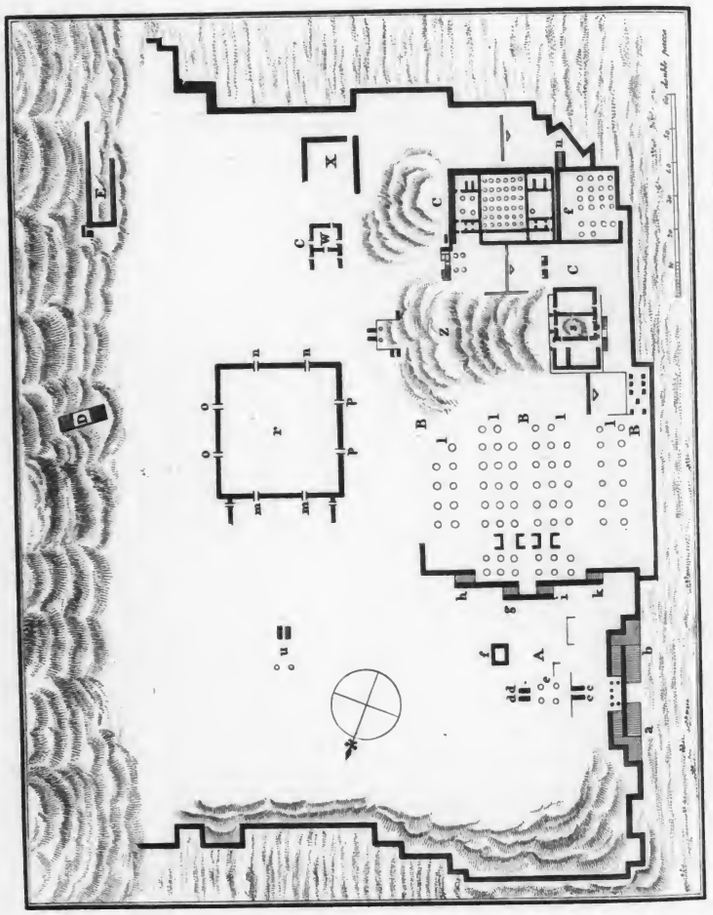
of "family," but solely in that of "abode," "habitation." Besides, *Pesser-keda* would more correctly mean "house of children;" to say nothing of the fact, that it was not the whole tribe of the Pasargades, but only a part of it, the family of the Achæmenides, which consisted of princes. D'Herbelot seems to have had in his mind the peculiar acceptation of the French word *maison, maison royale.*

[2] The word *Gada* may also be compared with the Persian *Tshadar*, which

The proposed change, however, is not so bold as that adopted by several modern geographers, who have written the word "*Pasagarda*," which has found its way even into our manuals, and is so spelled in the latest map of Persia. For this reading I can discover no other kind of authority than a fancied resemblance in termination to such words as *Tigranocerta*, *Artagicerta*, and others, compounded of the Aramæan *Carta*, which means "city." The comparison, however, is inadmissible, because, as the Persian language belongs to an essentially different family from the Aramæan dialects, it would be absurd to attempt illustrating the former by the help of the latter.

You yourself, my dear Sir, will be best able to judge, whether Pasargada and Persepolis, on account of this affinity between the two names, are to be considered as synonymous appellations of one and the same place, and how far our geographers are authorized in placing them nearly a whole degree apart from each other. You will perhaps find that the *Pasargadæ* of Herodotus are in fact the Persepolitans, whom that writer distinguishes from the other Persian tribes, on account of the reigning dynasty of the Achæmenides being descended from them; of which latter appellation I may remark, in passing, that it scarcely contains a single syllable common to that of the fabulous Jemshid.

signifies "tent," or "camp;" and thus Persagada would mean precisely "*Castra Persarum*." But we shall scarcely meet with an example of the hard sound *tsh* (tshim) being ever expressed by γ; to say nothing of the omission of the final letter *r*. Father Paulino compares the Indian *paser*, "puer," "a young man," and *cada*, "a plain," so that the whole word would signify "*the field of youths*."



GROUND PLAN OF THE RUIN OF TSCHEL-MINAR OR PERSEPOLIS.

APPENDIX VI.

Some observations on Herder's Persepolis.[1]

In my treatise on Persepolis, I have purposely refrained altogether from alluding to Herder's publication on the same subject, because nothing would be gained by a repetition of what had been said before; without at the same time presuming to assert, that my own investigations have been of any considerable service to this branch of literature. We have each of us travelled by different roads; and it would not, therefore, be uninteresting to know how far these have conducted us to the same point.

Herder rests his illustrations on Eastern tradition, such as it is found in modern Asiatic writers, or as it has been orally communicated from one generation to another. Thus he supposes the buildings of Chihel Minar to be the palace of Jemshid, on the walls of which there is an allegorical representation of the actions and government of this king, without, however, seeking to establish, from the hypothesis, either that the edifice is really the work of Jemshid, or that it belongs to his age. Moreover, his commentary is confined to the building, an explanation of the tombs being reserved for some future period. I, on the contrary, have begun with the latter, and, agreeably to my plan, have not relied on tradition, or modern testimony, but simply and solely on the evidence of contemporary writers. This, I am ready to allow, has not led me to any such positive re-

[1] It has been announced, that in the new edition of Herder's works, his treatise on Persepolis would be corrected and enlarged. The author regrets his having been unable to consult this edition, though it is probable that Herder's principal notions continue the same.

sults as those of my predecessor; and I have been obliged to content myself with determining in general terms the date of the buildings, and the use for which they were probably intended. Accordingly, I think I have succeeded in proving that they must be referred to the period of the Persian empire, and that the building itself, as the residence and place of sepulture of the Persian kings, was considered in the light of a sanctuary, and held to be the chief place in the kingdom.

Upon comparing these two results together, it will easily be perceived, that they are not in any degree opposed to each other. For when I maintain in general that the representations sculptured on the monuments of Chihel Minar are those of a happy reign and brilliant court, according to Eastern notions, I cannot but consider it very probable that the ideal picture given of Jemshid's reign in the Zendavesta, formed their ground-work; and the rather as they so frequently afford traces of Zoroaster's religion. But I could not bring forward this opinion without infringing the severe rules of criticism which I had imposed on myself.

Supplement.

The further illustrations of Persepolis promised by Herder, did not appear till after his death, and the publication of the second edition of my work; they will be found in his first volume, which is devoted to philosophy and history, under the title of Persepolitan letters addressed to several learned men; one of them being particularly addressed to myself. Whoever is acquainted with my labours, will soon perceive that the greatest part of these letters, even where I am not mentioned by name, are written against me, and that not unfrequently with a degree of harshness which might appear surprising in a writer who talks of urbanity in every page, if we were not prepared for this by his earlier polemical writings. I first defended myself against his representations in the *Intelligenzblatt der Allgem. Litter. Zeitung*, 1806, No. 17; and afterwards more at large in a treatise which I read in the year 1808 to the Göttingen Society of Sciences, (*Eruditorum conamina ad explicanda urbis Persepolis monumenta censuræ subjecta,*) and which was only published in an abridged form, (*Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1809, No. 4,) as it did not seem proper to be included in the general collection of commentaries, which ought to have something higher for its object than the disputes of the learned. If the aggressions of which I complain were not made in a periodical paper, I should rest satisfied with what I have so often professed, that if my works cannot defend themselves, they do not merit any protection from me. But as the allegations in question are placed at the head of Herder's works, they will not be so easily consigned to oblivion as the other polemical writings; and under these circumstances, I consider myself bound to offer something in reply.

In my opinion, a monument of antiquity is to be regarded as the public property of succeeding ages, and every one is at liberty to exercise his ingenuity in explaining it, so far as it is involved in obscurity. Consequently each individual may have a way of his own, and whatever rank he holds in the list of illustrators, his claim to originality is as good as that of the very first, whether or not he attains to the same results.

Such is the relation in which I stand with respect to Herder. Throughout the whole course of my researches, I have nothing in common with him; I have followed a path of my own, and have drawn my information from other sources than his; my right to my own work is therefore incontestable. The duty also which I owed him as my predecessor, has been fulfilled by explaining in the last appendix the plan of his commentary and my own, without contradicting him. Even supposing that I carried the interpretation no further than he had done himself, the merit of having confirmed those results by a critical examination would be due to me; that is, so far as any merit will be ascribed to such inquiries. Was I, in this case, liable to any charge of plagiarism from Herder, and had he any reason to say that he would not be deprived of the fruit of his researches? Who wished to deprive him of any part of his merit?

But does the interpretation, as Herder represents, remain where he left it? The public are in a condition to judge; I fear no comparison, and will confine myself to the following observation: Herder, in his Persepolis, has given only a general explanation; he says that the palace of Jemshid

was the palace of the Persian government, on the walls of which the king and his court are represented. This is also my opinion, but have I gone no further than this general assertion, which occurs to the mind naturally of itself? Have I not entered into details in my interpretation, which is indeed its peculiar character? Moreover, as Herder has not even once alluded to the tombs, or to the figures represented on them, should not my explanation of the latter, and the proofs by which I have ascertained the personages to whom they belong, and consequently the general epoch at which they were built, be considered as belonging entirely to myself? Is this not to advance the question beyond the point where Herder left it? I have here intentionally omitted to notice the inscriptions, as it is my purpose to return to them hereafter.

But I am again reproached, (p. 191, 192,) for not having gone sufficiently into details. I ought to have described the nations represented on the great relief one by one, and have illustrated them by a comparison with the list of satrapies in Herodotus. It will readily be believed, that a writer who has devoted several months to an investigation of Persepolis, with Herodotus constantly before him, has not left this undone. It has, however, led me to conclude that no certain result is to be derived from this course; on which account I have omitted to mention it. The attempt has been renewed in the present edition, but without my having reason to congratulate myself on its greater success.

What Herder is the least able to pardon me, is the use I have made of contemporary Greek writers, in order to the illustration of Persepolis. "As they have not mentioned Persepolis by name, we ought not to take them for our authority, particularly in fixing the age of the building; the edifice itself must inform us of this" (p. 189). But does not Ctesias describe the tombs, Xenophon the court and body-guard, and Diodorus (from later sources) the palace? Whence can we obtain purer and more certain intelligence than the accounts of contemporary writers? Perhaps the traditions which Herder follows? This assertion is a very singular one, and serves to show into what absurdities the love of contradiction will sometimes bring a man. For it has never yet come into the mind of any one, to maintain

seriously, that popular traditions, after the lapse of two thousand years, have more weight than the accounts of contemporary authors. Are we then, according to this system, to receive confidently all that the Orientals are pleased to advance concerning Solomon and Alexander the Great? Besides this, a curious circumstance occurs with respect to these Persian traditions. According to Herder himself, (p. 213,) the Persian tradition relative to Jemshid originated in the monuments of Persepolis. Thus the tradition was formed from the monuments, and, conversely, the monuments are to be explained by the tradition. This is criticism indeed, with a vengeance!

It appeared probable to me that the arts amongst the Persians, and particularly that of architecture, may have had a Bactrian origin. At the same time I have said, as clearly as I could, that I considered Bactria as the eastern part of the Median kingdom, with which, according to the Zendavesta, it was incorporated; so that this expression can mean nothing more than that the Persians borrowed their arts from the Medes, as they did their religion, and civilization in general. Herder, on the contrary, derives their architecture successively from the Egyptians, (p. 145,) which he retracts in another place (p. 153); then from the Greeks, then from the Babylonians, though he afterwards says it was not Babylonian (p. 189); and lastly from the Medes: "it was," says he, "an Egyptico-Grecian art, regulated after the Medo-Persian manner" (p. 167). Is this intelligible? And how can we answer a writer who so frequently contradicts himself?

After this, (p. 158,) it is objected to me, that I have named Persepolis the residence of the Persian kings after their death. Is not, however, such an expression justifiable, when I have proved, as Herder himself cannot deny, that the kings were buried here; that, agreeably to the Persian custom, the servants of the dead kings attended them hither, where they were obliged to remain; and that this place was by no means the usual residence of the sovereigns, but that they went to it at certain seasons only, for the performance of certain sacred rites? Have I ever called it a Necropolis, a city of the dead, (or rather a mere cemetery,) as Herder imputes to me? Have I not, on the contrary, said ex-

pressly that it was considered by the Persians as the capital of their empire, *caput regni?*

I had advanced a conjecture that the name of Persepolis is a translation of Pasargada, and that they may both have had originally the same signification, although the language of a later period distinguished between them. A greater Orientalist, who understands the Persian language, which Herder did not, has confirmed my notion by etymological proofs. (See above, Appendix V.) But Herder informs me that the word Pasargada signified assembly, camp of the Persians; and that every camp gave rise to a Pasargada (p. 156, 159). The first of these notions I published myself, and before him. Could then Herder have forgotten in the warmth of his zeal, what he had previously read in my own work? With regard to the second, I acknowledge that wherever the Persians encamped, there was a Persian camp; though I deny that every such place bore afterwards the name of Pasargada. I am acquainted with only one Pasargada, and Herder has failed to prove that there were more places of the same name.

If there is any one merit which I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to communicate to my writings, and especially to the present work, it is that of the utmost perspicuity. My experience, however, has brought me to the conclusion, that though it may be possible enough to secure my being understood by the generally educated reader; an attempt to satisfy the critical scholar is but labour in vain. My conjecture respecting the original identity of Persepolis and Pasargada has been the motive for inducing an esteemed French writer, Sainte-Croix, (*Examen critique des historiens d'Alexandre-le-Grand*, p. 892,) to accuse me of having denied the existence of Persepolis. And this I am accused of, who have actually been engaged in illustrating the monuments of this very Persepolis! Another writer, St. Julien de Ruet, (*Tableau du commerce des anciens*, vol. ii. p. 525,) who follows Sainte-Croix, absolutely complains, and with every appearance of sincerity, of my defending such paradoxical assertions!

Another objection of Herder's is drawn from my explanation of the fabulous animals. I have taken my illustrations from Ctesias, who has described them exactly as

they are on the reliefs, or only with such variations as may evidently be included in the circle of this species of mythology. If this be the case, and the Indica of Ctesias contain only such traditions of Eastern Asia as had found their way to the Persians; what can be excepted against this method of interpretation? It seems obviously a better proceeding than to borrow our lights from Ferdousi, who confessedly used the traditions which had been formed from the monuments of Persepolis. Herder himself has been unable to deny that the griffin and unicorn appear exactly the same on these monuments as Ctesias has described them; and with respect to the wonderful animal with a human head, I have said that I consider it to be the same as the *martichora* of Ctesias, which, as a quadruped with a human head, agrees with it in its essential character; though, at the same time, I have not overlooked the differences which exist in the minor details. According to Ctesias, the term martichora signifies *destroyer of men.* Hence I have explained this animal as being the symbol of strength and military courage; and I considered it a very appropriate emblem for placing before the gates of a palace, which was the central point of an empire gained by conquest. Is not all this in strict keeping? Is it not consistent? Moreover, the etymological explanation of Ctesias has been also confirmed by M. Tychsen, from the Persian, who adds, that at this day the Persians are accustomed to name a hero and great warrior, *merdemkhor.* If this does not at the same time confirm my own explanation, I am ignorant what does.

With respect to the figures of the kings engaged in single combat with the fabulous animals, I said, that these probably represented the king as a bold and successful hunter; that this appeared to me the simplest and most suitable interpretation, because it is conformable to the spirit of the East, where hunting is considered as an exercise preparatory to war, where the great hunter shares the glory of a hero; and because Darius is thus distinguished in the inscription reported by Strabo. This I advanced, as what appeared to me the most probable supposition, without, however, rejecting Herder's idea, that these animals were the representations of subjugated nations and kingdoms. But here also I am in the wrong. It would be impossible to understand

how a writer who thinks he has caught the spirit of the East more than all others, who has in all probability read the Cyropædia, as well as the Travels of Chardin and Bernier, can deny that hunting is here regarded in the light which I have stated, were it not to be accounted for by the spirit of contradiction. Moreover, I said in a former part of my work, that I considered my conjecture only as the most probable which has been offered. Accordingly I have now changed it for another, without adopting that of Herder (vol. i. p. 186).

For the attempt which has been made to clear up the inscriptions, the public are not indebted to me, but to M. Grotefend. The readers will be the best judges, whether this interpretation continues where Herder left it. No objection of any importance against M. Grotefend's method has hitherto come to my knowledge: on the contrary, the Orientalists of Germany and France have received it with approbation. In his Persepolis, Herder has left this subject untouched. In his Persepolitan letters, he begins by expressing a high admiration of the method of interpretation followed by the late M. Tychsen, of Rostock. But, unfortunately for him, this impartial scholar retracted his own, after he became acquainted with that of M. Grotefend. I forbear all further observations on the subject, as they will naturally occur to the reader of themselves.

In this reply I have confined myself to the monuments of Persepolis. What Herder says of the age of Zoroaster, whom he makes contemporary with Darius, and of the Persian religion, would furnish matter for long discussion. But both our writings lie before the public, and I have no desire to repeat what has been said of me. It is indeed no agreeable task to engage in literary polemics with a man whose deserved reputation I have no wish to lessen; nor should I have been willing to disturb him if he had not first begun this dispute.

APPENDIX VII.

Additions to page 448 *of the first volume. On the most ancient Navigation of the Persian Gulf.*

In my inquiries into the commerce of the Phœnicians and Babylonians, I have, as I think, sufficiently proved, that these people navigated the Persian Gulf, and that they maintained by its means a considerable traffic with India, either directly, or through the intervention of other nations. Some publications which have since come into my hands have given me occasion to subjoin the following remarks on the subject.

I have already shown that the Phœnicians possessed some colonies in the Persian Gulf, amongst which I reckon the Bahrein islands, named Tyrus and Aradus, after two of their largest cities. A modern traveller, Dr. Seetzen, (see his Letter in Zach's Monthly Correspondence for Sept. 1813,) has remarked, as I had indeed myself, that there were traces of Phœnician appellations in the names of several places in the Persian Gulf; from which Dr. Seetzen concludes, that the Phœnicians had several colonies in the islands and on the neighbouring shores; and this conclusion he employs in explaining the journey to Ophir. According to him, the length of the voyage may be easily accounted for, by the supposition, that the Phœnician ships sailed along the coast from one colony to another, for the purpose of traffic, before they returned to the place from whence they set out. Moreover, Edrisi expressly mentions an Ophir in the region of Bahrein, (there is another in the country of Omân,) beyond which, he says, there is a place named El-Harrah, which would seem to be the ancient Gerrha. All this is extremely probable. As soon as the Phœnicians participated in the trade of the Persian Gulf, they could not dispense with colonies in this; and necessity obliged them

to found several on the two shores and in the islands. At the same time this confirms my opinion respecting Ophir, and that it did not imply any one single place, but generally the southern emporia of Arabia Felix, Africa, and perhaps India, so far as the ancients were acquainted with it. This explanation is favoured by analogy, as the appellations of distant places and countries are usually vague amongst all nations; and much perplexity has been introduced into ancient geography by attempts to ascertain them; as, for example, in the case of Thule. The explanation is also agreeable to history, as it discovers to us, why several Ophirs are found in those different countries, and at the same time enables us to account for the duration of the voyage, and the nature and variety of the merchandise. Lastly, it is agreeable to etymology, as Ophir in the Arabic language signifies, "rich countries." (See Tychsen, *De Commerciis Hebræorum, in Commentat. Soc. Gött.* vol. xvi. p. 164.) Thus, I consider Tarshish to be a general appellation for the countries with which the ancients were acquainted in remote parts of the West; for Spain in particular. The more recent opinion of Gosselin, with which Vincent concurs, (ii. p. 638,) urges that the expression, *ships of Tarshish*, should be rendered generally, ships of the sea, and this notion is favoured by Luther. But in the Second Book of Chronicles, (xix. 21,) there is express mention of ships going to Tarshish, ללכות תרשיש; which the interpretation in question would suppose to be interpolated. (Tychsen, l. c.) Should we explain the Hebrew Tarshish by the word *sea*, this will not affect the existence of the Phœnician Tartessus, as a colony in Spain, which is sufficiently known from the authority of Greek and Roman authors.

Besides the Phœnicians, the Babylonians or Chaldæans navigated the Persian Gulf. The arguments which have been already adduced appear to me sufficient to establish the fact; Dr. Vincent, however, has led me to remark the existence of other proof. (*Peripl.* ii. p. 356.) He supposes that the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar had for its object the extension of Indian commerce to the Persian Gulf and Babylon, and from thence, through the empire of this king, to Damascus and Syria, by way of Palmyra. At the same time he quotes a fragment of Abydenus, (in Scaliger, *De Emendat. Temp.* Notæ ad Beros. p. xii.,) concerning the works designed by Nebuchadnezzar, near Babylon, according to which he made two canals, the Harmacales and Aracanus, constructed large sluices, confined the waters of the Tigris by a dam, and built the city of Tenedon, as a defence against the incursions of the Arabs. This city of Tenedon, above the mouth of the Pasitigris, was a considerable emporium; and as lately as the age of Nearchus afforded a market for Arabian and Indian productions.

APPENDIX VIII.

On the Voyages of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to Britain, and their settlements on the coast.

In my disquisition upon the voyages of the Carthaginians to the Tin-islands, from not being aware of the existence of any others in the neighbourhood, I had identified the *Insulæ Œstrymnides* with the Scilly group, though, at the same time, I could not conceal from myself the difficulties connected with this hypothesis. A critical notice of my work, inserted in the Metropolitan Magazine for January, 1832, and for which I feel very much obliged to the writer, has since pointed out the inadmissibility of my assumption; and from a more accurate knowledge of the locality than I could pretend to, the Reviewer has been enabled to place the whole subject in a better light, and I am, therefore, anxious to submit his explanation to the reader. Before we proceed, however, I shall first of all endeavour to show how far we are justified in supposing the Phœnicians, and their colonists the Carthaginians, to have extended their voyages as far as Britain, and to have formed settlements on the coast: in doing this, we must be careful to make a due discrimination between what has real historical testimony for its basis, and that which depends on conjectural prŏbability alone.

In the portion of my work relating to the Carthaginians, (see African Nations, Appendix vi.,) I have already cited the authority which, as connected with this question, must be looked upon as the first and most important, being no less than that of the Carthaginian commander Himilco, to whom the charge of the expedition destined for the British shores was intrusted; and though it comes to us through an indirect channel, we must still be content to receive it as entitled to our earliest consideration.

The Carthaginians fitted out two grand simultaneous expeditions for the purpose of planting colonies, and pushing their discoveries further: one of them, under Hanno, was destined for the western coasts of Africa; the other, under Himilco, for the corresponding shores of Europe. Both commanders had their respective adventures commemorated on a public monument, set up in one of the principal temples of Carthage. The account of Hanno's expedition has fortunately been preserved in a Greek translation, already noticed in the volume on the Carthaginians (App. vi.); where it was shown, that the account in question is not a detailed narrative of Hanno's adventures, or even an extract of any such narrative, as has been generally supposed, but, as the title itself proves, "a public memorial;" in fact, a mere inscription, such as the Carthaginians were accustomed to inscribe on public monuments in commemoration of some great national undertaking. What has been said of Hanno's voyage will also apply to that of Himilco. Unfortunately, however, but little information has come down to us respecting the latter; and that little is contained in the fragments of a poem by Avienus, entitled, "Ora Maritima;" which, as far as they relate to this subject, will be found in the Appendix above referred to.

These fragments supply us with the following data:—

1. The Phœnicians had, in very early times, extended their voyages from Gades along the coasts of Europe.

2. The Carthaginians did not merely follow in their wake; but had also founded a series of independent colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules, along the shores of Spain, from whence they sailed still further to the country where tin and lead were to be procured.

3. This was also the destination of Himilco's voyage:

but whether his expedition consisted of a single ship, or of a whole squadron, is uncertain; probably the latter was the case, as it is known to have been with respect to the undertaking of Hanno.

4. The extent of the voyage itself was the Insulæ Œstrymnides, which Himilco reached after a four months' sail.

5. These islands lay contiguous to the shores of Albion, so near, in fact, that the communication between them and the main-land was kept up by means of boats made of leather:[1] they were also within two days' sail of the "Holy Island," inhabited by the Hiberni.

6. The coasts of Albion, opposite to this island, were inhabited by a people whose chief occupation was commerce; for which purpose they traded thither in their canoes.

All this is clearly deducible from the passages cited in the above-mentioned Appendix; but still the original question recurs—which are the Insulæ Œstrymnides?

Unacquainted with the existence of any others, I had set them down as the Scilly Islands, to which the Reviewer objects, that such a determination is out of the question, they being nothing more than bare rocks, at too great a distance from the main-land, and situate in too stormy a sea to admit of being approached in canoes. On the other hand, the opinion of the Reviewer points to St. Michael's Mount, as the probable situation of the Œstrymnides, which is accessible from the main at ebb tide, and where also there are traces of other small islands, now submerged. I will, however, give the whole passage in the words of the writer himself:—"We are of opinion, that the present St. Michael's Mount is intended, which, at low water, is joined to the main-land, and where tin is found in two ways, in stream works, and by mining. The Scilly Isles are mere rocks: St. Michael's Mount, it is true, is not more of itself; but we know that

[1] Boats formed of wicker work, covered with oil-cloth or leather, are still in common use throughout Wales, and particularly on the Wye and Severn, where they are termed *Coracles;* they are not much bigger than a moderately sized basket, and are only made to hold one person, who also carries it about with him, and makes use of it, as occasion may require. The public papers, however, lately noticed an occurrence of shipwreck on the western coast of Ireland, from which it appears that boats of this description are also used on the open sea, and are large enough to accommodate upwards of half a dozen people, having been employed in the above instance to convey the survivors to land. TRANS.

there was other land, perhaps isolated also, in Mount's Bay, and since submerged. In those days we do not believe tin was found in mines, whence it is now taken in the state of ore: it was in all probability collected from the stream works, in the form which is denominated grain-tin. These stream works are horizontal excavations, open to the earth's surface, whence the tin is obtained by washing. These stream works do not require machinery to descend into them, or to drain them. Pickaxes of holm, boxwood, and hartshorns, have been often found in them, the instruments of a rude people and age. May not Œstrymnon in Avienus mean the Lizard? The bay and isles, Mount's Bay? Then is all accounted for."

With this explanation I fully concur, as the most probable that has yet been offered; for it not only removes the difficulty, but perfectly coincides also with the customs of the Carthaginians, whose usual plan it was to make choice of some small island contiguous to the shore, as an emporium for their merchandise, of which the Cerne islands, off the coast of Libya, are an instance. I take then St. Michael's Mount, with the islets formerly surrounding it, to be the Insulæ Œstrymnides; Mount's Bay to be the Sinus, and Cape Lizard the Promontory, mentioned by Avienus. These islands are situate on the coast of Cornwall, the native country of tin and lead. I do not see, however, why the means of obtaining the metal should be limited to merely trenching the soil, as in the case of the stream works above noticed. The Phœnicians possessed considerable skill in mining operations, which it is not likely they would have failed to exercise in the case before us. The only serious difficulty seems to consist in Ierna's being placed at a distance of only two days' sail from the spot; but perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect very minute accuracy in such fragments as those we have alluded to.

The above explanation agrees also with the account given by Diodorus, (i. p. 347,) who mentions, that "the inhabitants of the British continent were very skilful in obtaining the tin, which they afterwards conveyed to a small island, called Fetis, accessible from the shore, dryshod, when the tide is out:" this was the mart where the foreign merchants carried on their trade, and took in their cargoes.

We may receive it then as an historical fact, that the Phœnicians, and after them, the Carthaginians, extended their discoveries and their commerce from Gades to the shores of Britain, and indeed to the coast of Cornwall, as being the nearest, and at the same time the most abundant in the productions they particularly sought for. It is not expressly said that they also passed over into Ireland, nor in fact is it probable they did, because the articles they were in quest of could not be procured there. They were, however, acquainted with the island, and from their having denominated it "the holy," they must in consequence have attached to it certain ideas connected with religious worship. An intercourse between Britain and Ireland must also have existed, from the fact of its being known how many days the passage thither would require.

The next question is, whether the Phœnicians or Carthaginians ever established any permanent settlements on the coasts of Britain? We know that the colonies of the latter people extended a considerable way along the western shores of the Spanish peninsula, but how far they reached in this quarter we have no positive means of ascertaining. Certainly no account on which we can rely of their having founded colonies in Britain, has come down to us. That it was the general custom, however, of the Carthaginians to form such settlements may be inferred from the account of Hanno's expedition, and that Himilco's also had a similar object in view is very probable. Moreover, Diodorus and Strabo both expressly mention, that the natives of these islands became civilized through their commerce and intercourse with foreigners.[2] No Phœnician remains of any kind, that I am aware of, have hitherto been discovered in Britain. In Ireland, however, they have still a tradition, founded on the songs of their bards,[3] that a portion of the island was once in the possession of settlers who came from Spain, and were called Phenies; these might certainly have been Phœnicians, but they might also have been of Iberian descent. Nevertheless, the tradition is altogether too vague to carry any weight in a critical examination of the question.

[2] Strabo, p. 265. We must take care, however, not to confound his Insulæ Cassiterides, which can hardly be any other than the Scilly Isles, with our Insulæ Œstrymnides.

[3] See Turner's History of England in the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 282.

APPENDIX IX.

On the Commerce of Palmyra and the neighbouring Cities.[1]

My object in the present essay is to illustrate the commercial history of Palmyra and the neighbouring cities of Arabia Petræa, and the eastern parts of Syria, by means of ancient monuments and inscriptions, still found existing after the lapse of centuries; at the same time, I shall not omit to notice the corresponding statements of contemporary and other writers. Before we proceed, however, to a general discussion of the subject, it will be requisite to premise a few observations relative to the situation and history of Palmyra itself.

This celebrated city, whose ruins still attest its former importance, was situated in the heart of the Syrian desert,[2] though on an isolated spot well watered, and abounding with palm trees, from which latter, in fact, it derived its name. It was distant about four or five days' journey from Damascus, and about two or three from the Euphrates. The peculiarity of its situation is well described by Pliny;[3] "Palmyra," says he, "urbis nobilis situ, divitiis soli, et aquis amœnis, vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exempta a rerum natura privata sorte, inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque; et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura." Palmyra, however, went into decay, and its very name was almost forgotten, in consequence of the commercial routes of the caravans from Syria to the Euphrates being altered. It was only in the

[1] From a Latin dissertation by the author, entitled *Commercia urbis Palmyræ vicinarumque urbium, ex monumentis et inscriptionibus illustrata.*

[2] Lat. 34. Long. 38° 10′ from Greenwich. [3] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 21.

latter part of the seventeenth century that it again came into notice; and certain English merchants established at Aleppo having had their curiosity excited by the reports of the wandering Arabs, proceeded, in the year 1691, to explore its ruins, and brought home with them copies of some of the inscriptions, which were afterwards published in the Transactions of the Royal Society.[4] From this epoch the attention of antiquaries was generally directed to these interesting remains, until, in the year 1751, two English travellers, named Bouverie and Dawkins, well furnished with the necessary means, having undertaken a journey to the Levant, with the view of exploring the remains of antiquity to be found in that neighbourhood, determined at the same time to pay a visit to Palmyra, not merely for the purpose of supplying a general description of the ruins, but also of bringing home with them an accurate delineation of the particular buildings, together with copies of the inscriptions. In effecting the latter part of their intention, they were singularly fortunate in making choice of Mr. R. Wood, himself also an antiquarian, and an architect of very great taste. Under his superintendence was published the magnificent work entitled "The Ruins of Palmyra;"[5] as well as another of similar form and subject matter, being dedicated to the scarcely less surprising remains of the city of Heliopolis, or Baalbec, in Syria.

The origin of the city Palmyra, as we learn from the Jewish records, may be referred to the tenth century before the birth of Christ, it having been built, together with some other cities in Eastern Syria, by Solomon the son and successor of David. This is expressly mentioned in the book of Kings,[6] and in the Chronicles,[7] where we read, that "Solomon built Tadmor in the wilderness;" and, according to Josephus,[8] Tadmor is the same as Palmyra. "This city," says he, "was built and strongly fortified by Solomon, who called it Thadamor, as indeed the Syrians do to this day, but the Greeks call it Palmyra." We are not indeed told

[4] *Philos. Trans.* vol. 48. An explanation of them was attempted by Abraham Seller, in his *Antiquities and History of Palmyra.* Appendix. London, 1696.

[5] *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor,* London, 1753. The splendid work of Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque en Syrie,* etc., contains drawings of the buildings, but not of the inscriptions.

[6] 1 Kings, ix. 18. [7] 2 Chron. viii. 4. [8] *Ant. Jud.* viii. 6.

for what particular purpose Solomon built Palmyra, but as he is said to have surrounded it with very strong fortifications, it must have been intended as a fortress or garrison town to repress the incursions of the wild roving hordes of the desert, especially as the kingdom of Judæa, in consequence of the warlike expeditions of his father David, was extended as far as the banks of the Euphrates. After the time of Solomon, we find no mention of Palmyra in Jewish history, which is not much to be wondered at, considering the revolt of Syria from the Jews, upon the erection of an independent kingdom at Damascus. Some writers, indeed, are of opinion, that the city was taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar,[9] though I have not been able to ascertain on what authority they found their opinion; it is, however, so far probable that Nebuchadnezzar may have taken Palmyra, as we know that in the course of repeated expeditions against the kings of Judæa and Damascus, he at length reduced the whole of Syria into his power. After the time of Cyrus, Palmyra, from the nature of its situation, was most likely subject to the Persians; but as long as their empire lasted, I can find no mention made of it; from whence we may rightly infer, that the city was not at that period of very great importance, even though it might have served the purposes of commerce. We are equally without information as to Palmyra during the military career of Alexander, both when he took possession of Syria, after the battle of Issus, and when he marched from Egypt to the Euphrates; because, in order to avoid the desert, he proceeded straight to that river, which he crossed at Thapsacus. After the death of Alexander, upon the foundation of the empire of the Seleucidæ, the condition of Palmyra seems to have been the same with that of Syria generally; at least, in the monumental inscriptions, of which we shall have soon occasion to speak, the method of computing time by the æra of the Seleucidæ universally prevails; but we look in vain for any account of the city itself during the reign of those monarchs.

We now come down to the time of the Romans; and here, at length, the name of Palmyra seems to have become

[9] SELLER, *loc. cit.* p. 379.

known to the Western world. For when, upon the overthrow of Mithridates, and the expulsion of his ally Tigranes from Asia Minor and Syria, those countries were reduced to the form of Roman provinces, the city of Palmyra, in all apparent probability, underwent the same fate. It was possible, however, considering its isolated situation in the middle of a desert, that it might have continued free and independent; and that this is no unwarrantable supposition appears, among other circumstances, particularly from what is reported of the conduct of M. Antony in his expedition against Palmyra, and also from what we read in the historian Pliny. For when Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, took possession of Syria, he despatched his cavalry to plunder Palmyra, by way of remunerating them for their services, objecting against the citizens the crime of siding alternately with the Romans and Parthians, on the confines of whose territories their town was situated. The design of Antony was indeed prevented, as the inhabitants, having obtained previous intelligence, abandoned the city, and transported all their valuable effects beyond the Euphrates, on the further bank of which river they posted a guard of archers to defend the passage, so that the detachment were obliged to return empty-handed, and without even coming to an engagement. But had the Palmyrenians been under the power of Rome, I can hardly understand how they could possibly fall under the accusation imputed to them by Antony. However the case may be, this at least is sufficiently evident, that the inhabitants at this period had already acquired a great reputation for wealth. The same may be inferred, I think, from the words of Pliny: "Palmyra, privata sorte utitur inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia utrimque cura:" for what else can the expression "privata sorte utitur" signify, as applied to a town situated between two powerful empires, than that it was subject to neither of them? and if, upon the breaking out of quarrels between the two powers, it was the first object of both to secure the alliance of such a city as Palmyra, is it not plain that the latter must have been independent, from the very circumstance of its being free to choose which party it would side with?

Palmyra, however, seems to have undergone considerable change soon after the time of Pliny: in fact, it had now reached a period which, if we may judge from existing remains, was by far the most flourishing and prosperous the city had yet seen. Its still surviving monuments almost all belong to the age of the Antonines, including the reign of Adrian, and extend downwards to its final decay under the emperor Aurelian. What was the particular condition of Palmyra under Trajan the contemporary writers have omitted to notice; but as we read of its being *restored*[10] by Adrian, who was his successor, it had probably experienced some reverses of fortune, either in consequence of the wars carried on in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia, during the latter part of Trajan's reign, or from the earthquakes which at that time devastated Antioch and other neighbouring cities. From the remark of Stephanus, just alluded to, it appears, that Adrian not only restored Palmyra, but that he also called it, after his own name, Adrianopolis; an appellation, however, which subsequently grew into disuse. In the inscriptions the name of Adrian occurs twice.[11] From one of them we learn, that the emperor paid a visit to the city, and was received with great pomp and magnificence. The inscription itself is in honour of a certain Malech, also called Agrippa, who, on this occasion, when the town was filled with strangers, supplied the public baths with unguents at his own expense. The other inscription is found not in the city itself, but in a neighbouring Mohammedan mosque, and commemorates the piety of a certain Abilenus of Decapolis; who, in the year of the Seleucidæ 445, (A. D. 133,) had erected an oratory to the health of Adrian, and prepared a *pulvinar*, or *lectisternium*, on the occasion. If we inquire how it came to pass that the splendour of Palmyra increased to such a degree under the Antonines, we should recollect what was the peculiar situation of the Asiatic provinces during the reign of those princes. Upon Adrian's spontaneously restoring to the Parthians the provinces which had been taken from them by Trajan, the protracted war between that people and the Romans was followed by a tranquil state of affairs, which lasted all through the reign of

[10] STEPHAN. *de Urb. sub* Παλμυρα.
[11] *Ruins of Palmyra*, No. xx., and SELLER, No. xviii. p. 363.

Antoninus Pius, and consequently for upwards of forty years. That, during this long interval of peace, as was natural, the arts also of peace were cultivated, magnificent buildings erected, and an additional stimulus given to the commercial intercourse of Asia, particularly now that a free passage was allowed to merchants travelling through the Parthian territories, has already been shown in another place.[12] In the absence of almost all the contemporary historians, a sufficient degree of light is thrown upon the subject by the monumental inscriptions of Palmyra, for enabling us to understand how that, in common with the other cities of Syria, attained such an eminent degree of splendour, owing to the vast increase of wealth consequent upon commercial speculation.

With regard to the political condition of Palmyra at this period, it is evident from the inscriptions, that the Romans allowed her such a measure of civil liberty as the "urbes αὐτονομοι" enjoyed. We hear of public decrees being issued by the senate and people, though at the same time we meet with frequent mention of the Procurator of Augustus, who, under the title of Ducenarius, superintended the collection of the imperial revenue.[13]

As long as the Parthian empire lasted, Palmyra continued faithful to the Romans, whom she frequently assisted in their wars with the former power; and, as the inscriptions testify, gave a splendid reception to the emperors Alexander Severus and Gordian,[14] when they visited the city. About this time, however, a great revolution took place in Asia; the Parthian empire, under the Arsacides, being overthrown, and the Persian dynasty of the Sassanides, under Artaxerxes, being established in its room. The latter, who boasted their descent from the ancient kings of Persia, accordingly strove to recover the provinces formerly belonging to the Persians, but now in the possession of the

[12] See Appendix, *On the sources of Ptolemy's Geography*. JOH. MALALA, in his *Chronicon*, gives a list of the public buildings erected by the Roman emperors in Syria; and among them, a temple at Heliopolis, by Antoninus Pius. What is surprising, however, the name of Palmyra is not even mentioned by this writer.
[13] *Ruins of Palmyra*, No. xv. xvi. xvii. These inscriptions, however, belong to the last ages of Palmyra; that is, to the time of Gallienus.
[14] Inscript. No. ix. Compare JUL. CAPITOLINUS *in* GORD. iii. cap. 9.

Romans, which necessarily gave rise to new and frequent wars between the two nations. On this occasion, too, the Palmyrenians, we are informed, continued for some time to side with the Romans. Their forces were commanded by Odenatus, a bold and successful general, of noble birth, and the husband of Zenobia; who, having entered into a league with Balista, the præfectus prætorii, defeated the Persian king Sapor, who had invaded the Roman provinces, drove him beyond the Euphrates, took possession of his capital, Ctesiphon, and restored the wavering power of Rome in the East.[15] In return for these services, he was associated by Gallienus in the empire, under the title of Augustus. Upon the assassination, however, of Odenatus by his kinsman Mæonius, A. D. 260, the whole face of affairs was completely changed: his widow Zenobia, a woman of masculine spirit, who administered the government in the name of her sons, neglected the interest of Rome to make an alliance with the Persians; and, with the view of founding an independent kingdom for herself, carried arms over a wide extent of country, invaded Egypt and the provinces of Asia Minor, and affected the haughty title of "Queen of the East."[7] Her success, however, was not of long duration; for Aurelian, having restored tranquillity in the West, proclaimed war against Zenobia, routed her at Emesa, besieged Palmyra, whither she had fled after the battle, and, upon her attempting to escape, took her prisoner and carried her to Rome to adorn his triumph. The consequences of this defeat were ruinous to Palmyra; the citizens having again revolted, Aurelian came back and took the place by storm, slew the inhabitants, according to his own declaration in a letter to the senate,[17] and finally razed the city to the ground, A. D. 273. There is no occasion to enlarge upon this part of our subject, as it will be found at length in the contemporary Roman historians.

With respect to the commerce of Palmyra, we shall be best able to explain its nature by referring to that of Asia in general. This has already been done in a preceding part of this work, where I have proved the commerce in

[15] Trebellius Pollio *in* Odenato, *Script. Hist. Aug.* vol. ii.
[16] Trebellius Pollio *in* Zenobia.
[17] Flavius Vopiscus *in* Aureliano, *Script. Hist. Aug.* vol. ii.

question to have been carried on by land rather than by sea, though in fact the latter kind was not wanting. The peculiar nature of Asiatic land-commerce is such that it cannot be engaged in by a single individual, or by a few only, but requires the co-operation of a numerous body of merchants travelling in company, who form what is termed a *caravan*. The length of the journey, and the savage disposition of the wild roving hordes, who subsist by plunder, would effectually deter a small unarmed band of individuals from making the attempt. Accordingly, it was usual for a numerous and well-armed body of merchants to assemble together, who elected one of their number as leader of the whole caravan. Their merchandise was transported on camels; but as neither men nor beasts of burden could possibly accomplish the whole journey without stopping, it became necessary to select certain halting-places, for rest and refreshment. Such of these places as offered favourable opportunities in point of situation for the establishment of fairs and markets, became in process of time themselves emporia of considerable trade, and, under fortunate circumstances, soon grew to such a pitch of wealth and prosperity, as to vie with the most splendid cities of the East. Such was Palmyra. Being situated on the confines of the Roman and Parthian empires, its very situation rendered it singularly adapted for all the purposes of intermediate commerce, or, as we should term it, "a carrying-trade." This species of commerce, more than any other, is calculated to insure abundant profits, as the goods that have been purchased from one set of traders are not retailed to another, but at a considerable advance upon the prime cost. A similar observation is made by Appian, who says, "Palmyreni, mercatores sunt, qui merces ab Arabibus ac Parthis coemtas, Romanis iterum vendunt."[18] How extremely profitable this kind of trade was to the Palmyrenians has been already noticed by Pliny, where he speaks of the Arabians:[19] "gentes," says he, "quæ hæc agunt, in universum sunt ditissimæ, ut apud quas maximæ Romanorum ac Parthorum opes subsistant, vendentibus quæ capiunt, nihil autem invicem redimentibus." The latter part of this remark will generally apply

[18] Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, lib. v.
[19] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 31.

also to the commercial intercourse of modern Europe with China.

The situation, therefore, of Palmyra in the heart of the Syrian desert, made it necessary that the commercial routes leading thither should be traversed, not by single traders, but by a whole society of merchants, sharing the danger in common. A safe passage through the territories of the wild Arabs was only to be purchased by money, or secured by force of arms. The tribes inhabiting the district now called Nejed were famous, even in the remotest times, for the number and superiority of their camels, with which they supplied the Palmyrenians, who would otherwise have been utterly unable to accomplish their long commercial journeys.

The passage, however, through the countries inhabited by the wandering Arabs was attended with very considerable expense:—"Mirum enim," says Pliny, "ex innumeris illorum populis, pars magna in commerciis aut latrociniis."[20] During the prosperous ages of Palmyra, this expense was occasionally defrayed by private citizens or magistrates, to whom, in consequence, public honours were decreed either by the senate and people of the city, or by the caravans of merchants themselves. These honours consisted in erecting a statue, accompanied with an inscription,[21] commemorative of the liberality and public spirit of the individual concerned; and it is owing to the fortunate preservation of certain of these inscriptions, that we are enabled in any measure to illustrate the commerce of Palmyra. In prosecuting this subject, we shall therefore, first of all, inquire into the particular articles in which Palmyrenian commerce consisted; secondly, into its nature, and method of carrying on; and thirdly, we shall examine the several routes along which it passed.

With respect to the merchandise itself, we have already ascertained it to have consisted for the most part of Arabian and Indian productions; what these were may be easily

[20] PLIN. loc. cit.

[21] In WOOD'S *Palmyra*, these inscriptions are twenty-three in number, of which thirteen are in Palmyrenian character and dialect, with the addition of the Greek interpretation, (explained by EICHHORN, in *Comment. Rec. Soc. Gött.* vol. vi.,) and the rest in Greek alone. Three of the latter are here inserted, the fourth or last has been already interpreted by EICHHORN, in the work just quoted.

gathered from Herodotus, Strabo, and other writers. From Arabia was procured frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics; and from India also, articles of perfumery, pearls, precious stones, together with cotton and silk stuffs of various kinds; all accurately enumerated by the author of the Periplus. At Palmyra were to be had silken garments of a very expensive kind, and remarkable both for their extreme delicacy of texture as well as brilliance of colour, (these were conveyed to Rome, where, however, they were at first prohibited,[22]) purple vests of Indian manufacture, embroidered with gold and precious stones, and other articles of commerce, too numerous to mention.

I shall now proceed to notice those inscriptions which serve to throw some light on the character of Palmyrenian commerce. These are four in number, three being written in Greek only, and the last in the dialect of Palmyra, with a Greek translation subjoined. I shall here present them to the reader as they occur in Mr. Wood's work, together with a translation in Latin, remarking beforehand, that I do not intend to trouble him with the niceties of verbal criticism, which would be foreign to my purpose; as all that I wish to deduce from them has reference exclusively to commercial subjects.

I.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. XVIII. In the court of the great temple.)

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβάστου Δουχενάριον - - - [ελ]εοδότην τῆς μητροκολωνείας, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντα τὰς συνοδίας ἐξ ἰδίων καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων, καὶ λαμπρῶς στρατηγήσαντα καὶ ἀγορονομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς μητροκολονείας, καὶ πλεῖστα οἴκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαντα τῇτε αὐτῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρχον τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἐτ - - - Ξανδικῷ.

"Senatus Populusque (*Palmyrenus*) Septimium optimum Procuratorem Ducenarium Augusti, qui oleum curavit donandum metropoli coloniæ, quique suo sumptu commeatum mercatoribus iter commune facientibus præbuit; et a negotiorum præsidibus amplum testimonium adeptus est;

[22] FLAVIUS VOPISCUS *in* AURELIANO, cap. 29, 45.

fortiter et cum laude militantem, et ædilem ejusdem metropoleos coloniæ, plurimas etiam opes domi impendentem; ideoque placentem idem Senatui Populoque; nunc magnifice symposiarchum agentem in sacrificiis Jovis Beli honoris ergo *(coluit) anno - - mense Xandico.*"

The Septimius mentioned in the above inscription, called also Orodes, was the Ducenarius or Procurator of the emperor, and at the same time, ἀγρόνομος, or *ædile* of the city of Palmyra. He is commended on many accounts.

First. Because he made the city a present of oil; for there can be no doubt, that the letters ελ are to be supplied, as Seller has correctly observed.[23] It is easy to conceive, that the consumption of oil must have been very great, not only for the purposes of daily use, but also for the public baths, particularly when we consider the numerous population of the city. Such a present, therefore, must have been very acceptable to the Palmyrenians, as oil could not be procured except at a vast expense, owing to the peculiar situation of Palmyra.

Secondly. Because he entertained or provisioned the company of travelling merchants at his own expense. The inscription therefore alludes to the caravans, whom Septimius Orodes furnished with provisions for their journey.

Thirdly. This grateful attestation was made to Septimius by the prefects or head-men of the merchants (τοῖς ἀρχεμπόροις); whence we may conclude, that at Palmyra the merchants constituted a particular rank or assembly of individuals, who had their own presiding officers; of whom, however, nothing further is known.

Fourthly. This Orodes, it appears, was also the *Symposiarch*, upon occasion of festivals and sacrifices being held in honour of Jupiter Belus, or the Sun, who was the tutelar divinity of the city, as well as of its merchants. He is said to have discharged this office in a splendid manner, as having taken upon himself the whole management of the sacrifices, together with the sumptuous banquets which usually succeeded. We learn, therefore, from the above inscription, that the care of superintending sacred and commercial matters was vested in the same person, which also supplies us with an additional proof, that among the Palmyrenians, as

[23] SELLER, in the Appendix, p. 323.

well as the other nations of the East, an intimate connexion subsisted between religion and commerce.

For all these services, the senate and people of Palmyra awarded to Septimius Orodes the honour of a public inscription, and no doubt also a statue, set up in the court of the principal temple, commemorating his munificent liberality to his native town.

II.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. X. In the long portico.)

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβαίδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβαίδου Ασθορουβαιδα οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογεσιάδα ἐμποροίαν ἔστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν Ξάνδικῷ του ΗΝΦ ἔτους.

"Julium Aurelium Zebidam Mozimi F. Zebidæ nepotem mercatores qui cum illo descenderunt ad Vologesiæ mercatum constituerunt Asthorubaida, virum ipsis gratissimum honoris gratia, *a.* 558. *Sel.* (*Chr.* 246.)

1. Here again we meet with a company of merchants, under the conduct of Aurelius Zebida, coming down from Palmyra to Vologesia, a town situate on the Euphrates, in order to attend the markets held there.

2. These merchants, it seems, elected Zebida to the office of Astorubaida. The latter appellation must of course be interpreted from the Palmyrenian dialect, and not from the Greek. According to Prof. Ewald; "It is of Semitic origin, the latter part of the compound being evidently the Arabic, بيدا, *Baida*, i. e. desertum; with respect to ασθερου, supposing the letter θ to represent ת, it might stand for אַסְתְּרוּ, tutela; so that the whole word would mean *præsidium deserti;* but it seems more likely to come from אַשְׁטְרוּ, (in Hebrew, שׁוֹטֵר,) which makes the whole equivalent to *præfectus deserti.*" Which of these two interpretations be the more probable I leave my readers to judge, though I certainly prefer the last mentioned, so that Astorubaida would be a kind of honorary title conferred upon the leader of a caravan, after a prosperous journey, similar to that of Imperator, with which the Roman legions saluted their general. In fact, it is a title not merely given by acclamation, but commemorated on a public monument, which could hardly have been done without public authority.

3. This inscription was set up, possibly together with a statue, by the company of merchants, (not by the senate and people,) because Zebaida had discharged his office of conductor with great credit. The date of the inscription coincides with the year 246, A. D., and consequently with the reign of the emperor Philip. As to Zebaida himself, it is not altogether improbable, that he was the same person as Zaba, or Zabda, who is mentioned among the generals of Zenobia, in the time of Aurelian, twenty-five years afterwards,[24] in which case he must have been a young man when he was appointed Astorubaida; but in a question of so much uncertainty, I dare not venture to be positive.

III.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. V., in the court of the temple.)

Νέσῃ Ἀλλάτου τοῦ Νέση τοῦ Ἀλλάτου συνοδιάρχην οἱ συναναβάντες μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔμποροι ἀπὸ Φοράθου καὶ Ὀλογασιάδος τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστείας ἕνεκεν ἔτους ΓΝΥ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

"Nesæ, Allati F. Nesæ N. Synodiarchæ, mercatores qui cum eo descenderunt ab Euphrate et Vologesia, honoris et gratitudinis causa (hanc statuam posuerunt) a. 453, (Chr. 141.)"

This inscription is almost of similar import with the preceding one. We learn from it,

1. That it was set up, and perhaps together with a statue, in the court of the temple, in honour of a certain Nesa, the son of Allatus, of whom nothing more is known.

2. That this was done by the company of merchants to whom Nesa had served the office of *Synodiarch*, or conductor.

3. That this company also had returned to Palmyra from the Euphrates, and the city of Vologesia.

4. That this occurred in the year 141, A. D., and consequently under the reign of Antoninus Pius.

And lastly, from the circumstance of the inscription being set up in the court of the temple itself, we derive another proof of the connexion between commerce and religion.

IV.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. XIII. This inscription is found

[24] Zosimus, i. 50, 51. F. Vopiscus in Aureliano, cap. 25.

in the long portico, and is written both in Greek and in the Palmyrenian dialect. The Greek translation is imperfect, but the Palmyrenian is preserved entire, and has been interpreted by Eichhorn (loc. cit.) in Hebrew and Latin. It is short indeed, but remarkable, from being set up in honour of a Jew.)

Ἡ Βουλ[ὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Ἀυρήλιο[ν - - - - αθον Μάλη ἀρχέμπορον ἀνακομίσαν[τα - - - -] συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους Θξψ.

Hæc est statua Julii Aurelii Schalmalath, filii Malæ, Hebræi, ducis societatis peregrinatorum, quam in ejus honorem erexit S. P. Q. P. quod adduceret talem societatem. Gratis solebat itinera facere. A. 569, (Chr. 258.)

1. This monument it appears was erected in honour of a certain Schalmalath, who is expressly said to have been a Jew. It follows therefore, that Jews[25] also exercised the mercantile profession at Palmyra, were in the habit of making journeys, and held in so much respect as to have public honours paid them.

2. This Schalmalath had served the office of ἀρχέμπορος, or conductor of the caravan, which he brought safe to Palmyra, and indeed at his own private expense. The addition of "gratis solebat itinera facere," leads us to infer that he had often exhibited such proofs of liberality before, and thus have laid repeated claims to the gratitude of the city.

3. The statue and inscription were erected to him, not by the merchants themselves, but by the senate and people of Palmyra, which is an additional proof of their high regard for individuals who had deserved well of the merchants when on a commercial expedition. Nor is it surprising that public honours should be awarded them in consequence, when we consider that the welfare of the state absolutely depended on the safe arrival of the caravans.

It is, I think, sufficiently evident, from what has been advanced on this subject, that the commercial interests of Palmyra were supposed to be under the special protection of the gods, that is, of the tutelar divinity of the city, viz. the Sun. This is confirmed by the character of the places

[25] What a vast concourse of strangers there was in Palmyra may be gathered from the list of captive nations which adorned the triumph of Aurelian, given by Flav. Vopiscus, c. 33. He mentions the Blemmyes, Axumitans, natives of Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens, Persians, besides others from the North.

where the inscriptions are found. The temple dedicated to the Sun stood in the middle of a spacious area or court, forming a square, and of such extent, that a whole encampment of Bedouin Arabs is contained in the enclosure. This was surrounded with double peristyle, each consisting of about a hundred pillars, behind which was a series of apartments. The entrance was through a grand and highly ornamented portico; immediately upon entering were seen two large tanks or reservoirs, eight feet deep, and furnished with steps to go down into the water; the whole court being paved with marble.[26] Its modern appellation among the Arabs is, "the court of Camels," which leads us in a moment to suspect, that its original destination was precisely similar. It has, in fact, all the appearance of an Eastern caravanserai; its form is square; the portico, with the adjoining apartments, seem intended for the convenience of travellers; the tanks supplied an abundance of water, while the spacious court afforded plenty of room for the beasts of burden, and the merchandise they conveyed.

It is here too, as we have already seen, that the statues with inscriptions were erected in honour of those individuals who had conducted the caravans at their own expense. In the neighbourhood was another stupendous portico, upwards of four thousand feet long, itself also ornamented with inscriptions and statues in honour of particular merchants. When we take all this into consideration, are we not authorized in supposing this court of the temple to have been originally a kind of public inn, (the erection of such places in the East being always regarded in the light of a religious obligation,) destined for the reception of the merchants and their camels? May not the long portico, secured as it was from the scorching rays of the sun, have been a kind of bazâr or exchange, where the merchants exposed their commodities for sale, and at the same time assembled for the transaction of business? We must, it is true, be content to leave this for mere conjecture; but that the place in question was in some way or other subservient to the purposes of commerce, is plain enough from the inscriptions themselves.

As to the enormous wealth of the Palmyrenian merchants,

[26] Compare for this and what follows, the concise description of CASSAS, attached to his Views of Palmyra.

it will be sufficient to quote what Flavius Vopiscus says of Firmus, a native of Seleucia, and the ally and friend of Zenobia, who arrogated to himself the title of prince, but was afterwards overthrown by Aurelian:—"De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur. Nam et vitreis quadraturis domum induxisse perhibetur, et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publice sæpe diceret exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutino. Idem et cum Blemmyis (Nubiæ populo supra Ægyptum) societatem maximam tenuit, et cum Saracenis (Arabibus); naves quoque negotiatorias ad Indos sæpe misit. Ipse quoque habuisse dicitur duos dentes elephanti, pedum denûm, ex quibus Aurelianus ipse sellam constituerat facere."[27]—It is well known that the inhabitants of Sidon understood the art of manufacturing glass; which however was not employed for windows, or for making cups and other articles of domestic use, but solely for the luxurious purpose of overlaying the walls of their houses, etc.

It now remains for us to say something of the particular routes by which the Palmyrenian merchants travelled in their commercial expeditions. I consider this part of our subject of very great importance, as involving not merely the conveyance of merchandise, but also the propagation of religious opinions, laws, and national civilization in general. As far as Palmyra is concerned, I shall rest my deductions chiefly on the authority of Appian and Pliny, before quoted, and which proves the Palmyrenians to have had in their hands the intermediate commerce, or carrying trade, between the countries of the East and the whole Western world. The language of these writers is alone sufficient to show, that the commercial routes in question were directed partly towards the South, partly towards the East, and partly towards the West.

Those routes which had a southern direction, led, in the one case, into Arabia, in the other to Egypt. That the Arabian trade was of very great importance, and perhaps the most considerable of all, I consider to be evident from what has gone before. With regard to the particular route which it traversed, some light is thrown on the subject by a passage in Pliny (Hist. Nat. vi. 32). "Nabatæi, Arabiæ

[27] FLAV. VOPISCUS *in* FIRMO, cap. 3.

populus, oppidum includunt *Petram* nomine in convalle, paulo minus duorum millium passuum amplitudine, circumdatum montibus inaccessis. Huc convenit utrimque *bivium* eorum qui et Syria (al. Syriæ) Palmyram petiere, et eorum qui ab Gaza venerunt." As to the situation of Petra, there can no longer be any doubt that it is the same as the modern *Carrak*. It has been seen and described by Burckhardt;[28] and a ground plan and views of the ruins are given by Laborde. The place is strongly fortified by nature, and is distant about thirteen geographical miles south of the Dead Sea. An extremely narrow defile between lofty mountains, more like a sheep-walk than a regular path, leads to a plain of moderate extent, shut in on all sides by precipitous rocks, in the middle of which stands the city of Petra, still remarkable for its remains of ancient buildings. In the time of Alexander, and consequently therefore under the Persian dynasty, Petra was the emporium for the aromatics which the Nabatheans brought thither from Arabia Felix. Antigonus formed the design of plundering this opulent city; and with that view sent his son Demetrius, who carried off from Petra five hundred talents of silver, together with a large quantity of frankincense; he was however eventually defeated in his enterprise, for the Nabatheans pursuing after him, succeeded in recovering the stolen booty.[29]

From the words of Pliny, whichever reading we choose to prefer, one thing at least is certain, that at Petra the commercial road parted in two directions, one leading to the left, towards Gaza and the shores of Syria; the other to the right, towards Palmyra. We have already shown from Strabo,[30] that the road to Arabia Felix, that is, the region of Hadramaut, the native country of frankincense, occupied seventy days' journey from Petra; though it is not likely the Palmyrenian merchants proceeded further than the last-named place, which was the market for the productions of Arabia.

That Palmyra maintained a commercial intercourse with Egypt, that is, with Alexandria, may be inferred from the vicinity of these cities, as well as the example of Firmus quoted above. If, as he is reported to have done, he kept

[28] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 422.
[29] This story is related by DIODORUS, ii. p. 390.
[30] STRAB. p. 1113: see the chapter on the *Phœnicians*.

up a close correspondence with the Blemmyans, a people of Nubia, who traded at Meroe in the interior of Africa, it is evident that a part of this commerce also was in the hands of the merchants of Palmyra. Moreover, we learn of Firmus, that he had a share in the Indian trade, and by sea too; according to Strabo,[31] the grand emporium for the latter was the port of Myos Hormos in Egypt, situate on the Arabian Gulf, from whence also Firmus must have despatched his ships to the Indian markets; for, to the best of our knowledge, the Persian Gulf, in the time of the Parthian empire, was not open to the trade with India. However this may be, it is quite certain that the Palmyrenians, in addition to their commerce by land, exercised also a sea trade with India.

Further: that the routes leading from Palmyra towards the east were also frequented by her merchants might be inferred from the situation of that city itself, as being the intermediate point of the carrying trade between the East and the Western world. The inscriptions, however, are conclusive of the fact. From them we learn, that one of these routes was directed towards the Euphrates, and consequently to Babylonia; which I have already shown to have been, in very ancient times, a celebrated commercial country.[32] The city, indeed, from which it derived its own name, was no longer in existence when Palmyra flourished, as we are informed by Strabo and Pliny. The latter has these words:—"Babylon, Chaldaicarum gentium caput, diu summam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe. Nunc ad solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a (Seleuco) Nicatore intra nonagesimum lapidem, ad Tigrin. Ferunt ei plebis urbanæ DC. M. esse. Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam Ctesiphontem, quod nunc caput est regnorum juxta tertium ab ea lapidem condidere Parthi. Et postquam nihil proficiebatur, nuper Vologesus rex aliud oppidum *Vologesocertam* in vicinio condidit."[33] Now if the treasures of Parthia were exhausted by the Arabian trade, as the same writer asserts to have been the case, there can be no doubt that the cities just mentioned were the principal emporia for it.

We learn however from the inscriptions, that the Palmyrenian caravans did not actually proceed as far as the great

[31] STRAB. p. 179. [32] See the *Babylonians*. [33] *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30.

cities, but stopped short in the town of Vologesia, which Pliny calls Vologesocerta. It is, in fact, the peculiar nature of Asiatic commercial intercourse, that the merchants travelling in company do not go at once to the royal cities, but halt at some station in the neighbourhood, where they expose their goods for sale, and which, from that circumstance, and from being much frequented by the inhabitants and general traders, becomes itself a town of considerable importance; from hence to the capital the road is easy and secure, and individual merchants may proceed thither without danger. Thus the caravans for Constantinople stop short at Brussa, and those for Cairo in the town of Girgeh. In the same manner, the inscriptions inform us that the merchants of Palmyra halted at Vologesia; which was situate on the Euphrates, near Babylon, and only a day's journey or two from Ctesiphon. Vologesia was built by Vologesus, the first of that name, and a contemporary of Nero, a little before Pliny's time, as he himself reports.[34] The inscription already noticed shows, that markets or fairs (ἐμπορεῖα) were held here for the sale of merchandise brought by the caravans. From hence the merchants could proceed to Seleucia and Ctesiphon with perfect security, and without the risk of being plundered; whereas from Palmyra, through the middle of the desert, they were obliged to travel in numerous companies, and well armed. There appear to have been certain stations on this route, the names of which, otherwise unknown, are mentioned by Ptolemy.[35] In the time of Strabo, when Vologesia was not yet built, the Syrian merchants turned off towards the north, and passed the Euphrates at Anthemusias, in order to escape the oppressive exactions of the petty Arabian princes.[36] The merchants of Palmyra, who frequented the royal cities and commercial towns of the Parthian empire, brought home with them the productions of India, and even, as appears likely, of China itself, the original country of silk; these they disposed of to the traders of the Roman world. We have already shown in another place, that Babylonia and its various cities were, from the most ancient times, the common emporia of Eastern commerce. But as the limits of the Parthian empire were

[34] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* loc. cit.

[35] Ptol. v. 15: for instance, Avoria, Adacha, and others.

[36] Strab. p. 1084.

contiguous to India, it was very easy for the inhabitants of the former to hold a commercial intercourse with the Indians; though it does not, indeed, appear that the Palmyrenians themselves ever proceeded as far as India, by land; the extreme limit of their mercantile expeditions being the city of Vologesia.

Lastly: the commercial routes of Palmyra were directed towards the cities of Syria and the Phœnician ports. The particular stations on the line are not, in fact, mentioned by any writer of antiquity; but we have sufficient evidence in the splendid ruins of temples and other buildings still found at Emesa, (Homs,) and Heliopolis (Baalbec). The predominant worship in these places, as at Palmyra, was that of the sun; and they were both situated on the direct road from the latter city to the shores of the Mediterranean; so there can be no doubt of their having been stations for the caravans of Palmyra.

The accounts of recent travellers, particularly Seetzen and Burckhardt, speak also of magnificent ruins, scarcely less remarkable than those of Palmyra, existing in the eastern part of Palestine, beyond the Jordan and the Dead Sea, formerly called Decapolis. The principal of these remains are found at the ancient Gerasa, Gadara, and Philadelphia. The ruins of Gerasa, named Jerash by the Arabs, have been described by Burckhardt,[37] and consist of a temple and portico, together with an amphitheatre: those of Gadara and Philadelphia are said to be little inferior. If we ask how these cities, on the very margin of the desert, arrived at such a pitch of splendour, opulence, and luxury, the same causes may be alleged as contributed to the elevation of Palmyra. They were all situate on the direct road which led from Petra, the principal emporium of Arabian commerce, to Damascus and Palmyra; they flourished in the same age, their architectural remains exhibit the same character, and the name of Antoninus occurs at least once in all three.[38] But as we do not find in these ancient cities any inscriptions similar to those of Palmyra, I forbear to enlarge upon them in this place, having confined myself throughout to such evidence only as depended on the express testimony either of ancient writers or of the monuments themselves.

[37] *Travels in Syria*, p. 252.

[38] Burckhardt, loc. cit. The words Μαρκον Αυρ - - - - ν, occur on a fragment of stone.

APPENDIX X.

On the latest additions to Sanscrit Literature.

In the preface to The Indians I have given a complete list of the works connected with Sanscrit which had appeared in Europe up to 1824, (the date of the last edition of this work in Germany,) and from which most of my information on the subject had been derived. During the seven years' interval which has elapsed since that time, Sanscrit literature has received some very considerable and important additions, chiefly, too, by the labours of my own countrymen; and in order to show how far the opinions I then advanced have been confirmed, or otherwise, it will be necessary for me to enter upon a brief review of those works which have subsequently made their appearance, as well through the medium of translations as in impressions of the original text. They are as follows:—

Rigvedæ Specimen. Edidit Fridericus Rosen. Londini, 1830. All that we had hitherto known of the Vedas was contained in the valuable essay of Mr. Colebrooke, inserted in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches. In the above work, we are now, for the first time, presented with a specimen of the text itself. The only copy, I believe, of these sacred writings, viz. the one that Polier brought to Europe, has been lying many years unnoticed in the British Museum. Professor Rosen has now commenced drawing it from obscurity; and although his specimen is but of limited extent, it is nevertheless sufficiently ample to give us an insight into the language, the poetry, and, to a certain degree, the contents also of the Vedas. It consists of seven hymns, selected from the first of the four Vedas.

Of the two great epic poems, the first part of the Ramayana has been published by Schlegel: *Ramayana, id est, Carmen epicum de Ramæ rebus gestis poetæ antiquissimi Valmicis opus.* Vol. i. pars 1, 1829. It contains the text of the first, and a considerable portion of the second book, out of the seven which complete the entire poem.

The other great epic, the Mahabharat, is also gradually coming to light. In addition to the episode of Nalus, which had already appeared, we now possess the *Diluvium cum tribus aliis Mahabharati episodiis præstantissimis*, primus edidit Franciscus Bopp, 1829. This publication, besides the episode of the Deluge, so interesting to compare with the narrative of Moses, contains also the mythic history of Savitri, the rape of Draupadi, and the return of Arjuna to Indra's heaven, of which last, however, only the latter half has yet been published.

Schlegel and Lassen have also conjointly edited, in the original Sanscrit, the celebrated collection of fables contained in the Hitopadesa, under the title of, *Hitopadesa, id est, institutio salutaris*, curâ A. W. von Schlegel et Chr. Lassen, 1830.

Almost immediately after this, the Sacontala came out, together with the episode of the Mahabharat, on which it is founded, described as, *La reconnaissance de Sacontala, drame Sanscrit et Pracrit de Calidasa, publiée pour la première fois en original*, par A. L. Chézy. Paris, 1830.

And further we may notice, *Nalodaya, Sanscriticum carmen Calidasæ adscriptum*, edidit Ferd. Benary, 1830. The Nalodaya is a later attempt upon the episode of Nalus in the Mahabharat, and is also attributed by the Hindus to Calidasa.

When to these are added Haughton's *Institutes of Menu*, London, 1827, and Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, consisting wholly of translations, I believe we shall not have omitted any work of particular importance. With the assistance of the above publications, it is evident that we are much better qualified to pronounce with certainty upon the poetic literature and history of the Hindus, than we could possibly have done in 1828. Let us now, then, examine how far the principles I then laid down are confirmed by the information that has thus subsequently come to light. These principles were the following:—

1. The classic poetry of the Hindus, when considered with regard to its relative antiquity, may be classed under three different eras; the most ancient of which is that of the Vedas; the second, that of the great epic poems; and the third, that of the dramatic writings; so far, we had assigned the right characteristics to each of them: a fourth kind, which comes in later, (since the birth of Christ,) cannot properly be said to belong to the classic ages.

2. The epic poem was the fountain-head of the arts and sciences, and the source from whence most of the other kinds of poetry took their rise.

3. It was also the true source of the Hindu national theology, while the Vedas, on the other hand, were merely an embodied representation of the objects of natural religion.

The determination of the respective eras of Sanscrit poetry could then only be effected by means of historic testimony; but now, we are in possession of the most valuable and authentic evidence, which, however, to be made available, requires a critical acquaintance with the language itself. I shall therefore refer to the following passages from an article inserted in the *Göttingen gelehtre Anzeiger*, by Professor Ewald, in order that it may be seen how far my classification met the approval of one of the most profound Sanscrit scholars of the present day. "The specimens from the Vedas," he observes, "are sufficient for enabling us to trace a variety of style between those ancient writings, and the other specimens of Hindu literature which come nearest to them in point of antiquity. This would prove that an interval of many centuries must have elapsed between the composition of the Vedas and the Ramayana: we see how the Sanscrit of the former has been softened and smoothed down in the epic poems, to almost as great a degree as the language of Homer, when deprived of its native freedom by the hands of the Grecian dramatists. The metre also of the Vedas betrays evident marks of a similar distinction, far removed as it is from the formality and unalterable rules to which the epic slokas are subject." An equal modification of style may likewise be discovered, upon comparing the epic and dramatic writers. The language of the Sacontala is the purest Sanscrit. Sir William Jones's translation, however well it may generally serve to represent its poetical

beauties, is nevertheless very far from always conveying the true sense, or even elegance, of the original. At the same time, we perceive that, while the Sanscrit is exactly the same all over India, the popular idiom of the Pracrit, on the other hand, is divided into two distinct dialects, of which the higher one, spoken by the female characters of the play, differs but little from the Sanscrit, except in its broader pronunciation; the second, which is put into the mouths of the lower classes, differs in a very material degree. The precise periods of time that must have intervened between the respective writers of the Vedas, the two epic poems, and the Sacontala, cannot now with any certainty be determined, from the want of accurate chronological data. We may, however, from a comparison of the different eras of our own national poetry, be able to form some conjectures with respect to those of the Sanscrit; and, indeed, whoever will take the trouble to compare the Vedas, the Ramayana, and the Sacontala, with Luther's Psalms and Church Hymns, Klopstock's Messiah, and Schiller's Maid of Orleans, would easily find himself induced to carry the parallel much further.

That the epic poetry of India was the fountain-head of the arts as well as the source of the dramatic and lyric species, has been already demonstrated, from the representations on the Hindu monuments, drawn from thence; and the argument is further strengthened by the account given of the colossal reliefs at Mavalipuram and Ellora, inserted in the last volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.* With respect to the dramatic poetry of the Hindus being founded on their great epic poems, we are in possession of new and decisive evidence in Chézy's edition of the Sacontala, in conjunction with the episode of the Mahabharat, from whence the dramatist has borrowed his materials. "And though," as Professor Ewald observes, "we might be inclined to assign a more recent date to the episode of Sacontala than to the rest of the Mahabharat, still it is by no means less certain that the latter poem must have been composed some centuries before the time of Calidasa, the author of the drama."

And lastly, it is now also evident, from the above-mentioned specimens of the Vedas, that they cannot be looked

upon as the source of the present mythology of the Hindus. "At that early period," remarks the same distinguished critic, "a complete revolution must have taken place in the philosophical notions of the people, which shows itself still more clearly in their religion and mythology than in the language itself. The hymns of the Vedas are addressed to the dawn of day, the sun, fire, and rain, etc.: the descriptions of such deities are merely personifications, in which there is not the slightest exhibition of heroic adventure. Of the infinitely rich and perfectly mythological characters of the epic poems, (such as Siva, Krishna, etc.,) not the slightest vestige is discoverable; while at a later period the simple divinities of the Vedas shrink quite into the back-ground."

Thus, what Herodotus said of his countrymen may with equal propriety be applied to the Hindus, viz. that their mythology owed its existence to the epic poets; and the fact that the æsthetic and religious systems of India may be dated from the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, in the same manner as Greece derived hers from the Iliad and Odyssey, will no longer admit of a doubt.

APPENDIX XI.

On the Commerce of Ceylon.[1]

WHEN the British first took possession of Ceylon, and began to extend their researches into the interior of that interesting island, they soon met with the most convincing proofs that its former condition must have been very different from what they now saw. They beheld with astonishment the stupendous remains of ancient civilization, not merely

[1] From a Latin Dissertation by the author, entitled "De Ceylone Insula per viginti fere sæcula communi terrarum mariumque Australium Emporio;" read before the Göttingen Society in 1831.

temples and other edifices, but, what is more extraordinary, tanks of such amazing extent as to deserve rather the name of lakes, being intended for the purposes of irrigation, and not formed by nature, but constructed by art, and the whole faced with hewn stone. Upon examining these striking relics of former prosperity, still existing after the lapse of ages, the question very naturally arose, to what period is their erection to be referred? That a considerable portion of the general history of India itself must depend on that of Ceylon, is certain, not only from the remains just alluded to, but also from the express testimony of ancient writers. The worship of Buddha, concerning the rise and progress of which we at present know so little, still flourishes in Ceylon; and however foreign this may appear to the question before us, it is hardly necessary to remark that religion has at all times exerted no small influence on the fortunes of commerce.

We must first however premise a few observations on the nature, situation, and productions of this island, in order thereby to illustrate the peculiarities of its commercial history. That the Taprobane[2] of the ancients is synonymous with the Ceylon of the moderns, and the Selan-Div[3] of the Hindus, it would be superfluous to show; for in this point the geographers are all agreed; though at the same time I willingly allow that the accounts of ancient authors may sometimes be applied to other islands. In fact, it is generally the case with all distant countries and islands, to be called by vague and indefinite appellations, in proof of which we need only mention the name of India itself as employed by Europeans.

Ceylon is by far the largest island of India on this side the Ganges: its circumference having been ascertained by modern travellers to amount to a hundred and twenty geo-

[2] Onesicritus is recorded as the first author who mentions Ceylon under the title of Taprobane, and its variety of names in the East, as well as in Europe, is one of the extraordinary circumstances that attend it. See the list given in VINCENT'S *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 493. Taprobane has been ingeniously derived from *Tap*, an island, and *Raban*, or *Ravan*, (for *b* and *v* are indifferently pronounced,) a former king of the island, conquered by Rama, *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 39. TRANSL.]

[3] [Selandiv, or Serendib, was corrupted by the Arabs from Singhala-dwipa, which is the true Sanscrit name, meaning the island of Singhala, or the "lion-raced," in allusion to a former king of Ceylon, fabulously reported to have sprung from a lion. See *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 48. TRANSL.]

graphical miles. Some ancient writers indeed have assigned it a much greater extent, a mistake which may very possibly have arisen from confounding Ceylon with the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula, or from placing too much confidence in the fabulous reports of certain navigators of the age of Ptolemy. On the other hand the companions of Alexander, and among them Onesicritus, have indicated its real size with sufficient accuracy when they put it down at five thousand stadia.[4] In either case it is reasonable to suppose that the circumference of the island has always continued the same, particularly as there is nothing to show that it has lost by the encroachment of the ocean. The more plausible opinion, however, that it was formerly joined to the continent, is evidently disproved by the oldest Hindu poems now extant, which uniformly represent Lanka, or Ceylon, as detached from the main-land, and only joined to it by a bridge.

The interior of Ceylon is occupied by mountains covered with impenetrable forests, the highest of which is the one now commonly called Adam's peak, in the southern part of the island. The shores are generally level, and on the northern side form an extensive and continuous plain. Its central position between the east coast of Africa, Arabia, and India on either side the Ganges, as far as the shores of China, seems to have been destined by nature for Ceylon's becoming the grand emporium of the South; while its ample and secure harbours afford unusual facilities to navigation.[5] It is separated from the continent by a narrow frith, abounding in shoals, but intersected by channels sufficiently wide and deep to admit the passage of a moderately-sized vessel.

The northern part of the island, already alluded to, and extending from Trincomalee on the east, as far as Aripa and Manaar on the west, requires to be examined somewhat

[4] STRABO, xv. p. 1012. [According to Strabo, Onesicritus did not mention whether it is in length, breadth, or circumference. In all probability he meant the latter, because, at eight stadia to the mile, this amounts to six hundred and twenty-five miles; which is not very far from the truth, for in Rennell's map the length is two hundred and eighty miles, the breadth one hundred and fifty, and the circumference six hundred and sixty. To make amends, however, for accuracy in this point, he adds that it lies twenty days' sail from the continent. TRANSL.]

[5] The harbour of Trincomalee is said to be the best in India.

more in detail. Manaar[6] is a small island, separated from the larger one of Aripa by a narrow channel. The sea is here full of shoals as far as Tuttocarin on the opposite continent, and was celebrated even in the remotest antiquity for its fisheries of pearl-oysters, and a species of shell called chank,[7] which is used by way of ornament, and in certain religious ceremonies. It is not therefore surprising that this portion of the island, as being most adapted to the purposes of navigation and commerce, as well as the cultivation of rice, should consequently have been more crowded with inhabitants than the other parts, a circumstance which is confirmed by the remains that still exist. It is in this neighbourhood we meet with the ruins of the once flourishing cities of Mantotti and Condromalee; and, according to the testimony of Knox,[8] the banks of the river Aripa, which flows into the bay of the same name, are covered with fragments of pillars and ruined buildings. At Mantotti is seen an immense artificial reservoir, called by the natives Cattocarle, or The Giant's Tank, of capacity sufficiently ample for the irrigation of land producing upwards of forty million pounds of rice.[9] The number of Roman coins also found

[6] [Manaar in the Tamul language signifies a sandy river, applied here to the shallowness of the strait. *Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 395. TRANSL.]

[7] *Voluta gravis* of Linnæus. [Specified as the *Murex Tritonis* by M. Bournouf. The chank shells, which are of a spiral form, are chiefly exported to Bengal, where they are sawed into rings of various sizes, and worn on the arms, legs, fingers, and toes of the Hindus, both male and female. They are likewise used entire to sound as a horn at funerals, and are employed for other purposes in religious ceremonies. A chank opening to the right hand is highly valued, and being rarely found always sells for its weight in gold. Thousands of these shells are also buried with the bodies of opulent and distinguished persons in Bengal, which is the cause of the great and constant demand for them. TRANSL.]

[8] ROBERT KNOX, *Historical Relation of the Isle of Ceylon*, vol. iv. chap. 10.

[9] SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, in a Memoir read before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian, i. 3. p. 347. Compare the account of ANT. BERTOLACCI, (formerly comptroller-general of the customs,) in his excellent work, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interest of Ceylon.* London, 1817, p. 131. [The circumference of this tank is nearly eighteen miles, and the dam laid across the Aripa river to divert the stream into it, is constructed with stones of seven and eight feet in length, by four in breadth, and from two to three feet thick. The length of the dam itself is six hundred feet, its breadth in some parts sixty, never less than forty, and its height from eight to twelve. Not less surprising are the works constructed round the lake of Candeley, about sixteen miles from Trincomalee. This lake or tank, which is nearly fifteen miles in circumference, is embanked in several places, with a wall of huge stones, each from twelve to fourteen feet long, and of proportionable breadth and thickness. That part of this majestic work particularly deserves attention, where, by a parapet of nearly one hundred and

here, particularly of the age of the Antonines, is another proof of the active and flourishing state of commerce in Ceylon in former times.

Having thus premised, it will now be requisite to say something of the method in which I purpose to conduct the present inquiry; confining myself throughout to such facts as are derived from sources purely historical and worthy of credit; to notice mythological and fabulous reports, would be altogether foreign to my design. We shall commence, therefore, with the epoch at which the most certain and ample testimony relative to the commerce of Ceylon was consigned to writing: we shall then ascend into more remote periods, in order to show the corresponding antiquity of the commerce in question; the next step will be to return to the point of setting out, and so descend into the middle ages as far as their termination; in pursuing which course, I hope to establish on satisfactory grounds the truth of the proposition already stated in the commencement of this Essay, viz. "that Ceylon continued to be the common emporium of Southern commerce for upwards of two thousand years."

Our first epoch, then, will be nearly the middle of the sixth century after the birth of Jesus Christ. In this period, that is to say, about A. D. 560, and in the reign of the emperor Justin II., a merchant named Cosmas, who afterwards became a monk, travelled for commercial purposes as far as Adule, at that time a celebrated port, belonging to the king of Axume in Ethiopia, and situate near to Arkeeko. Here he met with a certain acquaintance by the name of Sopater, just then on his return from Ceylon, which he had visited in the capacity of a merchant. It was from the report of this voyager that Cosmas drew his account of Ceylon and its commerce as it then existed, and which he has inserted in his *Typographia Christiana*, a work of unquestionable veracity. And as all I propose to advance in the present discussion will be founded on this account of Cosmas, I shall make no apology for transcribing the whole passage from the version of Montfaucon,[10] as follows :—

fifty feet in breadth at the base, and thirty at the summit, two hills are made to join in order to encompass and keep in the waters of the lake. BERTOLACCI, etc. p. 14. TRANSL.]

[10] *Montefalconii Collectio nova Patrum*, tom. ii. pp. 333—338.

"Taprobane is a large island in the Indian Ocean, called by the Hindus *Silediva*, where the precious stone termed hyacinth[11] is found; and it is situated above the pepper country (*περαιτέρω τῆς χώρας τοῦ πεπέρεως*). A great number of small islands, closely adjoining, surround it; each of which contains fresh-water springs, and abounds with cocoa-nuts (*ἀργελλίοις*).[12] According to the inhabitants, the large island is nine hundred miles in length, and as many in breadth. It is governed by two kings, who are always in a state of mutual hostility; one of them possesses the mountainous region producing the hyacinth-stone, and the other, the remaining portion of the island, in which are the commercial towns and harbours, and which is, therefore, most frequented by the neighbouring people. There is also a church of Christians from Persia, under the inspection of a presbyter ordained in the latter country, together with a deacon, and other ecclesiastical officers.[13] The native inhabitants, with their respective kings, profess a different religion. Numerous temples are to be seen in the island, and in one of them particularly there is said to be a hyacinth of great brilliance and uncommon size, being almost as large as the cone of a pine-tree (*στρόβιλος*); this stone is placed in an elevated and conspicuous situation within the sacred edifice; and, when illumined by the rays of the sun, reflects a light which may be seen a considerable distance, forming altogether a most curious and extraordinary spectacle.

"A great number of vessels from all parts of India, Persia, and Ethiopia, are in the habit of trafficking with Ceylon, so conveniently situated as it is with regard to those countries, while the island itself has also a numerous fleet of ships belonging to its own merchants. From the interior countries of the East, (*τῶν ἐνδοτέρων,*) that is to say, from Sina, (*Τζίνιτζας,*) and other mercantile places, she procures silk, aloes, cloves, and tzandana, (*τζανδάναν,*) with other articles of commerce peculiar to those regions: these, in her turn, she transmits to more distant countries; to Male, where the

[11] [The ruby of Ceylon is proverbial. Paolino. PLIN. xxxvii. 41. TR.]

[12] [*Narikela* is the Sanscrit, and *nargil* the Persian name for the cocoa-palm tree. TRANSL.]

[13] [These Christians were Nestorians, whose *catholicos* resided at Ctesiphon, and afterwards at Mosul; in fact, they were the same as the Malabar Christians of St. Thomè. TRANSL.]

pepper grows; to Calliana, a place of great trade, from whence the return cargo consists of native brass, (χάλκος,) sesasum-wood,[14] and other articles adapted for clothing (*σησάμινα ξύλα καὶ ἕτερα ἱμάτια*); further, she transports them to Sindus, the country of musk, or castoreum, and spikenard; and also to Persia, Homerite, and Adule; from all these parts Ceylon receives an exchange of merchandise, which, together with her own produce, she forwards into the interior of India. Sinde, moreover, is the commencement of the last-named country; for the river Indus divides it from Persia. The principal trading towns of India are, Sindus, Orrhota, Calliana, Sibor, Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Pudapatana, the last five being included under the province of Male; about five days and nights' journey further (from Male) is Silediva, or Taprobana. Still further, on the continent, is Mavallo, which produces a peculiar kind of shell-fish; and Caber, which affords the alabandanum.[15] Next to this is the country where cloves grow; and, lastly, Sina, whence silk is procured; beyond this there is no other region, the ocean forming the boundary of Sina to the east.

"The island of Silediva, therefore, being situated almost in the middle of India, and producing the precious stone called hyacinth, receives merchandise from all other countries, and supplies them in its turn; it is consequently itself a place of very great mercantile resort. This I was told both by Sopater himself, and his fellow-travellers, who had sailed from Adule to the same island."

Thus far the account which Cosmas has handed down of Ceylon, according to the relation of Sopater. It is evident, therefore, that, about the middle of the sixth century after the birth of Christ, this island was the common centre, as it were, of the commercial transactions which took place between the countries of the South, from the eastern shores of Africa as far as China. Nor can there be any doubt of the nature and character of this trading intercourse; for it

[14] [It is uncertain what this article can be; but it is also mentioned in the Periplus, and may possibly be a corrupt reading in both. TRANSL.]

[15] [Vossius reads *ἀλαΐς ἀδινόν*, which seems unintelligible; but he informs us it means nutmegs of Banda. We are, however, at present on the coast of Coromandel. Hoffman says, all *merces barbaricæ* are so called, as also toys and trifles. TRANSL.]

is equally clear that Ceylon was the intermediate point, where the merchandise of many different countries was collected together, and a mutual interchange of their respective productions negotiated; it follows, therefore, that the kind of trade here carried on was one of exchange, or, in other words, a carrying trade, notwithstanding the island also had its own exports, consisting in articles of native produce. We further learn, from the passage above quoted, that Ceylon was at this time inhabited by two distinct races, and governed by two different princes. The mountainous, or interior part of the island, which produced the precious stones and cinnamon, was subject to one of them; and the coast, with its harbours and commercial towns, came under the dominion of another or more, who, as it appears, were continually at war with the former. This circumstance may be explained by supposing the maritime districts to have been in the possession of a race of foreigners, who had established themselves in the island with a view to commerce, and were of a different origin from the native inhabitants. That these strangers were Persians must be inferred from the words of the author; at the same time we may reasonably comprehend under that denomination, not only Persians properly so called, but also, on account of the trade carried on with them, the inhabitants of the countries immediately bordering on the Persian Gulf. These foreigners seem to have constituted a single colony of Christians, noticed by Sopater more particularly, because that traveller had himself embraced the same faith. It is, however, extremely probable that natives of other countries, Arabia or Malabar for instance, had also settled in the island at the same time with the former.

Among the various kinds of commerce carried on with foreign nations, particular mention is made of that with the Ethiopians at the port of Adule. For at this time flourished the kingdom of the Axumitæ, to whom the productions of India were indispensable, being exchanged for the gold with which the country abounded. We further meet with the Homeritæ, inhabiting the shores of Arabia Felix, in whose country was the harbour of Aden, situate beyond the straits of Babelmandel, and therefore easily accessible to ships sailing direct from India, without a change of wind being ne-

cessary. Next to these, the Persians are mentioned, that is, natives of the Persian Gulf, together with the Mediterranean provinces of Persia itself.

The most important trade, however, of Ceylon, was that carried on with the continent of India, comprising the western coast of the peninsula, from the mouths of the Indus as far as the land of Malabar, where pepper grows. We here meet with the name of Sinde, an appellation still in use to denote the countries situate on the lower part of the Indus. The fact of musk being noticed as an article of importation from this quarter, necessarily leads us to infer the existence of a corresponding commercial intercourse with Thibet and the Himalaya mountains, which is the native country of the drug in question. On the shores of India, several ports are mentioned by name; as Orrhota, now called Surat; Calliana, the modern Callian, near Bombay; Sibor, which is uncertain; and Male, still preserved in Malabar. This latter is the native country of pepper, and was, in the time of Cosmas, so remarkable for its extensive trade, as to contain no less than five ports, to be sought for in the modern provinces of Cochin and Travancore, and whose names all ending in *patan*, evidently betray their Indian origin. Mavallo, which comes next in the enumeration, from whence the shell-fish termed *chanks* are procured, I take to be Manaar; the only mistake committed by Cosmas is, that he places it on the continent, whereas, in fact, it is a small island. On the eastern or Coromandel coast, we look in vain for the famous city of Mavalipuram, cut out of the solid rock; an omission which is the more surprising, because Caber, or Cabera, immediately follows, in which every body will at once recognise the river Caveri with the town situate at its mouth, close to the modern Tranquebar. Alabandanum, occurring as one of its productions, would seem to specify a particular kind of precious stone.[16]

It is not, however, merely the produce of the Indian peninsula that we read to have been conveyed to Ceylon; but that also of countries and islands much more remotely situated. Of this kind are the spices, and silk, imported from Tzinitza, or China. That the Sunda islands were already well known many ages before the time of Cosmas, we shall have occasion to show hereafter, from Ptolemy. It seems most likely, therefore, that voyages between these several places were made by the Chinese, in the same kind of vessels which they now use, called *junks*. This indeed may be inferred from the express words of Cosmas, when he mentions the importation of "aloes, spices, and tzandana, from Tzinitza, and other distant regions." As to *tzandana*, it seems to be identical with the modern sandal-wood; and all writers are unanimous in considering silk as the peculiar and exclusive produce of China and the neighbouring countries alone.

[16] [Reported by Mons. Dutens to be something between an amethyst and a ruby. TRANSL.]

It may appear strange that so few of the indigenous productions of Ceylon itself are mentioned; that is to say, only precious stones and pearls, without a single allusion to cinnamon and ivory, with which the island abounds. This apparent inconsistency, however, is removed, when we come to consider the very nature of Singhalese commerce, and at the same time serves to show the vast extent and importance of the latter. For, as we have already seen, the trade of Ceylon consisted for the most part in the exchange of foreign goods, brought thither in great quantities from distant regions; in comparison with which the sole produce of the island itself, would seem very trifling and insignificant. Besides, cinnamon grew only in the interior, and not in the northern parts of the island, to which alone Sopater's visit was confined; and we must also recollect, that at this early period, gardens appropriated to the cultivation of cinnamon were not yet in existence.[17] The same peculiarity, however, is observable in the commercial history of the Phœnicians, Venetians, and Dutch, as long as they continued in succession to monopolize the trade of the whole world. For the productions mentioned as peculiar and indigenous to either people, are precisely those of native manufacture; whereas, on the other hand, nothing of the kind appears to have been yet extant among the inhabitants of Ceylon. With regard to silk manufactures, which at this time flourished in high perfection on the Indian continent, we shall show presently that the art was not introduced into Ceylon

[17] [See this argument further examined in VINCENT's *Periplus*, etc., p. 511, sq. TRANSL.]

till a much later period; though to be sure the island was already a most extensive market for silk goods of foreign manufacture.

What has been advanced, therefore, up to the present stage of our inquiry, may be considered as amounting to an absolute proof of the fact, that Ceylon, especially the northern part of it, was, in the sixth century of our era, the common mart of Australian commerce. Now, if we ascend from this epoch into more remote times, the reader surely will not require a description of the island always as circumstantial as that of Cosmas; which, indeed, would be altogether unnecessary for the purpose of insuring credit to our relation; for the nature and extent of Singhalese commerce being once ascertained, we shall have less occasion for particular proof in the sequel.

Setting out then from the middle of the sixth century, and passing over an interval of four hundred years, let us go back to the second century after Christ; that is, to the age of Ptolemy the geographer. Here also we meet with indications equally certain, though more concise than those exhibited by Cosmas. In Ptolemy's work on geography,[18] there is a whole chapter dedicated to Ceylon, (called by the natives Salice,) which contains such an accurate description of the island, as may justly excite our admiration. The particular sources from which this writer derived his geographical information, namely, the reports of contemporary navigators and merchants, have already been pointed out in a separate treatise.[19] Ptolemy, however, seems to have been acquainted not only with the shores of the island and its harbours; but even in some degree with the interior also, though less accurately than the former. His description of Ceylon commences with the northern part, proceeding westward as far as the southern promontory, and from thence to the eastern shores and the interior of the island. He remarks, that it was formerly called Palæsimundi, (which we shall presently see confirmed by Pliny,) but in his own time Salice, and the natives Salæ[20] (whence Selan and Ceylon);

[18] PTOLEM. *Geogr.* lib. vii. cap. 4. [19] See Appendix XII.

[20] [There is a particular caste on the island at this day, called Salé, or Challe, and Challias; they are labourers, manufacturers of stuffs, and cinnamon-peelers, and are settled in the southern districts of the island, where they form the principal part of the population in the neighbourhood of Point de Galle. *Asiatic Res.* vol. vii. p. 431. TRANSL.]

that the productions for which it was celebrated were rice, honey, ginger, precious stones, viz. beryl and the hyacinth; gold and silver; elephants and tigers; but what is astonishing, not one word about cinnamon here either! In the first place, therefore, he mentions rice, which grows only in the northern part of the island, where lakes have been dug for watering the lands. The precious stones and metals are found in the interior alone; and ivory, in the southern part, where the geographer places the elephant-pastures. On either coast of the island four ports are noticed, and twelve cities; particularly on the northern side, where was the commercial town of Modutti, (recognisable in Mandotti,) and also that of Talacori. In the interior are six cities, among which Amurogrammum, the residence of the court, and the capital Maagrammum,[21] are specified. This account of Ptolemy will derive some illustration from comparing it with the narratives of modern travellers. Among these the most remarkable, and at the same time the earliest, is Robert Knox, a native of Scotland, who, in the year 1657, was shipwrecked on the coast of Ceylon, and detained in the island nearly twenty years in captivity; until at length he fortunately contrived to escape to the Dutch settlements on the shore, from whence he returned to Europe. This extraordinary man was possessed of every qualification which would be required in a traveller who sits down to describe distant countries; the utmost degree of historical credit, and an attentive eye to every thing worthy of remark; add to this, a perfect acquaintance with the language of the natives, so that it is not greatly to be wondered that the contents of later itineraries are scarcely more than a supplement to the description of Knox. He had himself seen the monuments of antiquity still extant in the island; and had diligently inquired into their former names, most of which he committed to writing; and upon comparing his account with that of Ptolemy, some of them appear to be still in common use. The geographer, for instance, calls the principal river in the island by the name of Ganges, in which we are at no loss to

[21] [Maha-grammam, i. e. the great city. There is a town in the south-eastern part of the island still called Mahagam, or Mahagram. TRANSL.]

recognise Mavela Gonga,[22] which flows into the ocean near Trincomalee. The mountain called by Ptolemy, Malea, under which were the elephant-pastures, extending as far as the sea, still bears the name of Malell among the natives;[23] but among Europeans, that of Adam's Peak. It is situated in the southern part of the island, and is a place of distinguished resort for pilgrims from all quarters. The name of the royal city Amurogrammam, appears to survive in the Amuroburro of Knox, in which, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, ninety kings formerly reigned, who erected many temples, and had divine honours paid to them in consequence.[24] The word *gramma*, which often occurs in the island, would seem properly to imply, not only a city, but its surrounding territory as well; for thus Knox also observes, that Amuroburro is the name of a city together with the neighbouring country.[25] This town was situated

[22] [Maha-bali-ganga, i. e. the great river of Bali. TRANSL.]

[23] KNOX, *Description of Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 4.

[24] Ibid. vol. i. p. 44.

[25] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 323. [In order to appreciate the author's derivation of Amuroburro from Amurogrammam, it may be necessary to observe, that the Indian terminations *grammam*, *burro*, or *pura* and *gore*, are nearly synonymous; and mean in either case a village or town. A paper, containing some remarks upon Anarajahpura, or Anaradhepura, (evidently the Amuroburro of Knox,) and Mehentélé, in the island of Ceylon, by Captain Chapman, R. E., was read before the Asiatic Society of London, at their general meeting on the 21st July, 1832. This officer visited Anarajahpura in 1828, and was induced to lay his notes before the Society in consequence of finding the oral traditions collected by him on the spot, to agree in a remarkable manner with the accounts contained in the Ceylonese Histories, entitled Mahavansi, Rajavali, and Rajaratnacari; translations of which, prepared under the auspices of Sir A. Johnston, are now in course of publication. The city of Anaradhepura is situated in the district of Neura Wanny, in the interior of Ceylon, about 8° 15′ N. lat. and 80° 35′ E. long. According to the native records it continued to maintain its rank and importance for the long period of fifteen hundred years. The only traces now remaining of magnificent buildings, once said to have existed within its limits, are nine temples still held in great reverence, and ruined tanks and groups of columns scattered about for several miles. Captain C. devotes a section to each of these temples, which he subsequently illustrates by copious extracts from the histories above named. From Anaradhepura the captain and his party proceeded to Mehentélé, about twelve miles north-east of the former place, the road to which was, for some distance, along a beautiful lake, formed by an artificial embankment, upwards of two miles in length, of great thickness, and in many places thirty feet in height. The large *daghope*, or hill-temple, at Mehentélé, is said to be a hundred and twenty cubits high, and is approached by a flight of two hundred steps. After describing the other antiquities of Mehentélé, and illustrating them by extracts from the sacred histories, Captain C. concludes with a disquisition respecting the antiquity of Anaradhepura; the foundation of which, from various authorities, he places at 470 B. C.; thus assigning to these interesting remains, the remote antiquity of two thousand three hundred years. TRANSL.]

on the northern side of an extensive plain, the largest in the island, in which were artificial lakes upwards of a mile in circuit, for irrigating the rice plantations.[26] And in fine, the Modutti of Ptolemy, which he describes as a commercial city, is called Mantotti by the present inhabitants; in its neighbourhood is the Giant's Tank, destined for the same purpose as the above-mentioned lakes.

According to Ptolemy, various nations inhabited the island, called indeed by the common name of Salæ, but otherwise of different races; he begins his enumeration with those on the western side, and then proceeds to those on the east. Their unknown names appear to indicate a Malabar origin; which, although I must leave for others to decide, it is no less certain that the condition of the island in the age of Ptolemy, was precisely similar to that described by Cosmas; in other words, that the shore was occupied by foreigners, who possessed the harbours and commercial towns, while the interior was left to the aboriginal inhabitants.

Ptolemy adds, that *before*, or to the west of Ceylon, lay a multitude of smaller islands, in number amounting to one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight, nineteen of which he mentions by name.[27] That this must be understood of the Maldives, no one who is acquainted with their situation, can possibly doubt. For they are not so properly single islands, as a congeries of smaller ones, called Atollons, being eighteen or nineteen in number, and defended by a belt of coral reefs against the violence of the ocean; while each of them contains a multitude of sandy islets, separated only by narrow channels. It is evident, therefore, that the islands alluded to by Ptolemy, must be these very Atollons; and the vast number assigned to them is itself a proof that they were not merely accessible, but also frequently visited by navigators.

But further, the Sunda islands, as they are now called, to the eastward of Ceylon, were by no means unknown to Ptolemy. He mentions particularly Jabadia, the most fertile of all, and which is no other than Java (Javan-Dwipa); the capital town he represents to be Argentea, on the northern side of the island and upon the site of the modern Ban-

[26] JOHNSTON, loc. cit. p. 546.

[27] PTOL. vii. 4. s. fin.

tam, which is at no great distance from the Dutch settlement of Batavia. The very name of Sunda, however, may be found in Ptolemy; for he notices three islands in this situation called Sinde. Three others are likewise mentioned under the name of Sabadib, in which we again meet with the Hindu termination *dib*, or more correctly *dwipa*, signifying an island: the inhabitants are stigmatized by him as cannibals, an epithet which has been abundantly confirmed by the testimony of modern travellers. The fact, hitherto conceived too horrible to be true, has at length been established beyond the possibility of a doubt by the researches of Mr. Anderson,[28] who visited the Battas inhabiting the interior of Sumatra and the adjacent islands, and found those people in the common habit of feeding on human flesh, though in other respects possessing a high degree of civilization, and by no means unacquainted with the refinements of life.[29] Ptolemy mentions several other islands, which it would be hazardous, perhaps, to attempt defining with individual accuracy; but as Java, particularly the northern part, was well known to him, we can hardly suppose him to have been ignorant of the celebrated passage called the straits of Sunda, between that island and Sumatra. That the Java sea was navigated, is evident from Ptolemy's mentioning a peculiar kind of vessel in use among these islands, the planks of which were fastened by bolts of wood instead of iron, in perfect agreement with the description of Pliny.[30] When we add to this, his account of India beyond the Ganges, together with the Golden Chersonesus, now called the peninsula of Malacca, and Serica, with its various cities and ports, it will be impossible to doubt, that in the age of Ptolemy these countries were accessible to navigators, and that Ceylon was the common mart for the trade of them all.

From Ptolemy let us now proceed to Arrian, the author of a work entitled, the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan,

[28] ANDERSON'S *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra, in the year* 1823.

[29] [See also, *Life and Public Services of Sir Stamford Raffles*, 4to, p. 425. In a letter to Mr. Marsden, the historian of Sumatra, Sir Stamford gives a detailed account of this extraordinary and revolting practice, from which it appears, upon the most unimpeachable testimony, that the Battas are cannibals both upon principle and system, and that criminals and prisoners are not only eaten according to the law of the land, but that the same law even permits their being mangled and eaten alive! TRANSL.]

[30] PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 26.

or India Sea, certainly prior in time to the geographer, though it is doubtful whether he flourished in the reign of Nero, or under the Antonines. The excellent account of Indian commerce preserved to us in the Periplus of this writer, is too well known to require illustration in this place, at the same time that it is equally worthy of credit, as the author himself visited India as a merchant, and therefore describes what came under his own immediate observation. In this work we are presented with an accurate description of the Malabar coast, together with a distinct notice of its different ports, and the particular kind of trade for which they were severally remarkable. Hence we gather the flourishing state of commerce on the southern part of the peninsula, in Cochin and Travancore, the native country of the pepper-plant, and in the close neighbourhood of Ceylon itself. To this latter island, indeed, our author never went; which is much to be regretted, though what he has written concerning it is well worth an attentive examination.[31] In his time, it appears, the former name of the island, Taprobane, had been changed to Palæsimundum; that the northern part was best cultivated; that distant voyages were often made from thence in large vessels; and that the island abounded with pearls and precious stones, fine linen, and tortoise-shell. In this brief notice, the first point which requires discussion is the origin of the name of Palæsimundum;[32] and here, fortunately, we may borrow some light from Pliny.[33] In fact, the historian informs us that Palæsimundum was a very large city, containing upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants. It seems, therefore, to have been the capital of the island, being much frequented by merchants and seafaring men, so that possibly the name of

[31] ARRIAN, *Peripl. M. Erythræi*, ed. Stuckii, sub fine. It is, however, quite evident, both from the testimony of Arrian, and in a later age, that of Ibn Batuta, a celebrated traveller of the fourteenth century, that much of what is here advanced respecting the commerce of Ceylon may with equal justice be applied to the opposite coast of Malabar. He mentions several very flourishing places of trade in Malabar, filled with opulent Mohammedan merchants, and frequented by vessels from China. See *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, chap. xviii., *translated from an Arabic MS.* London, 1829.

[32] [With respect to the derivation of this word, the late Mr. Hamilton considered *Simuntu* as expressing the utmost boundary, or extremity; in this case, *Palisimuntu*, or *Palæsimundu*, would signify the limit of the expedition of Bali, the Indian Hercules, as he has been called.]

[33] *Hist. Nat.* vi. 24.

the town may have been applied to designate the whole island, just as in our time Batavia is often put for Java collectively. Ptolemy, indeed, does not mention the city by name; but he speaks of the promontory of Anarismundum, which Salmasius long ago suspected to mean the same thing.[34] The city in question was situated on the northern side of the island; and by some has been sought for in the modern Jafnapatam. It is more probable, however, according to the account of Pliny, which we shall presently refer to, that its site must be looked for on the bay of Trincomalee, which is, besides, the finest harbour in all India. Large vessels are also mentioned, adapted for making long voyages, and distinct from those formed out of a single piece of timber. Though Arrian, therefore, could not furnish us with such a correct description of Ceylon as those who had actually been there, it is nevertheless sufficiently evident from his account, that the northern part of the island was then in the highest state of cultivation, and the seat of a most extensive trade, not only with western countries, but also with the East as far as the mouths of the Ganges, including the Golden Chersonesus, or Malacca, and the neighbouring islands, even to the remotest province of China.

Let us now proceed to the examination of Pliny.[35] The accounts furnished by this author are of two kinds, which ought to be carefully distinguished from one another: the first belongs to his own age, or at least that of the Cæsars; the second comprises what he copied from older writers. We learn, however, both from himself and Strabo, that in his time, as well as during the Cæsars, who immediately preceded him, a very large trade was carried on with India through the Arabian Gulf. From the time, indeed, that Egypt was reduced to a Roman province, navigation took such extraordinary strides, that not only single vessels, but whole fleets, yearly set sail to the different ports of India, and were freighted back with a return cargo of native produce, in exchange for specie. What Pliny relates of Ceylon, was borrowed from the accounts of the ambassadors who had been sent from that island to Rome, in the time of the emperor Claudius. This embassy was occasioned by

[34] Salmas. *ad Solin.* p. 684.

[35] *Hist. Nat.* vi. 24.

the following circumstance: a freedman of Annius Plocamus, who farmed the customs on the Red, or Indian Sea, happened, as he was coasting about Arabia, to be blown away by the north wind, and carried to the port of Hippuri in Ceylon, where he was kindly received and hospitably entertained by the king of the country for the space of six months. At his suggestion the king was induced to send an embassy to Cæsar, consisting of four persons, under the direction of their chief, Rachia (in which latter appellation we immediately recognise the Hindu Rajah, and therefore an honorary title, and not a proper name, particularly as the individual himself is called a chief, or prince, *princeps*). These ambassadors reported that there were upwards of five hundred towns in this island; that Palæsimundu, with its adjoining harbour, was the most magnificent of all, and contained the royal palace, together with a population of two hundred thousand souls. That in the same neighbourhood was the lake Megisba, three hundred and seventy-five miles in circumference, from which two rivers flowed, one to the north, the other, called Palæsimundum, close to the town of that name, and emptying itself into the sea by three mouths. From this account it is evident, first, that the freedman above mentioned must have been carried to Ceylon by the Etesian wind, or, in other words, by the north-east monsoon; that he landed on the northern side, where, as we have before observed, those lakes are found, and, in short, at the harbour of Hippuri, the precise locality of which I cannot venture to determine. In the second place, it is equally clear that the island must have been in a very flourishing state, to contain no less than five hundred cities, of which it appears that Palæsimundum, with its port, was the chief. All these particulars coincide with the bay on which Trincomalee is situated; the largest river in the island, by name Gonga or Ganges, flows into it; the harbour is the most convenient in the whole island; even the remains of the ancient city are still to be found; and if I may be allowed to conjecture, its very name is discoverable. In a map of Ceylon, edited by Bertolacci,[36] there is a place laid down on the northern mouth of the river, by the name of

[36] Bertolacci, *View of the Agricultural and Commercial Interests of Ceylon.* London, 1817.

Pontjemolli, which might easily be corrupted, by Greek enunciation, into Palæsimundum.[37] Be this as it may, however, it is quite evident that Ceylon was at this time possessed of a very extensive commerce; for we learn that the father of Rachia himself undertook a voyage to Serica, on a commercial speculation. We shall omit the rest of Pliny's account, in which, if we sometimes discover truth mingled with fable, (admitting the latter to have come from the ambassadors,) there will be no great reason for surprise, as it was this writer's especial aim to collect wonderful stories; for he closes his account with, "the rest is according to the report of our navigators." There is no occasion, then, to dwell any further on this part of our subject, my design being merely to show that the condition of Ceylon, as far as relates to commerce, was the same in the age of Claudius, and consequently at the commencement of our era, as we have already proved it to have been in the time of Ptolemy and Cosmas.

From the period of the Cæsars, let us now go back to more remote times, that is, to the age of the Ptolemies and Alexander the Great. In the three centuries which intervene, we meet with presumptive evidence of the splendour of Ceylon; though the accounts of writers respecting the island itself are less frequent and less circumstantial. In the first place, but few of those accounts have come down to us; and secondly, the commercial intercourse between Ceylon and the Western world was more seldom, and took a circuitous route. It is altogether erroneous to suppose, as is very often the case, that under the Ptolemies, annual voyages were in the habit of being made between Egypt and India; because there would obviously be no occasion to go to the latter country, for what was to be obtained much nearer home, in the abundant and well-supplied markets of Arabia Felix. Besides, we have the decisive testimony of Strabo, to the point, that although he saw in the harbour of Myos Hormos as many as one hundred and twenty ships of burden destined for India, yet he never heard of more than

[37] [Making every possible allowance for the liberties taken by the Greek writers, in accommodating foreign sounds to their own pronunciation, it will still be very difficult for the author to persuade any one of the probability of the derivation given in the text. Besides, the name Pontjemolli may be comparatively modern. TRANSL.]

one or two vessels at most having undertaken this voyage during the reign of the Ptolemies.[38] In fact, the Egyptians were not yet acquainted with the periodical winds, blowing every six months from an opposite quarter, called monsoons; which, according to Arrian, were not discovered till some ages after, by Hippalus,[39] when Egypt had already become a Roman province: there is no doubt, however, that the Arabians had made use of them long before. All that has come down to us of the age of Ptolemy, is the account of a voyage said to have been made by one Iambulus, which is either a fabrication, or at least mixed up with fable; it is quoted by Diodorus.[40]

The accounts, therefore, of Ceylon, which were current among the Alexandrines in the age of the Ptolemies, did not come from eye-witnesses who had themselves visited the island, but only from the report of Alexander's followers, Nearchus and Onesicritus, and after them, from Megasthenes and Daimachus, who were sent as ambassadors by the Seleucidæ to the Indian court of Palibothra, and from whom Eratosthenes, Agatharchides, and subsequently Strabo and Pliny, borrowed their accounts of Ceylon. All these writers, therefore, relate, not what they had actually seen, but what they had gathered by hearsay, in the distant countries bordering on the Ganges; and, of course, they contain much that appears fabulous.

Let us see, then, what Alexander, in his expedition to India, heard reported of the island of Ceylon. That its reputation was very great, even at this early period, is attested by Strabo and Pliny.[41] The latter has these words, "Taprobane was for a long time considered to be a second world, and went by the appellation of Antichthones. It was discovered to be an island during the expedition of Alexander the Great. Onesicritus, the admiral of his fleet, says, that it produces larger elephants than India. According to Megasthenes it is divided by a river, and the inhabitants are called Palæogoni,[42] and abound much more with gold and large pearls than the Indians. Eratosthenes makes it seven thousand stadia in length, and five thousand in breadth. It has

[38] STRABO, xi. p. 179.
[39] ARRIAN, *Peripl. M. Eryth.* sub fine.
[40] DIODORUS, i. p. 167.
[41] PLIN. et STRABO, in loc. cit.
[42] [That is, probably, the descendants of Bali? TRANSL.]

no cities, but only villages, of which there are reckoned upwards of seven hundred. Its beginning is in the Eastern Ocean, and was formerly supposed to be twenty days' sail distant from the kingdom of the Prasii; but it being afterwards found that the natives commonly made the passage in vessels of very slight build, like those used on the Nile, the distance was reduced to seven days' sail. The intermediate ocean is here and there shoaly, but with occasional channels so deep that no anchor can reach the bottom. For this reason the vessels, which are generally of about three thousand amphoræ burden, are built sharp fore and aft, in order to avoid the necessity of going about, in the narrows. The natives only put to sea during three months of the year, and wait a hundred days after the summer, and as many after the winter solstice, before they venture out."

The expression which Pliny himself makes use of in quoting these remarks, viz. "that he borrowed them from ancient writers," is a sufficient proof that they belong to the age of Alexander and his successors.[43] Strabo likewise refers to the same authority, and in enumerating the various articles of merchandise, particularly tortoise-shell and ivory, exported from Ceylon into India, affords convincing testimony that the island was at that time the seat of a widely-extended commerce. No further evidence therefore is required to show, that upwards of three hundred years before Christ, and consequently nine hundred before the time of Cosmas, the island of Ceylon, and above all, the northern part, together with the channel which divides it from the Indian continent, was the seat of a very active and opulent trade.

But if Ceylon had already acquired such a distinguished name as a commercial emporium in the time of Alexander, we are fully justified in concluding that its celebrity extends much further back, and reaches even the epoch of Persian dominion. This, indeed, is corroborated by the Journal of Nearchus, who commanded the fleet of the Macedonian conqueror. We are informed, that as this officer was entering the Persian Gulf on his return from India, the promontory of Maketa, now called Muskat,[44] was pointed out

[43] Strabo, xv. p. 1012.

[44] [The author must surely be mistaken; for in all our maps, this promontory is now called Cape Mussendon, whereas Muskat, the ancient Moscha Portus, is at least seventy leagues further to the east. Transl.]

to him as the principal mart for cinnamon (which is a native of Ceylon) and other Indian productions, which were transported from thence into Assyria, i. e. Babylonia. The same writer also notices the pearl-fisheries of India. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the produce of Ceylon found its way to the markets of Arabia, Babylonia, and Persia, as early as the time of the Persian empire.

There is no occasion to carry the subject any further back, to the voyages of the Phœnicians and Jews under Solomon; this has been already done in another treatise; and besides, the name of Ceylon does not occur in that early period. Lest I should therefore advance what is doubtful and uncertain, in the place of what is clear and authentic, I shall rest satisfied with having endeavoured to show, that five centuries before Christ Ceylon was already noted for her trade and navigation.

Let us now, then, retrace our steps to the time of Cosmas and Sopater, the epoch from which we set out, preparatory to establishing the correspondent activity of Singhalese commerce in the middle ages. Here it will, perhaps, be objected, that we must necessarily grope our way in the dark; for, excepting the accounts of two Arabian travellers, published by Renaudot, we have no information relative to India or Ceylon, prior to the invasion of the Mongols in the eleventh century. The objection is certainly valid, as far as India is concerned; but with respect to Ceylon, considerable light has been thrown on the subject by a memoir of Sir Alexander Johnston, lately read before the Asiatic Society of London.[45] Sir Alexander was for seven years one of the judges of the supreme court of Ceylon, and visited every part of the island, particularly the northern coast, which is now almost deserted, with the view of supplying government with data in their projected restoration of its ancient commerce. Hence he was led to investigate the nature and form of Singhalese trade in earlier times; and for this purpose he applied himself not so much to the native Hindus as to the Mohammedan merchants and priests still residing in the island, whose fathers had themselves been engaged in this very commerce. We have, therefore, not

[45] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. part iii. p. 537—543; from which the following is taken.

the fabulous reports of the natives to guide our inquiry, but the authentic evidence of men who still cherished a recollection of former prosperity. Their accounts comprise the interval of time which elapsed since the Mohammedan merchants first visited the island; and upon comparing them with the narrative of Cosmas before quoted, every one must be satisfied of their correctness and veracity. We find, in short, the account of Cosmas and Sopater repeated in almost the same words.

From them it appears that the first Mohammedans who established themselves in the island, were Arabs of the family of Hashem; who, in order to escape from the tyrannical oppression of the Caliph Abdolmelic, withdrew about the end of the sixth century, from the Euphrates to the coast of Malabar and the Concan, and subsequently into Ceylon; so that these emigrations were a consequence of the disputes between the Abassidæ and the Hashemites. In Ceylon they founded eight colonies, at Trincomalee, Jafnapatam, Mantotte and Manaar, Cudramalle, Putlam, and then at Columbo, Barberin, and Point de Galle. The most celebrated of these, however, were Manaar and Mantotte, on account of their proximity to the narrow channel dividing Ceylon from the continent; their commanding the passage through; and also on account of the pearl-fisheries in their neighbourhood.[46] The whole trade, therefore, passed from the hands of the Arabs and Malabarians, who had formerly possessed it, into those of the Mohammedans; and was carried on with Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Hindustan, on one side, and with the Ultra-Gangetic countries, the peninsula of Malacca, and the adjacent Archipelago as far as China, on the other. It was in this part of the island that the Chinese merchants, who had left their own country with a cargo of silk goods, and bartered them on the voyage for aloes, nutmegs, and articles of perfumery, sold the latter to traders from Arabia and Persia; so that Ceylon became the centre of an exchange commerce between the productions of the East and those of the Western world. The Singhalese merchants were, even at that time, persons of considerable wealth; but the most flourishing period of their commercial prosperity, was the interval between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Their ample warehouses, extending from Manaar to Mantotte, were then filled with the most valuable productions of Ceylon and the neighbouring countries; such as rice from Trincomalee; purple dye from Jafna; shells and pearls from Cudramalle; areca-nuts and betel leaf from Putlam; cinnamon and precious stones from Columbo; cocoa-nut oil from Barberin; and ivory from Point de Galle: all this, however, was nothing compared to the merchandise procured from foreign countries. Moreover, these spirited merchants contrived to maintain their influence in the straits as well as on shore, by stationing armed vessels in the roadstead to defend the channels, by which alone the harbour could be approached. They also took care that the artificial lakes or tanks, of which there are said to have been upwards of six hundred, built for the purpose of irrigating the rice plantations, should be always kept in efficient repair; the adjacent country was therefore in a most excellent state of cultivation, and thickly populated. Sir Alexander Johnston also informs us, that about this time a number of silk weavers were first introduced into Ceylon, from India; to whom the king of the island granted unusual privileges, and allowed them to have their own laws and courts of justice.

In this manner did commerce flourish in the hands of the Mohammedan merchants of Ceylon, till the beginning of the sixteenth century. From that period, however, it gradually declined, in consequence of the great change brought about in navigation by the discovery of a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope; when the straits between Ceylon and the continent were no longer frequented by vessels, and the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, successively established themselves in the island. Nevertheless, it is still said to contain near seventy thousand Mohammedans, dispersed abroad in the various ports and towns on the coast.

I shall now draw these observations to a close, though much still remains worthy of closer investigation; particularly when we are furnished with some more accurate descriptions of the northern part of the island, and the ancient monuments there found. What has hitherto been advanced,

[46] The ruins of Mantotte are still to be seen, near the Giant's Tank, called Cattocarli. Sir A. Johnston, p. 546, not. 2.

however, may be considered sufficient to establish the truth of our proposition, that Ceylon, for the space of about two thousand years, continued to be the common emporium of Southern commerce; and that, consequently, commercial history in general, but particularly with reference to India, is mainly dependent on that of Ceylon. We have also alluded to the peculiar nature of this commerce, which was carried on by foreign colonists, who had made settlements on the coast, while the native inhabitants, confining themselves to the interior of the island, abstained altogether from maritime occupations. And, further, it has been shown that these foreigners were of various countries; being either Arabians, Persians, or Hindus from the coast of Malabar,[47] whose descendants are still found on the island.

APPENDIX XII.

On the sources of Ptolemy's Geography.[1]

THE question relative to the authorities consulted by Ptolemy, in drawing up his Geography, was first mooted by the late Dr. Brehmer of Lubeck, and by that lamented scholar answered in a novel manner.[2] Before his time, it had been usual to assume the fact of their being purely Grecian;

[47] KNOX, p. 323, expressly declares, that the natives of Malabar extraction are altogether different from the Singhalese; both as regards their physical appearance, their language, and their habits of life. The same writer mentions having seen a town in Ceylon, exclusively inhabited by Malabarians; but subject to the king of the island. Compare BERTOLACCI, p. 39, sq., who carefully enumerates the different races of inhabitants.

[1] From an essay laid before the Royal Society of Göttingen, July 17, 1824, *De fontibus Geographicorum Ptolemæi, tabularumque iis annexarum; num ii Græcæ an vero Tyriæ originis fuerint?* and which may also be considered as a supplement to the extracts from the author's other treatises, presented to the same Society, and which are found in his *Historical Works*, vol. iii. The essay itself appeared in the *Comment. Rec. Soc. Götting.* vol. vi.

[2] In his *Entdeckungen aus dem Alterthum*, Th. i. ii. Lubeck, 1822.

Brehmer, on the contrary, maintained that Ptolemy's work itself, as well as the accompanying charts, usually attributed to a certain Agathodæmon, who is said to have lived at Alexandria in the fifth century, were in reality derived from Phœnician or Tyrian sources. In other words, that Ptolemy, or, more properly speaking, his predecessor, Marinus of Tyre, who lived but a short time before him, and whose work he only corrected, must have founded his geographical descriptions and maps on an ancient Tyrian Atlas, representing in several plates or tables, probably as many as are contained in Ptolemy's work, namely, twenty-six, the whole world as known to the Tyrians. That this ancient Atlas was the fruit of the commercial voyages and travels of the Phœnicians, which naturally led to the construction of geographical charts; and, indeed, rendered such an undertaking indispensably necessary. And, that the above-mentioned work, therefore, together with the accompanying maps, might properly be considered as exhibiting the commercial geography of the Phœnicians: a new ray of light would thereby be thrown on the subject itself, and at the same time upon remote antiquity in general; while the geographical knowledge and extensive commerce of that enterprising people would emerge at once from the obscurity in which they have so long been enveloped.

Before we proceed to examine the ground-work of this hypothesis, it will be necessary to premise a few words respecting Ptolemy's Geography, and the accompanying charts. In the first of the eight books which compose the whole work, the author informs us of the origin and object of his present undertaking, and lays down some rules for the construction of maps. The six following contain little more than a bare nomenclature of towns, mountains, and rivers; always, however, with the addition of their longitude and latitude, according to the three climates of the world, and the several countries they respectively contain. The eighth and last book comprises a catalogue of three hundred and fifty towns, together with the length of the day in each, for the purpose of determining its latitude, and the distance either east or west of Alexandria, with regard to time, for its longitude. According to the report of Ptolemy himself, he was led to undertake this work by the example of

his immediate predecessor, the above-mentioned Marinus of Tyre, who must have lived about the commencement of the second century, as Ptolemy flourished in the middle of the same period. This Marinus had published three successively improved editions of his Geography; the two first being furnished with maps, which he was only prevented from adding to the third by death. Ptolemy bears witness to the great care bestowed upon this work: in fact, Marinus had made use of every available source in the accounts of travellers, whether ancient or modern, in order to improve his Atlas (πίναξ γεωγραφικὸς). The maps, however, belonging to the second edition were no longer applicable to the third, which had been so much improved; and the followers of Marinus would have been led into a great many mistakes, had they attempted so to apply them: moreover, there was still room for considerable improvement in the text of the third edition itself. In consequence, Ptolemy determined to undertake the labour of correcting Marinus where it should be necessary, adopting, however, the general substance of his work, and subjoining to the last book some instructions on the method of drawing geographical charts.[3] This will serve to explain the relation in which Ptolemy's work stands to that of Marinus: with the exception of some improvement in the details, and the addition of the first and eighth books, which undoubtedly belong to the former writer, the remaining portions of the work are the sole and exclusive property of Marinus alone.

Some good manuscripts of this work, particularly one in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and another in that of St. Mark at Venice, are furnished with a series of ancient maps, twenty-six in number, of which ten are devoted to Europe, four to Africa, and the remaining twelve to Asia. These maps are, in the MSS. themselves, attributed to a certain Agathodæmon; for at the end we read the following subscription: Ἀγαθοδαίμων μηχανικὸς Αλεξανδρεὺς ὑπετύπωσε. He was, therefore, an artist of Alexandria: but this comprehends all that we certainly know of him. The common opinion, that he lived in the fifth century, rests upon the bare assumption of his being the same individual as the grammarian named

[3] Ptol. *Geogr.* i. cap. 6, 17.

Agathodæmon, to whom some epistles written by Isidore of Pelusium are still extant. This supposition, however, is not only without foundation, but is even extremely improbable, from the unlikely circumstance that an artist should be at the same time also a grammarian. On the other hand, he might very possibly have been contemporary with Ptolemy, and have assisted him in the construction of his charts. Several passages[4] plainly intimate Ptolemy's own intention of adding maps to his work. In the modern editions of the Geography, these maps have not always remained without alteration, though copied in the first instance from the originals themselves. The first edition accompanied with the charts is that of Rome, in the year 1478;[5] these charts were copied in that of 1490. The second edition is that of Ulm, in 1482, which was furnished with maps by the care of Nicholas Donis, a Benedictine of the monastery of Reichenbach. It is a mistake to suppose, as is commonly done, that all the maps in our editions belong to this editor; for he had no share in either of the two which were issued at Rome. The nature and extent of the alterations made in the charts appended to these editions, can only be determined by a more accurate comparison of them with the originals. The Roman editors appear to have altered least: they have not introduced new names, but only supplied them in certain cases by a reference to Ptolemy himself; they do not even seem to have made any improvement in the geographical outline of countries which were incorrectly laid down.

We must, however, leave it to the future editor of Ptolemy to furnish a more accurate notice of these variations. In the mean time, we shall proceed to examine the arguments advanced by Brehmer in support of his hypothesis.

The first is grounded on the "declarations of Ptolemy himself."[6] The author here alludes to the passage where it is said, "that Marinus had met with several accounts of

[4] Particularly lib. i. cap. 19.

[5] An earlier one of 1475, the *editio princeps*, is without maps: as to the edition purporting to be of the year 1462, Fabricius and others have already shown that date to be spurious. All the old editions exhibit the Latin version, often altered and improved, of Jacobus Angelus. The first edition in the original Greek was that of Erasmus, printed at Basil in the year 1533, by Frobenius.

[6] Brehmer, *Entdeckungen*, i. 25.

earlier travellers; that he had carefully perused the writings of almost all his predecessors on this subject, and had made such corrections as they or himself deemed necessary. "This," says Brehmer, " is evident from the improvements in the successive editions of the Atlas (πίνακος γεωγραφικοῦ)."[7] But the last-mentioned work is, in fact, that of Marinus alone, which he several times edited and corrected according to the former editions. The passage consequently makes nothing for Brehmer; on the contrary, it rather militates against him, for it expressly mentions the accounts of preceding travellers, both ancient, indeed, and modern, as the sources from which the work was composed, but without any allusion to an ancient Tyrian Atlas being consulted for that purpose.

The next argument advanced by Brehmer is drawn from the " impossibility of constructing without a model, and with no other assistance than mere catalogues of names, and other data furnished by Ptolemy, a series of charts, so exact and conformable to nature as the ones in question."[8] This opinion, however, is formed only from an inspection of the charts as they appear in the printed editions; for the author never examined the manuscripts themselves, and therefore we are unable to judge of its correctness. But, independent of this, we are ready to allow, that no such ancient charts, supposing them to be as exact as the author mentions, could possibly have been designed without the help of some previous sketch. There is little doubt that charts of countries were in existence before the time of Marinus, and they might very likely have been made use of by him: indeed, we should not be at all surprised to find that the Phœnicians had attempted the construction of a general map of the known world, and even particular delineations of different countries. We learn from Herodotus,[9] that their neighbours and commercial allies, the Greeks of Asia Minor, possessed such maps; and if we do not find it expressly mentioned that the Phœnicians had theirs also, this circumstance ought to form no solid objection; because, where is it possible now to look for proofs in support of our opinion? The geographical attempts just alluded to might have been im-

[7] Ptol. i. cap. 6. [8] *Entdeckungen*, i. 37. [9] Herodotus, v. cap. 49.

proved from time to time, and thus have served as models to Marinus in constructing his own charts, which were nevertheless very imperfect, notwithstanding the improvements he made on the labours of his predecessors. Marinus, who was a native of Tyre, and undoubtedly had it in his power to consult the literary treasures of Alexandria, would easily find in the latter place all the requisite materials for his undertaking. But that at such an early period a complete and original Atlas should have been immediately formed, in consequence of the mercantile connexions of Tyre in the most ancient time, is, to say the least of it, an unnecessary assumption.

" Further," argues Brehmer, " many of the names occurring in Ptolemy's work evidently betray their Phœnician origin." It is certainly true, that many names in ancient geography come from the Phœnicians; but does it therefore follow, that they were all taken from a very ancient and original Atlas? And, as they must already have been a long time in use, might not the Greeks have adopted them in their own nomenclatures and charts?

The most important argument, however, advanced by Brehmer, still remains to be considered. He appeals to the extent of Ptolemy's geographical knowledge as compared with that of his predecessors, for instance, Eratosthenes and Strabo;[10] and, indeed, the difference between them on that score is sufficiently striking. Eratosthenes lived and wrote at Alexandria, and was himself superintendent of the famous library; we may therefore reasonably conclude that its ample resources were at his perfect disposal. Strabo, notwithstanding his temporary residence at Alexandria likewise, and the same facility of consulting its literary stores, nevertheless closely follows in the steps of Eratosthenes, and copies his descriptions of distant countries and regions; so that with some few exceptions, which have already been discussed in another treatise,[11] he has not much advanced the science of geography. The northern parts of Asia were entirely unknown to him; as a proof of which, he represents the Caspian Sea as a bay of the ocean; and his

[10] Brehmer, *Entdeckungen*, i. p. 24.
[11] *Commentationes de fontibus Strabonis*, in Comment. Rec. Soc. Götting. vol. v.

knowledge of India was extremely confined. Two or three cities in India, on this side the Ganges, comprehend the whole of his acquaintance with that part of the world; his notice of Ceylon is limited to a few traditional reports; of the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula he was perfectly ignorant. The little more that he knew of Arabia was chiefly derived from the verbal accounts of Ælius Gallus, the lieutenant whom he conversed with in Egypt. Of Æthiopia, the parts adjacent to the coast are almost all that he describes; while his knowledge of Libya extends no further than Ammonium. That he was completely ignorant of northern Europe from the Elbe to the Caspian, is his own honest confession. How very different does the case stand with regard to Ptolemy! In the Eastern part of the world, the continent of India now emerges from its obscurity: and though incorrectly laid down, yet enough is said of it to evince Ptolemy's knowledge of the coast, and the maritime towns, and even the interior of the country. Of Ceylon alone he notices upwards of twenty towns and harbours; and he is the first geographer who mentions the peninsula beyond the Ganges. His description of Arabia, comprising the interior as well as the coast, enumerates a large list of names. No less remarkable is his knowledge of the northern parts of the world; he was acquainted with the peninsula of Jutland and its inhabitants, if not also with Norway and Sweden. The Germanic nations, and even those inhabiting the modern countries of Poland and Lithuania,[12] as far as the Baltic, were well known to him. The Caspian Sea is no longer represented as a gulf of the ocean, for the existence of vast tracts of country to the north of that lake was now fully ascertained.

Hence, therefore, arises the question, whether during the interval of time which elapsed between Strabo and Marinus, and again between Marinus and Ptolemy, that is, during the first hundred and fifty years of our era, the science of geography had made sufficient progress to enable us to account for its extraordinary subsequent development, as exhibited in the works of latter writers? The scantiness of

[12] The names of these latter nations, frequently corrupt in the original, have been corrected and put in order, by the late M. GATTERER, in his third essay, *An Populorum Letticorum Origines liceat a Sarmatis repetere?* See *Comment. Soc. Götting.* vol. xii. p. 210, etc. The essay is accompanied with an improved map of Lithuania, after Ptolemy.

our authorities, particularly for the last half of the above period, including the reign of the Antonines, will not indeed permit us to return a positive answer to this question. Thus much, however, is certain, that war as well as commerce, by sea and land, most powerfully contributed thereto.

Among the causes, then, most favourable to the progress of geography, we may reckon, first, the wars which were carried on in the time of Augustus against the Germans of the north-west, as well as the confederation under Marbodus, in the opposite quarter; the history of which had already furnished Strabo with his account of Germany.[13] After Augustus and Tiberius, we may instance the wars in Britain, which commenced under Claudius, and lasted till Domitian; and were followed, not only by the subjection of the southern parts of the island, but also by the circumnavigation of the northern coast by Agricola, as we learn from Tacitus. Next to these were the wars under Nero against the Parthians; and, after the conquest of Mauritania, the almost incessant frontier war with the nations inhabiting the interior of Libya, the Garamantes and others, as far as the Great Desert. Under Domitian began the wars on the Danube against the Daci, so gloriously terminated by Trajan; who reduced Dacia itself into a Roman province. The Asiatic campaigns also of the same emperor, against the Parthians and the Arabians, must have greatly furthered the interests of geographical science. Add to these the wars in Ptolemy's own age, against the Marcomanni, which extended a considerable distance north of the Danube.

But still more influential was the operation of commerce in the improvement of geography. The late M. Gatterer has already shown, that it was owing to this cause the countries extending from the Danube to the Baltic first became known.[14] But more especially does the observation apply to the southern parts of the world, which, during this interval, progressively came to light. The conquest of Egypt by the Romans, laid the foundation of an improvement in geographical science; for we are told by Pliny, that from the time of their entering the country, a regular and spirited commercial intercourse was opened between Egypt and In-

[13] See my historical treatises.

[14] GATTERER, loc. cit.

dia. Some kind of connexion, indeed, between the two countries, appears to have subsisted under the Ptolemies; but only through the medium of Arabia. Now, however, whole fleets of merchantmen set sail with the monsoons every year from Myos Hormos on the Arabian Gulf, to the ports of India and Ceylon;[15] from which latter island an embassy was sent to Rome as early as the reign of Claudius;[16] and in consequence, the Indian Ocean with the countries situate on its coast, and the neighbouring islands, became generally better known.

It is, however, certain, that during this period, especially the latter part of it under the Antonines, and therefore in the age of Ptolemy, the interior countries of Southern Asia, that is, Arabia and India, were no less explored by means of caravans, than the coasts were by sea voyages. This particularly holds good with regard to the reign of Antoninus Pius. But owing to some strange fatality, it has happened that the reign of this prince, the most excellent perhaps that ever sat on a throne, is precisely that of which we have the fewest memorials extant, from the almost complete destruction of the contemporary historians. It is nevertheless easy to show that this period must have been extremely favourable to the progress of general commerce, and consequently therefore of geography. At the commencement of his reign, Adrian made peace with the Parthians, and even restored to them the territories conquered by his predecessors; the consequence was, that for the space of forty years, under him and Antoninus Pius, the interior of Asia enjoyed almost perfect tranquillity. The happy effects which this moderation produced, are sufficiently demonstrable, in the absence of history, from the ruins discovered in those countries, not only at Palmyra, which has been explored long since, but also within these few years at Gerasa and Petra on the Syro-Arabian frontier, and also at other places. The style of architecture, as well as the number of inscriptions found in these ancient cities, prove beyond a doubt that their most flourishing period belongs to the age of the Antonines. From what other sources, indeed, could they have derived their opulence, situated as they were in a barren country,

[15] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 24. [16] Ibid. vi. 26.

and even in the heart of deserts, except from the Indo-Arabian commerce, the high roads of which at that time, and long after, passed through those places? Although the evidence furnished by these data is sufficient generally to show that in the hundred years previous to Marinus and Ptolemy, wars, commerce, and travel had greatly contributed to the extension of geographical knowledge; yet we must not omit to include the active co-operation of professed writers on the science. The work of the elder Pliny will serve to confirm our position; what an abundance of geographical information do we not meet with in his first six books, upon comparing them with Strabo! We read of geometrical surveys carried on as early as the time of Augustus, under the superintendence of his son-in-law Agrippa;[17] and partially in the countries above Egypt, under Nero.[18] But what especially deserves our consideration in treating of this period, are the written accounts of land and sea voyages *(peripli)*. The only work of the latter kind now extant, is the celebrated Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, by Arrian; evidently the composition of a merchant who traded to the shores of the Indian peninsula, and a fair specimen of the manner in which these voyages were written. That such accounts of travels were of frequent occurrence, may be inferred from Ptolemy himself, who observes that Marinus borrowed his materials from similar authorities.[19] The successively improved editions of his work on geography are another proof of the fact; for how otherwise could Marinus obtain additional and more correct information on the subject, except by consulting the accounts of recent travellers? We have, indeed, the express testimony of Ptolemy on this point, for he mentions the names of certain writers whom Marinus had thus made use of.[20] These were, for the maritime countries of the Indian seas, Diogenes, Theophilus, an Alexander of Macedon, Dioscurius, and "many others:"[21] for the interior of Libya, Septimus Flaccus, and Julius Maternus:[22] and for the route to Serica, Titianus of Macedon, also called Maës,[23] the son of a merchant who had sent his commercial agent into that country. The narratives of all these travellers were consulted by Marinus. And if we

[17] Plin. iii. 3. [18] Ibid. vi. 35. [19] Ptol. i. 6. [20] Ibid. i. 9, 14.
[21] Ibid. i. 14, ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν. [22] Ibid. i. 8. [23] Ibid. i. 11.

inquire further, upon what Ptolemy founded his corrections of the Tyrian geographer, he himself informs us that it was the perusal of the latest itineraries.[24] With regard to the determinations of latitude and longitude, and particularly what is reported in the eighth book of the duration of the longest day, together with the distance of places from Alexandria according to time, we cannot, indeed, pretend that all this was the fruit of actual observation: but only, for the most part, the result of calculations made from the several distances laid down by the travellers above mentioned.

There is, therefore, no occasion for us to have recourse to the hypothesis of an ancient Tyrian Atlas in order to explain the improved state of geographical science, as exemplified in the works of Marinus and Ptolemy: on the other hand it is evident from the preceding remarks, that the countries and seas which they describe had been actually visited and explored by contemporary travellers; and such authorities might just as likely have been consulted by the writers in question, as any original Phœnician work. We have not indeed attempted to show from what sources Ptolemy borrowed all the particular details of his geography, or the accompanying charts. Such an inquiry presupposes a critical examination of the text, and a collation of the best manuscripts, together with a correct and scrupulously faithful copy of the ancient charts; and even then we could scarcely hope, considering the total loss of all the writings before noticed, to ascertain the precise authorities in every instance which Ptolemy consulted.

APPENDIX XIII.

On the Commercial Routes of Ancient Asia.

In the chart of Asia appended to this work, I have endeavoured for the first time to point out with critical ac-

[24] Ptol. i. 19.

curacy, the ancient commercial routes of Asia, as well by land as by sea. And, although a particular account of them has already been given in the course of the work itself, yet perhaps a general view of these routes, together with the authorities on which I formed my conclusions, will not be unacceptable to the reader, particularly as he will then be enabled to judge how far they are correct, or only probable. I shall also subjoin a review, before promised, (vol. i. p. 357, note,) of the commercial routes laid down by Dr. Brehmer in his map of Asia.

LAND-ROUTES.

I. ROUTES OF THE ARABICO-PHŒNICIAN CARAVANS.

Their direction is towards Petra in northern Arabia, and from thence to Phœnicia.

1. Route from Arabia Felix to Petra: attested by Strabo, (p. 1113,) who points out its direction, as well as the number of days' journey. (See vol. i. p. 356.)

2. Route from Arabia Felix to Gerra: also ascertained from Strabo (loc. cit.) by his mentioning the number of days' journey. The town of Leuke Kome[1] through which it passed, according to Seetzen, (Monatl. Corresp. Jan. 1813, p. 75,) was so called from the whiteness of its cliffs. I have made this route to commence from Mariaba, or Saba, as the capital town; the passages, however, already quoted from Ezekiel and the other prophets, evidently show that there was a commercial intercourse with all parts of the country.

3. Route from Gerra to Tyre; not positively mentioned, but there can be no doubt of its existence, particularly as on one hand, Gerra is represented as an opulent town, (see vol. ii. p. 433,) and on the other, its land commerce is expressly noticed by Agatharchides (Geogr. Min. i. 60, and Strabo, p. 1110); the prophets also, Ezekiel, xxvii. 15, and Isaiah, xxi. 13, allude to its connexion with Tyre, that is, if we assume, as is generally supposed, their Dedan to be one of the neighbouring islands in the Persian Gulf, pro-

[1] [It is not easy to see why this route should pass through Leuke Kome, such direction being less circuitous in the case of the first-mentioned route, from Arabia Felix to Petra. Transl.]

bably one of the Bahrein islands. (See vol. i. p. 434.) With regard to the direction of the route from Gerra to Tyre, we have no certain information. I have made it pass directly through the middle of the great Arabian desert, and perhaps I am justified in so doing by the passage above quoted from Isaiah. The modern route is from Hedjaz through the fertile plain of Nedjed, due west to Mecca, or the ancient Macoraba. According to Seetzen (Monatl. Corresp. Sept. 1813, p. 244,) it occupies the caravan thirty days, and passes through several villages, whereas the route to Medina is all desert. In this case the route would here join that of Yemen, and consequently, though longer, would be less dangerous.

4. The route to Egypt, particularly Memphis, (see vol. i. p. 361,) requires no explanation, as the commercial intercourse between that country and Phœnicia admits of no doubt whatever.

5. The route by which the Phœnicians traded with Armenia and the Caucasus, (see vol. i. p. 368,) is no where determined. But as these countries were well peopled and civilized, there was in all probability no general route, individual merchants being at liberty to choose their own way.

II. ROUTES OF THE BABYLONICO-PERSIAN CARAVANS.

A. *Routes leading to Western Asia.*

1. Route from Lydia to Susa in Persia: there can be no doubt of its existence, as Herodotus (v. 52) mentions both the direction and the number of stations. (See vol. i. p. 426.) Some mistake, however, seems to have crept into the text, for the whole amount of stations is said to be a hundred and eleven, whereas eighty-four only are specified. Whether this be owing to the inadvertence of Herodotus himself, or his transcriber, it is impossible to say.

2. Route from Babylon to Phœnicia: no where positively laid down, and perhaps there were several. We have two reasons, however, for presuming it to have passed through Palmyra. In the first place, because that was the most obvious direction, otherwise the caravan would have been obliged to make a large circuit to the north, or else have to

cross an extensive desert entirely without water; and on the other hand, we know Palmyra to have been a very ancient city, and that from its position it could scarcely have had any other original destination, than to serve as a resting-place to the caravans. (See vol. i. p. 366.) The route then led to Thapsacus, an important commercial town on the Euphrates, which it crossed at Circesium, and subsequently took a southerly direction through the Median wall to Babylon.

3. Route from Babylon to Syria; precisely determined by Strabo, p. 1084. This was exclusively a caravan-route, for none but a large body of merchants could undertake such a journey, as it passed directly through the heart of the Mesopotamian desert, and was infested by roving hordes of robbers, who levied a toll on all passengers. It traversed Syria, as far as Anthemusias, where it crossed the Euphrates; from hence it proceeded through Bambyca to Edessa; and afterwards, at a distance of three days' journey from the river, it passed through the steppes inhabited by the Scenites, or nomads, and where were some cisterns of water, to the town of Scene on the frontiers of Babylon, and about eighteen schœns, or seventy-five miles, distant from Seleucia on the Tigris. This route was probably frequented by the Phœnicians; but as Strabo quotes no authorities on the point, it is impossible to ascertain how long it had been in use; no doubt, however, it was from very early times.

B. *Routes leading to Eastern Asia.*

1. Route from Babylon and Susa to India: may be considered as forming but one single route, as the road between the two cities was much frequented, and the intermediate countries well peopled, and in a high state of civilization. (Arrian, iii. 16; see vol. i. 419.) From hence, however, the route to the countries situate on the Indus, could not take a direction full east without having to pass through the great desert between Persis and Media; it therefore proceeded due north of the desert, through the latter country, and was consequently, for the former part of its course, identical with the royal road, mentioned by Herodotus, on the left bank of the Tigris, leading into Asia Minor. Near

the Median frontier it joined the direct route to India, the principal stations of which have been enumerated by Strabo and Pliny. Now, as both these writers derived their information from earlier sources, Strabo from Eratosthenes, and Pliny from the companions of Alexander, that is, from Beton and Diognetus, who were attached to the royal army in the capacity of geographers, (*βηματισταὶ, itinerum dimensores,*) we cannot therefore doubt either the direction or the antiquity of the route before us. It is, nevertheless, frequently difficult to assign the exact position of certain places, owing to the corruption of the numbers in the MSS. and the very defective state of our modern charts of these countries. The reader may, however, advantageously consult Mannert, vol. v. part ii.

On leaving Mesopotamia, the route went directly east, in about 36° N. lat. to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, (Ptol. i. 22,) and from thence by Rages to the Caspian Gates (Πύλαι Κάσπιαι). Every thing that came from Western Asia to the east, must necessarily pass through these gates, because on the north the way was blocked up by the Hyrcanian mountains and their barbarous inhabitants, while towards the south began the desert. It is, therefore, important to ascertain the position of this pass. Its exact situation will be found in the Caspian mountains, which at this point divide Media from Aria, in 35° N. lat. and 52° E. long. (Compare Mannert, vi. ii. 175, with Rennell's chart.) According to Pliny, (vi. 17,) it was a very narrow defile, about eight Roman miles in length, cut through the rocks.

From the Caspian pass, the high road led by the following places: Hecatompylos in Parthia, Alexandria in Aria, Prophthasia in the country of the Drangi, Arachotus and Ortospana, to the Indus. With regard to these stations, the account of Eratosthenes, as preserved by Strabo, (p. 782—1053,) agrees perfectly with that of Beton and Diognetus in Pliny (vi. 17, 21); though they occasionally differ as to their respective distances; and therefore it is not always easy to determine their real position. As far as concerns the whole length of the route from the Caspian pass to the Indus, the difference between the two is not material, as may be seen in the following comparison of the several distances mentioned by both writers :—

	Pliny. *R. Miles.*	Strabo. *Stadia.*		*R. Miles.*
Hecatompylos	133.	1960	=	245.
Alexandria in Aria	566.	4530	=	566¼.
Prophthasia	199.	1600	=	200.
Arachotus	515.	4120	=	515.
Ortospana	250.	2000	=	250.
Alexandria	50.			
Peucela on the Indus	227.	1000	=	125.
	1940.	15210		1901¼.
Geographical miles,	388.			380.

This variation is too trifling to affect the general accuracy of the account; though not much stress is to be laid on this circumstance; for even Pliny has already observed, that the manuscripts of his time varied in their determination of places, as we still find to be the case in the modern copies. (See Salmas. Exercit. in Plin. p. 556.) Moreover, the sum total of 380 geogr. miles appears too much; for, as these places are laid down in our present maps, the distance scarcely exceeds 300. Our geographical knowledge, however, of this part of the world is not yet sufficiently accurate to enable us to determine every one of the admeasurements with correctness.

The first station is Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia; its situation, however, cannot be precisely ascertained, owing to our uncertainty respecting the distances. Its name, signifying "a hundred gates," is evidently Greek, and according to Polybius, (x. 28,) was derived from the circumstance of a hundred roads meeting in that place. It must, therefore, have been an important mart for the carrying trade.

The second principal station is Alexandria in Aria, as far as which, Strabo expressly informs us, the route was one and the same all the way, but that her it separated into two branches, one of which led to Bactria, and the other, with a southerly direction, into India. It would be desirable to ascertain the position of this town with sufficient accuracy; all that we have to guide us, however, is the bare information, that Alexandria was situate 566 miles to the east of Hecatompylos, and on the banks of the river Arius, (Plin. vi. 23,) which flowed into a lake of the same name (now called Zere). We must, therefore, look for it on the north

or north-east of this lake; and, indeed, as Strabo describes the route to be perfectly straight as far as this place, and almost under the same parallel as the Caspian passes, we may possibly identify it with the ancient capital Artacoana, or the modern Herat. From hence the route proceeded with a southerly inclination to Prophthasia, in the country of the Drangi, which is either the present Zarang, or at least in its neighbourhood; and as both our authors agree in making its distance from Alexandria amount to nearly 200 miles, we shall be less liable to commit serious error, in assigning its probable situation. The next stage we come to is the town of Arachotus, in the country of the same name, which seems to be preserved in the modern appellation of Arocage; nevertheless, its real position cannot exactly be determined; nor, without a better knowledge than we now possess of the country itself and its inhabitants, will it be easy to explain why the road up to this place should make such a sharp turn to the south. This sudden inclination, however, ceases after passing Arachotus, where the road again winds to the north, in its course towards Ortospana and Alexandria. The latter town, from its situation at the foot of that mountain range, was also called Alexandria ad Paropamisum; and was formerly supposed to be the same with the modern Kandahar; but the researches of modern geographers have concurred to make it probable that Ortospana itself is the ancient Alexandria, distant about fifty miles south of Kandahar. (See Mannert, vol. v. part ii. p. 85.) It was an important commercial town, on account of the route from Bactria terminating there, and its being a place where three roads met (ἡ ἐκ Βάκτρων τρίοδος). From hence the Indian route proceeded across the river Choes, to Peucela and Taxila, where it was usual to pass the Indus.

III. ROUTES TO BACTRIA AND SAMARCAND.

1. Route from Western Asia to Bactria: the same as the Indian route as far as Alexandria in Aria, at which place it turned off into Bactria, a distance of 3000, or, according to another reading, 2870 stadia (about 375 or 358 English miles respectively); and from thence it proceeded 5000 stadia (or 625 miles) further to the borders of Central Asia, or Great Tartary, inhabited by the Issedones and Massagetæ. (Strabo, p. 782.)

2. Route from Bactria to India; considered by Strabo (p. 1053) merely as a continuation of the preceding, so that it might also be frequented by merchants who had come from Media, by way of the Caspian pass as far as Alexandria in Aria, and wished to avoid the more circuitous southern route. From Bactria the road went southwards over the mountains of Paropamisus, and at Ortospana formed a junction with the other Indian route, from which circumstance that place was called the Bactrian Trivium. We may understand this appellation to mean, that in addition to the two roads leading to India and Bactria, there was also a third, which led to the southern parts of the Indus. (See vol. i. p. 424.) This, however, is nothing more than a conjecture, and even without having recourse to such a supposition, we can easily imagine how a real *trivium* might have been formed at Ortospana, when we consider that place as the central point where the three roads to India, Bactria, and Western Asia, met together.

3. Route from Bactria to Little Bucharia and Serica: authenticated by a passage in Ctesias, where he speaks of Indian caravans from Little Thibet (already quoted and explained in vol. i. p. 425). The same passage also confirms in the most satisfactory manner the existence of a trading intercourse between the neighbouring inhabitants of Bactria and Upper India, and justifies my insertion of a corresponding commercial route in the map. This route joined the one from India, and the principal station for both was in the neighbourhood of the Stone Tower, mentioned above, p. 290, of this volume. With respect to the route from Serica to the Ganges, I have only been able to trace it by conjectural evidence.

C. *Commercial Route through Central Asia.*

This route, which proceeded from the Greek establishments on the Black Sea, over the Ural mountains to the country of the Argippæans, or Calmucks of Great Tartary, is founded on the accounts of Herodotus, and particularly a

passage in his fourth book, (c. 24,) which has been sufficiently explained in this volume, p. 22, 23. In the map I have continued this route beyond the frontier of the Issedones, as we have already shown that extensive and highly commercial nation to have been in the immediate neighbourhood of the Seres; with whom an active trading intercourse was always maintained. That an exchange of the merchandise as well of Eastern as of Southern Asia, might very well take place in the country of the Issedones, will be evident enough when we consider that nation to have extended from Serica on the east, to the Jaxartes on the south, where, as we have seen from Strabo, the caravan-route from India terminated. Besides, how could Herodotus have acquired any tolerable knowledge of the various nomad tribes inhabiting Sogdiana, unless some kind of commercial intercourse had existed between them?

SEA VOYAGES.

The navigation of the Asiatic seas in former times, as far as we are able to ascertain its character, was confined to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and the Indian Ocean. The doubts which have been raised as to the practicability of these voyages, fall to the ground when we consider the various circumstances concurring to render them easy; in the first place, the voyages themselves were almost wholly along the coast, or, at all events, there was no occasion to get out of sight of land; and secondly, the distances were moderate; add to this the peculiar facilities afforded by the monsoons. The direction of these periodical winds, in that part of the Indian Sea now under consideration, is south-west in summer, and north-east in winter; the same order, but slightly varied, obtains also in the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, where they blow alternately from the north in summer, and from the south during a part of the winter. A single glance at the map will be sufficient to show how extremely favourable this peculiarity must have been to voyages made to and from the Indian peninsula, at different seasons of the year. The particular routes by sea are laid down on the map, and are as follow: 1. From the Arabian Gulf. 2. From Arabia Felix to India. 3. From the Persian Gulf also to India. To what has been already advanced in the body of this work, I have now only to add, that the general destination of these voyages was the Indian port of Barygaza, (Baroach,) which still continued to be the principal one in the time of the Periplus. Besides this, Pattala also, situate in the Delta of the Indus, appears to have been from the earliest times a place of considerable importance; and is represented as such in the expedition of Alexander. The further navigation from this port to Taprobane or Ceylon, as well as the eastern coast of the peninsula to the mouth of the Ganges, was very probably close along shore, and therefore need not have been specified on the map. The passage across the Bay of Bengal to Chryse, is given from the accounts contained in the Periplus.

Though, for reasons already mentioned in the foregoing appendix, we do not feel ourselves authorized in assigning such a remote antiquity to the commercial routes laid down by Brehmer, after the determinations of Ptolemy, as that scholar attached to them; it will nevertheless be as well to furnish the reader with a comparative sketch of my own map, and that which Brehmer has subjoined to the first volume of his work. These routes, both in their general course and destination, are the same with those which have been heretofore pointed out, after other authorities, in my earlier maps; only their number has been augmented, and the direction of particular routes occasionally varied; which was a natural consequence of Brehmer's founding his conclusions exclusively on Ptolemy. I shall here present them in the same order as my own.

1. Commercial routes of Arabia. Brehmer agrees with me in making Yemen, Gerra, and Petra, the principal marts of the Arabian land-trade; and in connecting them together by routes, similar to those of my own map. He mentions, however, some other routes traversing the interior of Arabia to certain towns called by Ptolemy, Carman, Itala, Thumna, and Macpha, of which I can meet with no precise information in the authorities I have consulted.

2. Babylonian routes to Arabia and Phœnicia; represented by Brehmer as running due east from Petra to Babylon, Teredon, and Gerra, and in a northerly direction from Petra to Palmyra, Thapsacus, and Trapezus on the Black

Sea; and again, from Babylon to Gerra. No direct route from Tyre and the other Phœnician cities is specified.

3. Babylonian routes to Eastern Asia. That which went from Babylon and Susa through Ecbatana and the Caspian passes, as well as the one leading to Aria, Ortospana, etc., corresponds generally with my own. On the other hand, Brehmer introduces another commercial route through Carmania to Gedrosia, of which I have not been able to discover any indication.

4. The route through Central Asia, he represents as leading from the city Tanais, across the narrow strip of land between the Caspian and Aral Seas, to Maracanda and Bactria.

5. Indian commercial routes; from Bactria to Taxila; from Ortospana to Taxila; from Ortospana to Pattala; and subsequently from Pattala to Barygaza and Soana on the Ganges; from Taxila to Delhi; from Bucephala on the Hydaspes, to Uzene, Tagara, Plutana, and Masalia (Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast).

6. Routes to Serica; one from Bactria, by Tashkend, to the Stone Tower; another from Taxila due north to the same place; and a third from the Ganges, also in a northerly direction to the same tower: of this last-mentioned route, however, only a portion can be ascertained.

7. The sea voyages from the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, the former from Yemen and the latter from the Bahrein islands, as laid down by Brehmer, correspond with those in my own chart. He has not, indeed, specified any particular route to the peninsula beyond the Ganges; but has merely pointed out the place of departure for vessels trading to Chryse.

THE END.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

INDEX

TO

VOL. I.

Altaic range of mountains in south of Siberia, 4. not without gold, 28. imperfectly known to the ancients, 29.

Arabia, its ancient Phœnician trade, 347. its natural features and productions, *ib.* Arabia Felix, 348. its spices, *ib.* gold and precious stones, 349. the chief seats of its commerce, 350. its frankincense, 351. the Midianites, 353. the Idumeans, *ib.* routes of Arabian commerce, 355. mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, 357. Arabia Petræa, 358. Arabian sheep, 364.

Aria, region of Upper Asia, 162. Arians and Medes originally same race, *ib.* character of the country, 163, 164.

Armenia, an extensive country of Western Asia, 87. subject to the Persians, *ib.* its climate and productions, *ib.* government and commerce of the people, 88. trade with Phœnicians, 368.

Arrian, his records of Persians valuable, 53.

Artaxerxes, I., king of Persia, 228. revolt of the satraps in his reign, *ib.*

Asia, its prominence in the history of the world, 1. its geographical position, productions, &c., 2, 3, 10, 23. its mountains, 3. its rivers, 5. its natural divisions, 6—12. to what extent known to the Greeks, 50.

Asia Minor, as part of Persian empire, 65—81. theatre of almost all the wars between nations of Europe and of Asia, 65. possessed by various tribes, *ib.* not completely subdued by the Persians, 66. then contained ten provinces, *ib.* originally divided by Darius in four satrapies, *ib.* Grecian cities of Asia Minor not subject to Persians, *ib.* satrapy of Lydia, 67—70. of Caria, 70, 71. of Mysia, or Phrygia on the Hellespont, 71. of Great Phrygia and Great Cappadocia, 72—77. Paphlagonia, 78. Lycia, 80. Pamphylia, *ib.* Cilicia, *ib.*

Babylonia, the emporium of Western Asia, 24. the Babylonians a powerful nation at the time when the Persian empire was founded, 59. more ancient than the Lydians, 60. the extent of their dominion not easily defined, *ib.* they attained a higher degree of civilization than the Medes, 61. over what provinces their dominion extended, *ib.* how long they held it, *ib.* a separate satrapy, 86. trade with Phœnicians, 364, 366. progress of agriculture, 371. city of *Babylon*, *ib.* description of Babylonia, 372. Euphrates, 6, 64, 372. Tigris, 373. canals and lakes, *ib.* lakes formed by Alexander, 376. fertility of the country produced by irrigation, 378. building materials, 379. bitumen, *ib.* favourable position of the country, 380. language of the Babylonians, 381. earliest tradition, *ib.* Jewish annals, 382. Chaldeans, *ib.* great cities, how formed, 384. their population, 385. ruins of Babylon, 386. the city as described by Herodotus, 387. modern accounts, 388. the Birs Nimrod, 394. date of its erection, 395. epoch of Semiramis, 396. of Nebuchadnezzar, *ib.* conquest of Cyrus, 397. Alexander, *ib.* agreement of ancient and modern writers, 398. hanging gardens of Babylon, 403. scene of Alexander's death, 404. Babylonian architecture, 405. inscriptions, 407. the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, 409. astrology and the priest class, 410. commerce, 413. dress, *ib.* Bagdad, 414. ancient luxury, *ib.* articles of trade, 417. of dress, 418. commerce with Persia, 419. trade in precious stones, 420. in dogs, 421. in dyeing materials, 422. commercial route to India, 423. Serica, 424. road from Sardis to Susa, 426. Armenian trade, 429. navigation of the Euphrates, *ib.* of the Persian Gulf, 430. voyage of Nearchus, 431. Gerrha,

433, 438. Tylus and Aradus, 434. Babylonian navigation in time of Isaiah, 438. pearl fisheries of Persian Gulf, 444. Ceylon, 445. direction of the Indian trade, *ib.* difficulties attending navigation of Persian Gulf, 447. its decline, 448.

Bactra, its importance in history of ancient commerce, 24, 424. not the same as Zariaspa, 166. original seat of religion of Zoroaster, 238.

Bactriana, territory of Western Asia, 24. 165, 166. its commerce, *ib.* known in modern times as Balkh, 167. its antiquity, *ib.*

Birs Nimrod, ruins of temple at Babylon, 394. time of its erection, 395. is the temple of Bel, 399. description given by Herodotus, *ib.* Mosaic account of "Tower of Babel," 400. modern investigation, 401. Nebuchadnezzar, 402.

Bistoon, ancient monuments of, 144.

Bithynia, province of Asia Minor, 72. its western region attached to Persian satrapy of Mysia, *ib.* features of the country, 79. how far under the power of Persia, *ib.*

Cambyses, king of Persia, 222. conquered Egypt, *ib.* testimony of Herodotus and Ctesias, *ib.*

Cape of Good Hope, discovery of passage to East Indies round, 22. effected great changes in Asiatic commerce, *ib.*

Cappadocia, a country of Asia Minor, 72. its limits, 74. Great Cappadocia, *ib.* not completely subject to Persia, *ib.*, 75. the country poor and ill cultivated, *ib.* inhabitants called by the Persians Leuco-Syri, *ib.* Cappadocia on the Pontus, 74. afterwards called Pontus, 76. contained variety of tribes, *ib.* how far under the authority of Persia, *ib.* the Heniochi, *ib.* the Chalybians, *ib.* the Tibareni, 77. seat of the slave trade, 367.

Caravanserais, buildings for the reception of travellers in the East, 20. their value, 24. route of Phœnician caravans, 353.

Carduchi, tribe of ancient Mesopotamia, 86.

Caria, province of Asia Minor, 70. as a satrapy of the Persian empire, *ib.*, 71. how occupied, 70. its orginal inhabitants, *ib.* voluntarily submitted to the Persians, *ib.*

Carmania, province of Persian empire, 172. a satrapy by itself, *ib.* face of the country, *ib.*

Carthage, colony of Tyre, 300. time of its establishment uncertain, 311. towns of its territory, 322.

Casiterides, the Scilly islands, 321. trade in tin, 332.

Caucasus, mountain range of Asia, 4. produces gold, 27. dialects of its region, 47.

Celænæ, capital city of Phrygia, 73. the usual residence of the Persian satrap, *ib.*

Chaldæi, tribe of ancient Mesopotamia, 87. period of their conquest of Babylonia, 383. their origin, *ib.* Nebuchadnezzar, *ib.* Babylonian-Chaldean empire, 409. why the term Chaldean applied to the priests, 410.

Chalybians, nation of Asia Minor, 76. celebrated for silver mines, 77. their manners and customs, *ib.*

Cilicia, extensive district of Asia Minor, 80. its fertility, *ib.* Tarsus, *ib.* uncertainty attending limits of the country, and the extent to which under the dominion of Persia, 81.

Cinnamon, esteemed by ancients, 43.

Cobi, desert of, 3, 5.

Colchi, a rude tribe of ancient Mesopotamia, 87.

Colossæ, city of Phrygia, 74.

Commerce of Asiatic nations, its uniformity, 19. necessity for caravans, *ib.* river navigation inferior to that of Europe, *ib.* caravanserais, 20. highways, *ib.* affected by political changes, 21. discovery of passage round Cape of Good Hope effected great changes, 22. commerce of the south of Asia, 23. its chief seats, 24, 25. articles of commerce, 25—43. influence of language on commerce, 44. trade of India, 182. sea trade of Phœnicians, 325. their land trade, 341. Babylonian commerce, 413.

Cotton, 37, 38.

Crœsus, king of Lydia, his conquests, 60.

Ctesias, value of his Persian history, 54—57. his account of the Indians, 182.

Cyprus, a province of Tyre, 305. its cities, 311.

Cyrus, *Cores*, or *Khoosroo*, first great monarch of Persian empire, 59. date of his supremacy, *ib.* partial obscurity in which his history is involved, *ib.* principal nations of Asia at that time, *ib.* successively overthrew the Median, Babylonian, and Lydian dynasties, 61. his tomb at Pasargada, 141. city bearing his name, 171. his original name Agradates, 217. his expeditions, *ib.* his disposition of the empire at his death, 222. his appointment of the magi, or priest caste, 250.

Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, 71.

Damascus, city of Syria, 83. probably the residence of the satrap of Cœle-Syria, *ib.*

Daniel the prophet, 409. his accounts referring to Babylonian-Chaldean empire, *ib.* to the Magians, 411.

Darius Hystapis, the greatest of the Persian kings, 62. regular system of tribute organized first in his reign, *ib.* and first attempt to divide the empire into satrapies, *ib.*, 226. revolts of Ionians in his reign, 69. his tomb, 128. his share in assassination of Smerdis, 223. effect of his reign on the form of government, 225. made Susa his chief residence, *ib.* Gustasp said to be D. Hystaspis, 238. this not probable, 239.

Diamonds, 34—36.

Doris, a district of Caria, in Asia Minor, 70. the Doric colonies, 71.

Dress, materials of ancient, 37—42. of figures in ruins of Persepolis, 107. of Persian kings, 115. Babylonian dress, 413, 418.

Ecbatana, capital of ancient Media, 160. its royal palace, *ib.* its situation, 161. remains, *ib.*

Egypt, its ancient trade with the Phœnicians, 361. manner of intercourse, *ib.*

Ephesus, city of Ionia, 69.

Esther, book of, contains true picture of Persian court, 53, 55. speaks of Persian edicts in various languages, 57. number of the Persian satrapies mentioned in it, 63. those who "stood in the king's gates," 102. hangings of palaces, 113. the king's footstool, 114. festivals, 122. the Magians, 251. the Persian harem, 256.

Euphrates, great river of Asia, 6. divides the Persian empire in two, 64. course of the river, 372. canals, 373. lakes, 375. its conjunction with the Tigris, 377. abundance of palms on its shores, 378. navigation of the river, 429.

Ezekiel, the prophet, his references to Phœnician commerce, 341, 346. to seats of Arabian trade, 350. to trade of Egypt, 360.

Ezra, book of, contains edicts of Persian kings, 53. reference to Persian Chronicles, 56. notice of Syria, 83. customs of Persian court, 104.

Firdousee, Persian historical poet, 57.

Furs, ancient trade in, 42.

Gades, city of ancient Spain, 317. time of its foundation, 318. its importance in Phœnician commerce, 331.

Ganges, river of India, 6.

Gedrosia, rude country subject to Persia, on coast of Indian Ocean, 173. the productions of the soil, *ib.* inhabitants, 174. modern Balloochees, 175.

Gerrha, a Chaldean city, 433. Strabo's account of it, 438. its ancient commerce, 439.

Gold and silver, abundance of in Central Asia, 26. in what districts found, 26—32. trade of the Lydians in gold, 68. silver mines of the Chalybians, 76. how the Indians obtained gold, 180. gold of Thasos, 211. Phœnician trade in gold and silver, 328. gold of Arabia Felix, 349. of desert of Cobi, 425.

Gustasp, an Eastern monarch to whom Zoroaster has addressed most of his writings, 237. resided at Bactra, 238. not the same as Darius Hystaspis, 239. his kingdom, 240.

Halicarnassus, town of Doris, in Asia Minor, 70.

Heniochi, tribe of ancient Cappadocia, 76.

Herodotus, value of his testimony in Persian history, 54. the minuteness of his details accounted for, 56. his account of the Persian satrapies, 62. of India and its inhabitants, 192—196. of early Persians, 213. of Babylon, 387.

Highways, ancient Asiatic, 20.

Hyrcania, district of Central Asia, 165.

Idumeans, nation of northern Arabia, 353. their trade with the Phœnicians, *ib.* Petra, 354.

Imaus, the modern Belur-tag or mountains of Cashgar, 5.

India, Persian, 178. limits of the country, 179. the account Ctesias gives of the inhabitants, 183. their commerce, 184. Cashmir, 185. vale of, 186. countries west of the Indus, 187. kingdom of Cabul, 190. the Arabitæ, 191. Sinde, 193. account Herodotus gives of Indians, 192—196. the Padæi, 194. cannibals, 195. the expedition of Alexander, 196. the Panjab, *ib.* its condition in time of Alexander, 198. manners, &c. same then as now, 199. Nysa, *ib.* republican governments, 200, 201. Brachmans or Bramins, *ib.* the Rajpoots, 202. constitution of the Seikhs, 203. warlike character of Northern India, 205. the Brahmans in the time of Alexander, *ib.*

Indus, great river of Southern Asia, 6. Delta of, 193.

Ionia, so called from its Grecian colonies of Ionian origin, 69. as a Persian province not distinguished from the rest of Lydia, *ib.* splendour of its towns, *ib.* Ionians rivals of the Phœnicians in commerce, *ib.* the republican form of government not effaced by the power of Persia, *ib.* sometimes engaged on the side of the Persians, *ib.* revolted in reign of Darius Hystaspis, and burnt city of Sardes, *ib.* the commercial cities of Ionia suffered to retain partial freedom under the Persians, *ib.* what the form of their government, 70.

Languages, of Asia, how distributed geo-

graphically, 44. the Phrygian, 45. the Grecian, spoken in great cities of Asia Minor, *ib.* the Semitic, *ib.* its dialects, 46. the Persian dialects, *ib.* the Zend, Pehlvi, and Parsi dialects, 47. the number and variety of ancient dialects, 47, 48. why ceased to be spoken, 49.

Libanus, mountain chain of Syria, 82. valley of, *ib.* Anti-Libanus, *ib.*

Lycaonia, in Asia Minor, 72. was a steppe impregnated with salt, 74.

Lycia, district of southern coast of Asia Minor, 80. but partially subject to the Persians, *ib.* the form of government, *ib.*

Lydians, a powerful nation of Asia Minor, 60. Conquests of Crœsus, *ib.* Lydia, the richest Persian satrapy of Asia Minor, 67. Sardes, capital of Lydia, *ib.* the Lydians inventors of the art of coining money, 68. the first to provide places of public entertainment for foreigners, *ib.* laxity of public morals, *ib.* not a seafaring people, *ib.* their trade in gold, &c., *ib.* district of Ionia, 69, 70.

Macrones, ancient tribe of Mesopotamia, 87.

Magians, the priest-caste in religion of Zoroaster, 221. a Median race, 223. their offices, 247. their influence, 248. their order established as early as Cyrus, 249. their doctrines designated as the laws of the Medes and Persians, 251. their share in the royal councils, 252. their establishment in Babylonia, 410. their influence, 411.

Maracanda, its ancient commercial importance, 24. modern Samarcand, 169. a chief mart of Asiatic commerce, 170.

Massagetæ, a pastoral nation of Eastern Asia, 26. possessed abundance of gold, 29. and of brass, but no iron, 32.

Medes, a great nation of Ancient Asia, nearly allied to the Persians, 59. their empire more ancient than that of the Lydians, 60. limits of their empire not easily defined, *ib.* a variety of nations subject to them, *ib.* their government one of satrapies, *ib.* their mode of collecting tribute, 61. their religion the Magian, *ib.* their courts, *ib.* what regions their empire embraced, *ib.*, 158. the Median horses, *ib.* Ecbatana capital of Media, 160. to what people the term Medes applied, 208. the influence of the Medes on the Persians, 221. the Medo-Persian monarchy, *ib.* the Magians, 247.

Mesopotamia, a vast region of Western Asia, so called from its situation between the two great rivers Tigris and Euphrates, 84. this appellation not known to the Persians, 85. the natural features and productions of the country, *ib.* its chief towns, *ib.* district of Babylonia, 86. tribe of the Carduchi, *ib.* the Chaldæi, 87. the Phasiani and Taochi, *ib.* the Macrones, *ib.* the Colchi, *ib.* the Mosynæci, *ib.* the Chalybes, *ib.* Armenia, *ib.*, 88.

Miletus, a Grecian city of Caria, in Asia Minor, 70. its opulence, *ib.* its colonies and fleets, *ib.* colony of Cyzicus, 71.

Monarchies, the ancient Asiatic, erected chiefly by nomad nations, 11. causes of their rise and decline, 13. their constitution, 13, 14, 15. their despotic governments, 15, 16.

Mongols, tribes of Central Asia, 7. not to be confounded with the Tartars, *ib.* their predatory habits, 12. extent of their power, 14. customs as conquerors, 15. scribes of their kings, 55.

Mountains of Asia, 3—5. abounding in precious metals, 26. Libanus, 82. Taurus, 4, 27, 84. Altaic range, 4, 28. Caucasus, 4, 27, 47.

Mysia, a country in Asia Minor, 71. a satrapy of the Persian empire, afterwards called Phrygia on the Hellespont, *ib.* its inhabitants, *ib.* fertility of its soil, *ib.* its importance to the Persians, *ib.*

Natolia. See *Asia Minor*.

Navigation, river navigation of Asia inferior to that of Europe, 19. of Phœnicians, 325. of Babylonians, 428.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, 383. epoch of his works, 396. account given by Josephus, 402. his father Nabopolassar, 403.

Nehemiah, Book of, contains edicts of Persian kings, 53. notice of Syria under the Persians, 83.

Nomad tribes of Central Asia, their habits, &c., modified by peculiarities of the soil, 8. their institutions, 9. their influence, *ib.* nomad life almost unknown in Southern Asia, 11. power of nomad tribes, 12.

Ophir, uncertainty of its geographical position, 334. a name of indefinite use, 335. Tyrian trade, 334.

Oxus, or Jihoon, river of Western Asia, 6. divided into currents for the purpose of irrigation, 89.

Pactolus, river of Lydia, 27. furnishes gold, 68.

Palestine, inhabitants of, 82. character of their territory, *ib.* Libanus, *ib.* trade with Phœnicians, 362. articles of commerce, *ib.* corn of Holy Land, 363. Jews never at war with Phœnicians, *ib.*

Palmyra, city of Syria, 82. to what period belongs, 359, 365.

Pamphylia, country of Asia Minor, 80. its sea-coast a station for Persian fleets, *ib.*

Paphlagonia, country of Asia Minor, 78. its cavalry reckoned the best in Asia, *ib.* never completely subdued by Persians, *ib.* Sinope, a Milesian colony, *ib.*

Parætaceni, a rude tribe of ancient Asia, 157, 158.

Paropamisus, ancient name for the mountains of Cabul and Candahar, 5.

Parthia, province of Persian empire, 165.

Pasargada, ruins on the plain of Persepolis, 94. meaning of the word, 136. its situation, 137. remains, 139. tomb of Cyrus, 140. Persian kings consecrated here, 143.

Pasargadæ, noblest of the Persian tribes, 214. chiefly composed the king's household, 254. ancient authors refer to them as "the Persians," 255.

Pearls, and pearl fisheries, 36, 444.

Persepolis, a splendid city of ancient Persia, supposed to have been its metropolis, 91. obscurity attending its history, *ib.* not mentioned by ancient authors till the time of its fall, *ib.* its situation, 92. ruins of the plain of Persepolis,—those with Arabic and Neo-Persic inscriptions, 93. those of the era of the Sassanian princes, *ib.*, 94. those of the old Persian period, 94. of the palace of Persepolis, *ib.* called by the Arabs Chehl-Menâr, *ib.* their situation, &c., 95. description of them, 95—135. the name, Persepolis, 136. general remarks on its remains, 136—154.

Persians, paucity of their historical records, 53. their historians belong chiefly to other nations, *ib.* Xenophon, Ctesias, Herodotus, as Persian historians, 54. what kind of records the Persians possessed, 55. scribes of their kings, *ib.* their chronicles, 56. edicts in many languages, 57. modern records, 58. origin of Persian empire, 59. maintained its supremacy for two centuries, *ib.* Cyrus their first king, *ib.*, 61. their constitution at first crude, 62. partition of the empire into provinces, *ib.* regular system of tribute first constituted in reign of Darius Hystaspis, *ib.* the Indus formed at all times the eastern boundary of Persian empire, 64. its natural boundaries, *ib.* the empire divided by the Euphrates, *ib.* Asia Minor under the Persians, 65—81. the provinces comprised under the general name of Persia, 88. ancient names of Persia, *ib.*, 89. extensively irrigated by art, 89. its climate and soil, 90. Persepolis, 90—135. Pasargada, 94, 136—144. Persian remains generally, 147—154.

Persian empire, constitution of, 207. origin of the Persians, *ib.* a distinct race from the Medes, 209. the Medo-Persian races, *ib.* the Zendavesta, *ib.* its account of early history of the human race, 210. Jemshid said to have been their earliest king, 212. the Persian constitution not of rapid growth, *ib.* notice of early Persians by Herodotus, 213. their various tribes, 214. the Persian nation unequally civilized, *ib.* influence of distinction of tribe, 215. revolt of Persians against the Medes, *ib.* Cyrus, 217. his institutions, *ib.* collection of tribute, 218. maintenance of dominion by standing armies, 219. by transplanting conquered nations, *ib.* by inducing effeminacy in the conquered, 220. influences which caused the Persians to degenerate, *ib.* they were chiefly instructed by the Medes, 221. the Medo-Persian monarchy, *ib.* influence of the Magi, *ib.* disposition of the empire by Cyrus at his death, 222. Cambyses, *ib.* conspiracy of the Magians after his death, 223, 224. Darius Hystaspis, 225. division of empire first into satrapies, 226. Xerxes, *ib.* armaments against Europe, 227. decay of military power, *ib.* evil consequences of engaging mercenary troops, *ib.* revolt of the satraps, 228. the corruption of the court, 229. supremacy of the monarch in Persian empire, 230. theories of government, 231. despotism of Eastern monarchs, 232, 233. modifying causes, *ib.*, 234. religion and legislation in ancient monarchies, 235. aim of their legislation to restrain vice, *ib.* religion of Zoroaster, 236. time of his appearance, 237. Gustasp not Darius Hystaspis, 238, 239. period when doctrines of Zoroaster adopted by Persians, 249. officers of the Persian court, 253. their number, 254. friends or kinsmen of the king, *ib.* the economy of the harem, 256. its effect on the succession, 257. and on public affairs, 258. periodical removal of royal households from one city to another, 259. parks of the kings, *ib.* court etiquette, 260. luxury of the royal table, *ib.* the chase, 261. administration of the provinces, *ib.* exaction of tribute, *ib.* expenditure of the state, 266. government by satraps, 269. their power, 270. their duties, 271. their courts, 272. royal scribes, 273. modes of communication with the provinces, *ib.* gradual disaffection of satraps, 274. military affairs of Persia, 275. early expeditions, *ib.* cavalry, 276. want of discipline, *ib.* two kinds of forces, 277. military distribution of the empire, 278. facility of assembling troops, *ib.* city garrisons, 279. decimal system of reckoning in the army, 280. mercenary nomad tribes, 281. how the forces maintained, *ib.* military distinctions, *ib.* native troops of the

provinces, 282. the whole force of the empire at times united, 283. order of march, 284. armies of Xerxes, 285.
Petra, ancient city of Idumea, 354. account of modern travellers, 355.
Phasiani, tribe of ancient Mesopotamia, 87.
Phocæa, town of Ionia, 69.
Phœnicians, ancient Asiatic nation, 289. paucity of records relating to their history, *ib.* their territory, 292. city of Aradus, 293. Tyre and Sidon, *ib.* their internal government, 296, 299. Phœnician colonies, 302. Cyprus, 305. source and direction of their colonization, 307. the Tyrian Hercules, *ib.* no difficulty in keeping their colonies in subjection, 310. period of founding colonies, 311. Phœnicians often confounded with the Carthaginians, 313. Phœnician colonies in Sicily and Sardinia, 314. the Balearic islands, *ib.* settlements in Spain, 315. Tartessus, 316. Gades, 317. Carteia, *ib.* Malaca and Hispalis, *ib.* colonies the effect of commerce, 319. Carthage, 322. colonies in Asia, 323. navigation of the Phœnicians, 325. influence of piracy, *ib.* sea trade with Greece, 326. trade of Greek colonies in Asia Minor, 327. limitations of Phœnician trade with Greeks, *ib.* chief trade with Spain, 328. abundance of gold and silver, *ib.* mode of carrying on their commerce, 331. Cassiterides, 321, 332. commercial establishments of Africa, 333. of Arabian and Persian Gulfs, *ib.* connexion of Phœnicians with the Jews, 334. trade with Ophir, 335. expedition of discovery, 336. their manufactures and land trade, 341. Tyrian dyes, 342. manufacture of glass, 345. branches of inland commerce, 346. Arabia, 347. route of caravan trade, 352. Midianites, 353. Idumeans, *ib.* influence of language on trade, 360. commerce with Egypt, *ib.* trade in wine, 362. trade with Syria and Palestine, *ib.* Babylon, 364. Tubal and Meshech, 367. slave trade, *ib.* Armenia, 368.
Phrygia, on the Hellespont, Mysia so called, 71. *Great Phrygia*, a Persian satrapy, 72. antiquity and power of the Phrygians, *ib.* an agricultural people, *ib.* their flocks, *ib.*, 73. capital of Phrygia, Celænæ, *ib.*
Polygamy, its tendency to promote despotism, 16—18. its absence in Europe the cause of greater freedom, 18.
Pontus, province of Asia Minor, 76. contained many tribes, *ib.* the Heniochi, *ib.* the Chalybians, *ib.* the Tibareni, 77.
Precious stones, 32—36. of the Babylonians, 420. pearl fisheries, 36, 444.
Rivers of Asia, 5, 6. the Indus at all times the eastern boundary of Persian empire, 64. Euphrates, *ib.* Pactolus, contains gold, 68.

Sardes, capital of ancient Lydia, 67. the seat of the Persian satrap, *ib.* not distinguished for magnificence, *ib.* its territory rich, *ib.* a commercial city, *ib.* mart for slaves, *ib.* reduced to ashes in reign of Darius Hystaspis, 69.
Satrapies, provinces of Persian empire, first defined in reign of Darius Hystaspis, 62. the financial and territorial division into satrapies coincident, *ib.* value of Herodotus's account of this division, *ib.* a catalogue of the satrapies may be compiled from Xenophon and Arrian, 63. their number as stated in the book of Esther, *ib.* satrapies of Asia Minor, 65—81. how the court of the satraps was maintained, 264.
Scribes, of Persian kings, 55. of Mongol kings, *ib.*
Siberia, 6. mines of, 28—32.
Silk, ancient use of, 38—40.
Smyrna, city of Ionia, 69.
Sogdiana, northernmost province of Persia, 167. its commerce, 168. present condition of the country, 169. city of Maracanda, *ib.*
Spain, its ancient commerce with Phœnicians, 315, 328. Gades, 315. Tartessus, 316. abundance of silver and gold, 328. other productions, 330.
Spices, used in sacrifices, 43. abundance in Arabia, 348. cinnamon, 350, 443. ancient growth of and trade in frankincense, 351.
Susiana, province of Persian empire, 154. inhabited by the Cissii, 155. nature of the country, *ib.* city of Susa, *ib.* its situation, 156. called Memnonium, 157.
Syria, a wide region of Asia, including several countries, 81. indefinite use of the appellation Syria, *ib.* frequently interchanged with the term Assyria, *ib.* its limits, *ib.*, 82. sometimes included Palestine, 82. Cœle-Syria, *ib.* cities of Syria, 83. subjection of Syria to Persia, *ib.* seems sometimes to have formed a single satrapy, *ib.* at other times to have been divided into two governments, *ib.* its maritime towns, 84. their state under the Persians, *ib.* Phœnician trade, 363. natural productions of the country, *ib.*

Taochi, tribe of Mesopotamia, 87.
Tartars, tribe of Central Asia, 7.
Tartessus, ancient name for district and town in Spain, 315. uncertainty in use of the name, 316. not to be considered the same as Tarshish, 318.
Taurus, mountain range, 4. not rich in

gold, 27. northern boundary of Mesopotamia, 84.
Tibareni, tribe of ancient Cappadocia, 77. their territory, *ib.* city of Comana, *ib.* their government, *ib.*
Tigris, great river of Southern Asia, 6. description of the river, 372. irrigation of the land by its waters, 373. canals, *ib.* lakes, 375. how connected with the Euphrates, 377. its entrance rendered inaccessible by the Babylonians, 447.
Tylos and Aradus, islands of the Persian Gulf, 434. their productions, 441.
Tyre, city of Phœnicia, 294. besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, *ib.* taken by Alexander, 295. its temple, *ib.* its government, 296, 299. description of Tyre by Ezekiel, 298, 301. catalogue of its kings in Josephus, 299. magistrates, &c., 300. its colony of Carthage, *ib.* its mercenary troops, 305. Cyprus, *ib.* the Tyrian Hercules, 307. the Tyrian dyes, 342.

Wool, ancient manufacture of, 41, 42. Indian wool, 184. wool of Syria, 363. of Arabia, 364.

Xenophon, his works relating to Persian history, 53.
Xerxes, successor of Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia, 226. state of the empire during his reign, *ib.*, 227. decay of military power, *ib.* effect of mercenary troops, *ib.* the nations composing his armies, 285.

Zarangæi, a rude tribe of ancient Asia, 176. their territory, *ib.*
Zendavesta, collection of sacred books of Persians, 209. its account of the original seat of human race, 210. Jemshid earliest of the kings, 212. genuineness of the books, 236.
Zoroaster, religion of, 130. its teachings concerning the dead, 134. its wide influence, 236. age in which Zoroaster appeared, 237. evidence from his own works, 238. lived under a despotic government, 242. his system, 243. its leading idea, 244. reigns of Ormuzd and Ahriman, *ib.* division of castes, 246. the Magians, 247. their influence, 248. time at which his doctrines adopted by Persians, 249. their gradual reception by Persians, &c., 250. how the government affected by them, 252.

INDEX

TO

VOL. II.

Alphabets of India, 104. of the Sanscrit language, 105. not designed for inscriptions, 106.
Araxes, the river, 19.
Argippæi, tribe of the, 14. account of them by Herodotus, *ib.*, 32. are now the Calmucks, 23. their country, 24. their trade in furs, 30.
Arimaspi, ancient tribe of Northern Asia, 16. traditions respecting them, *ib.*

Brahma, Hindu divinity, 58. figures on the temple of Elephanta, *ib.* his sect opposed to worshippers of Buddha, 132. the Brahmans, unlike the Buddhists, must marry, 134. worship of Brahma, 181.
Brahmans, caste of the, 220. their superiority, *ib.*, 223. veneration in which held, *ib.* their victory over the warrior caste, 236. their religious establishments, 237. their privileges, 244. their duties, 245. organization of the caste, 246.
Bucharia, Great, or Tartary, 17. various tribes, 18.
Buddha, Hindu deity, 65. temple of Salsette dedicated to him, *ib.* his statue at Carli, 67. temples in Ceylon, *ib.* establishment of sect of Buddha, 132. its antiquity, 133. modern religion of Buddha, 134. monastic order of priests, *ib.* expulsion of the Buddhists, 135.
Budini, tribe of ancient Asia, 12. their territory, *ib.* their chief city, *ib.* not to be confounded with the Geloni, *ib.* were hunting people, 27.

Calidasa, Hindu dramatic poet, 188. his Sacontala, 191. time at which he lived, 193. has been called the Hindu Shakspeare, 196. his influence on the drama, 197. his poem Ritusanhara, 198. other works of his, 205.
Carli, temple grotto of, 66. described by Lord Valentia, *ib.*
Castes of India, 219. the Brahmans, 220. the Kshatriyas, or warrior caste, *ib.* the Vaisyas, or mechanics, *ib.* the Sudras, or inferior caste, *ib.* this classification found in the laws of Menu, 242. general distinctions, 243. laws respecting marriage, *ib.* intermarriage of castes, 244. privileges of Brahmans, *ib.* the Kshatriyas almost extinct, 246. functions of this caste, 247. of the Vaisyas, 248. of the Sudras, *ib.* mixed castes, 249. perpetuation of castes, 252.
Ceylon, island of, 67. its rock temples, *ib.* its ancient commerce, 298, 417, Appendix XI. its pearl fisheries, 298.
Chalambron, pagoda of, 94. description of it, 95. period of its construction, 96.
Commerce of the Scythians, 21. Greek cities on the Black Sea, *ib.* slave markets, 22. corn, *ib.* trade in furs, 23, 30. caravan trade, 24. route of Scythian commerce, *ib.* Russian caravans, 25. the Jugrians, 28. navigation, 32. commerce of the Argippæi, *ib.* of the Issedones, 33. commerce of India, 265. account given by Arrian, 266. social position of merchants, *ib.* internal commerce of the country, 267. articles of commerce, *ib.* abundance of gold and silver, 268. use of coined money, 269. precious stones, 270. pearls and pearl fisheries, 271. trade in ivory, *ib.* art of weaving, 272. variety of fabrics, *ib.* use of bark of trees, 274. rice, *ib.* other articles of food, *ib.* intoxicating liquors, 275. wine, *ib.* spices, 276. perfumery, *ib.* female slaves, 277. transportation of goods, 278. caravans, *ib.* navigation, *ib.*, 284. intercourse by sea, 279. commerce affected by religion, *ib.* depots and places of mercantile resort, 280. Tagara and Pluthana, 281. chief commercial routes, 282. commerce of India in time of the Ptolemies, *ib.* want of enterprise, 283. foreign trade, 285. trade with China, 285. route of that trade, 287. trade in skins, 293. in the betel-nut, *ib.* the Sesatæ, 294. the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula, 296. trade of Ceylon, 298. commercial ports, 299. trade of India with Arabia and Egypt, 300. with coast of Africa, 301. commerce of Palmyra, 392, Appendix IX. of Ceylon, 416, Appendix X. commercial routes of ancient Asia, 450, Appendix XIII.

Deogur, or Dowlatabad, pagodas of, 91. a great commercial station, 281.
Drama, Hindu, 190. its antiquity, 192. its most brilliant period, 193. the Sacontala, 194. abundance of dramatic writings, 192. Calidasa, 196. his influence on the drama, 197.

Elephanta, rock temple of, 56. Niebuhr's descriptions of it, 57. antiquity of its representations, 61.
Ellora, temples of, 68. described by Malet, *ib.* by Daniells, 69. the Hindu Pantheon, 70. time of its construction, 71. plan of the temples, 73. object of their erection, 74. the Hindu sculpture, 75. inscriptions, 76, 104.

Furs, ancient trade in, 23. market of the Argippæi, 30.

Herodotus, value of his account of the Scythians, 5.
Hitopadesa, Hindu fables, 200. "the Fables of Pilpay," *ib.* their subjects, &c., *ib.*

Indians, sources of information respecting them, 45. their abundance, 46. isolation of the Hindus as a nation, 47. their mental habits, *ib.* their antiquity, 49. their chronology not to be trusted, *ib.* Grecian sources of information, 50. monuments of Indian architecture, 51. labours of Englishmen, *ib.* Hodges, 52. Niebuhr, *ib.* Gough, *ib.* Lord Valentia, 53. Sir W. Jones, *ib.* the Asiatic Society, *ib.* Daniells, *ib.* M. Langlès, 54. classes of Hindu architecture, 55. rock temples, *ib.* temple of Elephanta, 56. Niebuhr's descriptions of it, 57. temple of Salsette, 64. of Carli, 66. of Ellora, 68. Hindu sculpture, 75. temples of Mavalipuram, 78. Maliarpha, 83. pagodas, 84. architecture of India, 85. the Mongols, 86. pagodas of Deogur, 91. of Tanjore, *ib.* of Ramiseram, 92. of Madura, 93. of Jaganatha, *ib.* of Chalambron, 94. of Java, 98. inscribed pillars, 100. inscriptions, *ib.* variety of alphabets, 104. writing materials, 106. different languages, 107. Vicramaditya, 116. literature of India, 119. the Vedas, 121. Hindu sects, 132. legislation, 136. code of Menu, *ib.* philosophy, 139. the Sastras, *ib.* sciences taught by the Vedas, 141. dictionaries, 142. geography of Hindus, *ib.* astronomy, 146. poetry, 147. the Ramayana, 148. the Mahabharata, 158. Hindu mythology, 168. the Puranas, 173. worship of Brahma, 181. of Vishnu, 182. of Siva, *ib.* lyric poetry, 185. dramatic poetry, 190. Calidasa, 191. didactic poetry, 197. Sanscrit literature, 202. its antiquity, *ib.* collection of Hindu books by Calidasa, 205. reign of Vicramaditza, 206, 235. history of Hindus, 210. dearth of records, *ib.* kings of Maghada or Behar, 211. uncertainty of Hindu chronology, 212. Hamilton's researches, *ib.* genealogies, 213. Abulfazl, 214. Buddhist writings, 216. researches of English scholars, 217. origin of the Indian nation, 219. castes, 220, 244. war between the Coros and the Pandos, 224. original state of the empire, 225. its geography, *ib.* its capital city, 226. different dynasties, 227. the kingdom of Maghada, 229. invasion of Alexander, 231. the river Palibothra, 232. the conqueror Sandracottus, 233. obscurity of succeeding ages, 236. progress of various religious sects, 237. increased knowledge of India at time of Roman empire, 239. early condition of Hindu states, 240. information derived from the Ramayana, *ib.* sacerdotal supremacy, 241. code of Menu, *ib.* functions of the different castes, 242. multiplication of castes, 250. tribes of different origin, *ib.* polygamy, its influence, 252. monogamy, 253. monarchical form of government, 255. limits to power of king, 256. habits of the court, *ib.* officers of the rajah, 257. government of townships, 258. their revenue, *ib.* their public functionaries, 259. the king, 261. his power and judicial authority, *ib.* how far the proprietor of the soil, 262. laws of tenure, *ib.* revenue of the king, 264. taxes and custom-dues, *ib.* elements of republicanism, *ib.* ancient commerce of India, 265. its internal trade, 267. abundance of the precious metals, 268. coinage, 269. precious stones, 270. pearl fisheries, 271. ivory, *ib.* manufacture of cloth fabrics, 272. variety of materials used for clothing, 274. rice, *ib.* other articles of food, *ib.* sugar-cane, 275. intoxicating drinks, *ib.* wine, *ib.* spices, 276. perfumes, *ib.* use of elephants, 278. caravans, *ib.* navigation, *ib.*, 284. sea-trade, 279. effect of religion on commerce, *ib.* great marts, 280. Tagara and Pluthana, 281. commercial routes, 282. state of commerce

in time of the Ptolemies, 282. lack of enterprise, 283. foreign trade, 285. trade with China, *ib.* how carried on, 287. tower of Chihel-Sutun, 288. ancient navigation of the Ganges, 291. trade in skins, 293. the betel-nut, *ib.* the Sesatæ, 294. trade of Ultra-Gangetic peninsula, 296. trade of Ceylon, *ib.* Indian trade with Arabia and Egypt, 300. with Africa, 301. in gold, 302. affinity between the Hindus and Egyptians, 303. in race, *ib.* in political constitution, 304. in mythology, 305. in art, 306. in literature, 307. in customs and manner of life, 308. migrations, 310. were the Egyptians of Hindu origin? *ib.* the commercial routes of ancient Asia, 450, Appendix XIII.

Inscriptions, ancient Hindu, 100. that at Gya in Behar, 101. age of inscriptions, 103. chronology in use, *ib.* inscriptions of India not hieroglyphics, 106. are read from left to right, *ib.* Zend inscriptions of Persepolis, 319.

Issedones, tribe of the, 15. their customs, *ib.* their territory, 16. were not warlike, 33.

Jaganatha, pagoda of, commonly called Juggernaut, 93. its antiquity, *ib.*

Java, antiquities of, 98. Brahmanical temples, *ib.*

Jayadeva, Hindu lyric poet, 188. the Gita Govinda, *ib.*

Jugrians, ancient tribe on N. E. of Russia, 28. their modern names, *ib.* their commerce, 29.

Jurcæ, tribe of the, 13. fond of the chase, 27. not the same people as the Jugrians, 29.

Languages of India, 107. how formed, *ib.* the Bengali, *ib.* the Mahratta, *ib.* the Telinga, *ib.* the Hindustani, *ib.* the Sanscrit, 103, 108.

Laws, Hindu, 136. legislation of the Vedas, *ib.* code of Menu, *ib.*

Literature, Hindu, 119. pre-eminence of Sanscrit language, 120. the Vedas, 121. Hindu law, 136. study of philosophy, 139. the Sastras, *ib.* Sanscrit grammar, 141. lack of historical works, 142. geography of the Hindus, *ib.* astronomy 146. work of Surya Siddhanta, *ib.* works in verse, *ib.* poetry, 147. its influence, *ib.* the Ramayana, 148. subject of the poem, *ib.* Valmiki, 158. the Maha-bharata, *ib.* Hindu mythology, 167. the Puranas, 173. antiquity of Hindu literature, 179, 202. lyric poetry, 185. the Mega Duta, 187. Jayadeva, 188. the Gita Govinda, *ib.* dramatic poetry, 190. the Sacontala, *ib.* Calidasa, 194. his influence on the drama, 197. didactic poetry, 197. the Baghavat Gita, *ib.* Ritusanhara, 198. the Hitopadesa or "Fables of Pilpay," 200. Sanscrit literature must have belonged to a highly cultivated people, 202. what its exact age, 203. age of the Vedas, *ib.* the epic period, *ib.* difficulties in preservation of books, 204. collection of books by Calidasa, 205. age of Vicramaditya, 206. last age of Sanscrit literature, 207. Rhadacanta Sarman, 211. Hamilton's researches, 212. Abulfazl, 214. Buddhist writings, 216. the book Rajavali, *ib.* the Surya Siddhanta, 217. code of Menu, 240. the Periplus Maris Erythræi, 265. points of resemblance between the literature of the Hindus and that of the Egyptians, 307. the Zendavesta, 314. the Indian words occurring in Ctesias, 360, Appendix IV. the words Pasargada and Persepolis, 373, Appendix V. the latest additions to Sanscrit literature, 412, Appendix X. sources of Ptolemy's geography, 440, Appendix XII.

Madura, pagoda of, 93.

Mahabharat, Hindu epic poem, 82. its subject, 159. time of its composition, 167. the author, 168.

Massagetæ, nation of ancient Asia, 19. account of Herodotus, *ib.*, 32. expedition of Cyrus against them, 19. of Mongol extraction, 20.

Mavalipuram, temples of, 78. modern accounts of, *ib.* Mr. Goldingham's account, 80. the buildings partially destroyed, 81. ancient prominence of this place, *ib.* antiquity of the temples, *ib.* their sculptures, 82. its great commercial importance, 298.

Menu, laws of, 136. their origin and antiquity, 137. not the work of one person, *ib.* their contents, *ib.* written in Sanscrit, *ib.* when compiled, 138.

Navigation, of the Caspian, ancient, 32. maritime trade of Asia, *ib.* the most ancient navigation of the Persian Gulf, 385, Appendix VII. the voyages of the Carthaginians and Phœnicians to Britain, 387, Appendix VIII.

Niebuhr, the historian, 52. his account of the temple of Elephanta, 57.

Pagodas, religious buildings of Hindus, 84. what their age, 86. form of oldest, 87. edifices in their neighbourhood, 88. improvement in construction of pagodas, 89. pagodas of Coromandel, 90. of Deogur, 91. of Tanjore, *ib.* of Ramiseram, 92. of Madura, 93. of Jaganatha, *ib.* progress of architecture, 94. pagoda of Chalambron, *ib.*

Palmyra, commerce of, 393, Appendix IX. ruins of, 401.

Pasargadæ, and Persepolis, 350. tomb of Cyrus, *ib.* the meaning and use of the word Pasargadæ, 373.

Persepolis, inscriptions of, 319, Appendix II. use of the word Persepolis, 373, Appendix V. Herder's Persepolis, 377, Appendix VI.

Philosophy, Hindu, 139. the Sastras, *ib.* study of dialectics, 140. sciences taught by the Vedas, 141. absence of historical works, 143. astronomy, 146. the Bhagavat Gita, 197.

Pillars, ancient use of them by Hindus, 100. pillar of Buddal in Bengal, *ib.*

Poetry, Hindu, 147. its influence, *ib.* the Ramayana, 148. the Mahabharata, 158. character of Hindu poetry, 167. of the epics, 172. the Puranas, 173. lyric poetry, 185. the Mega Duta, 187. Jayadeva, 188. the Gita Govinda, *ib.* dramatic poetry, 190. the Sacontala, *ib.* didactic poetry, 197. the Bhagavat Gita, *ib.* the Hitopadesa, 200.

Ptolemy, his Geography, its sources, 440, Appendix XII.

Puranas, Hindu poems, 173. their number, *ib.* description of them, 174. the Matsya Purana, *ib.* the Brahma Purana, *ib.* the Agni Purana, *ib.* the Kalika Purana, 175. the Bhagavat Purana, *ib.* the character of these compositions, 176. they are the chief sources of Hindu mythology, *ib.* period of their composition, *ib.* are compilations, 177. but imperfectly known, 179.

Ramayana, Hindu epic poem, 148. subject of the poem, 149. its author, Valmiki, 158. age of its composition, *ib.*

Ramiseram, pagodas of, 92. Lord Valentia's description of them, *ib.*

Sacontala, Hindu dramatic poem, 190. its author, 194. its subject, 195. and form of composition, 196.

Salsette, grotto temples of, 64. description of, *ib.* its inscriptions, 65. the temple dedicated to Buddha, *ib.*

Sanscrit, inscriptions, 103. those in temple of Ellora, 104. different alphabets, 105. modern study of Sanscrit, 108. nature of the language, 109. its structure, 110. reverence for it, 111. was a living language, *ib.* was it an aboriginal language? 112. was developed in India, 113. and extensively vernacular, 114. Leyden's researches, 115. antiquity of the Sanscrit, 116, 202. in what age developed, 116. causes of its decay, 117. the Bhasha, 118. the Bengali, 119. the Pracrit, 120. Sanscrit literature, *ib.* the Vedas, 121. Sanscrit grammar, 141. Panini, *ib.* dictionaries, 142. Hindu books chiefly in verse, 146. poetry, 147. its influence, *ib.* the Ramayana, 148. the Mahabharata, 158. the Puranas, 173. value and extent of Sanscrit literature, 202. what the exact age at which it flourished, 203. age of the Vedas, *ib.* the Epic age, *ib.* collection of books by Calidasa, 205. age of Vicramaditya, 206. last age of Sanscrit literature, 207. Abulfazl, 214. Buddhist writings, 216. the book Rajavali, *ib.* chronology of the Hindus, 211, 217. the Surya Siddhanta, *ib.* the latest additions to Sanscrit literature, 412, Appendix X.

Sarmatians, tribe of the, 11. their country, *ib.*

Scythians, indefinite application of the name, 3. nomad tribes of Central Asia, 4. value of the accounts given by Herodotus, 5. number of Scythian tribes, *ib.* their origin, 6. their early expeditions, *ib.* geographical position of the tribes, 7. nations surrounding them, 10. the Budini, 12. the Thyssagetæ, 13. the Jurcæ, *ib.* the Argippæi, 14. the Issedones, 15. the Arimaspi, 16. the Scythians called Sacæ by the Persians, 19. the Massagetæ, *ib.* the commerce of the Scythians, 21. Greek cities on the Black Sea, *ib.* slave marts, 22. trade in corn, *ib.* in furs, 23. trade by caravans, 24. the Jugrians, 28.

Siva, or Mahadeva, Hindu god, 58. representations on temple of Elephanta, *ib.* that temple dedicated to him, 61. temple at Salsette, 65. at Ellora, 69. probably the most ancient of Hindu deities, 132. description of Siva, 182.

Slavery, 22. slave markets, *ib.*

Tanais, or Don, river of ancient Scythia, 6, 11.

Tanjore, pagodas of, 91. of Chalambron in district of Tanjore, 94.

Temples, Hindu, 51. different classes of them, 55. rock temple of Elephanta, 56. of Salsette, 64. of Carli, 66. of Ellora, 68. pagodas, 84. improvement in architecture, 94. temples of Java, 98.

Thyssagetæ, tribe of the, 13. their country, *ib.* their mode of life, *ib.* account given by Herodotus, *ib.* their habits in hunting, 27.

Ural Mountains, 14.

Vedas, sacred books of the Hindus, 121. their antiquity, *ib.* our acquaintance with them imperfect, *ib.* their different parts, 122. their contents, *ib.* ac-

LIBRARY

count of them by Anquetil du Perron, 124. are by various authors, 125. by whom compiled, 126. their age, 127, 203. early interpolations, 128. to what form of worship attached, 129. the sources of Hindu sacerdotal religion, *ib.* not to be read by the people, 130. corruptions in the religion of the Vedas, 131. influence of the poets, *ib.* Hindu sects, 132. the Vedas are scientific as well as religious, 135. and source of Hindu legislation, *ib.* code of Menu, 137. the Sastras, 140.

Vendidat, Appendix I., 314.

Vishnu, Hindu divinity, 57. his worship at Mavalipuram, 80. origin of sect of Vishnu, 132. traditions respecting him, 182.

Zend inscriptions, 319.

Zendavesta, Appendix I., 314.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

6

This book is due two weeks from the last date stamped below, and if not returned at or before that time a fine of five cents a day will be incurred.

BRITTLE DO NOT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
0032261900

930 H3G3 2
Heeren
Historical researches.
930 H3G3
2

JUN 11 1934

VOLUME 3

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY



GIVEN BY

Dr. James Peck

HEEREN'S

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES.

AFRICA.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS, ETHIOPIANS, AND EGYPTIANS.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

THE SECOND EDITION,
CORRECTED THROUGHOUT, AND TO WHICH IS NOW FIRST ADDED AN INDEX,
NEW APPENDIXES, AND OTHER ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCLVII.

930
H363
v. 3

Gift
Dr. JAMES PECH
June 7, 1913

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Of the excellence of the work now presented to the English reader little needs be said in this preface. The name of its author has long been most honourably connected with the literature of Germany and of Europe. His works have been pillaged to furnish matter for almost every respectable literary periodical of the age. This portion of them, in particular, has been described by a writer in one of the leading critical journals of this country, as, "a work of the very highest rank among those with which modern Germany has enriched the literature of Europe."[1] The same writer adds, "This author unites the laborious erudition of his countrymen with that animating spirit of real genius, which disposes into harmonious order and quickens into life that which, in meaner hands, lies in dull and heavy masses of unintelligible, or at least unattractive, learning." In these sentiments the translator of the following pages fully concurs. So long, indeed, as the sage institutions of ancient nations shall find admirers; so long as the investigation of their policy, commerce, colonies, and legislation shall be considered as the proper training for eminence in our own courts of law and legislative assemblies; so long, indeed, as that sacred book, the Bible, shall be regarded as the foundation of our civility, our morals, and our hope; so long must the work now presented to the English reader be known and appreciated.

In the review which the author takes of the Carthaginian state, we see a remarkable instance of the power, the opulence, the grandeur, and the political importance to which a nation may rise by commerce and navigation alone; and England, which in so many striking particulars resembles Carthage, may read an instructive lesson in her decline and fall, occasioned as it was by the corruption of her government, the factious spirit of her aristocracy, the failure of her navy, and the degeneracy of her citizens.

In the profound disquisition on the Ethiopians we see the whole framework of the powerful government of the Pharaohs, in connexion with the theocracy and its agents, the priest caste, traced up to its primary elements. Here again we see, in its monuments and temples, the archetypes of the stately edifices and the religion of Egypt. Here, too, are traced along the two banks of the Nile, from Memphis to Meroë, city after city—the temples of gigantic magnitude,—the grottoes or sepulchres hewn out of the solid rock, with colossal statues as their guardians:—all these are so exhibited before us—in such order and connexion—as to prove that civilization descended with the Nile from the south; and that the same religion, the same arts, the same institutions, manners, and civility, prevailed from almost the sources of that river till its junction with the Mediterranean. The learned author portrays commerce as the parent of

[1] The Quarterly Review, No. LXXXV.

such civilization, religion as its nurse, and the distant regions of the south as its cradle. He compares Herodotus with the Sacred Writings, and describes "Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, whose inhabitants are the tallest, most beautiful, and long-lived of the human race,"[1] as "the Sabeans, the men of stature," of one prophet,[2] and as "the mighty men—the Ethiopians, that handle the shield," of another;[3] and in other instances throws a considerable light on the sacred text.

In the researches on the primeval and mysterious Egypt is laid before us a concise but clear sketch of the first attempts at writing, together with the discoveries of Young and Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics—the land and its inhabitants—their divisions—their occupations—their literature—their religion, their laws and polity:—and, finally, the wonders of that land of marvels—its pyramids, its majestic and solemn temples—the stupendous colossi and monuments of the hundred-gated Thebes, are exhibited before us.

Considering the very interesting nature of these subjects, and the ability and learning displayed by Professor Heeren in their investigation and illustration, it is truly a matter of surprise that such a work has not before been made accessible to the English reader.

No one wishes more sincerely than he who has made this attempt, that it had been done by some one better qualified for the office. The translation was begun merely as a literary exercise, without any view to publication; and was continued solely from the interesting nature of the work, and the pleasure felt in its performançe.

Of the high qualifications enumerated by a writer in the *Quarterly Review* as necessary for the proper performance of this task, but few are possessed by him who has undertaken it.[4] Nevertheless, he still hopes that what he has done will be found to be a correct version of the German: and he is led to state this with more confidence from its having received the sanction and commendation of Professor Heeren himself. That learned gentleman, at the request of the publisher of these volumes, kindly took upon himself the task of reading over the sheets before publication—a task to which his knowledge of the English language rendered him competent, and which the numerous corrections he has made, show him to have executed with much care and attention. Soon after the first thirteen sheets had been transmitted to him, the learned author writes, "I have read them with attention, and attest that they are made with a due knowledge of the two languages, and with all the accuracy which I could desire. I should be well content if the continuation should be executed with the same diligence; and if the whole of my works should be presented in this form to the English public." In a letter received a few days since, containing the Professor's corrections and emendations of the whole of the first volume and the principal part of the second, together with the Appendix IX., which has never before been published, he again expresses his approbation of the English version. A considerable part of the work was also revised by a gentleman distinguished for his accomplishments, and his high attainments in classical and German Literature, whose name (were I at liberty to mention it) would give the reader entire confidence in this part of the work.

[1] Herodotus, iii. 114. [2] Isaiah xlv. 14. [3] Jeremiah xlvi. 9.

[4] "We would gladly see the whole work made accessible to the English reader; but it would require no ordinary accomplishments to do so. Oriental, classical, and modern languages must be alike familiar to the person who should undertake the task." *Quarterly Review*, No. LXXXV. p. 118, note. The translator cannot but congratulate the public upon the able hands which the remaining parts of this work are now in.

Besides the Appendix just mentioned, there is prefixed to this translation the GENERAL INTRODUCTION of the author to his Reflections upon the Nations of Antiquity, which, in the German, is found at the beginning of the volume on the Persians. It has been thought proper to prefix it to this volume, as containing a concise and general development of the first rise of states and governments; of the influence of religion in their formation, and of its beneficial effects upon legislation; of the origin of commerce, and of its offspring, civilization, navigation, and finance. These particulars are so skilfully grouped, so luminously displayed, and the whole finished with so much judgment and taste, that it altogether forms a fine historical picture.

Although the business of translating be perhaps the most humble connected with literature, yet some anxiety is naturally felt for the success of what has cost us much labour. From this feeling the translator of the present work does not profess to be exempt: perhaps it is increased by this being the first literary attempt he has offered to the public. Nevertheless, as he has aimed at nothing beyond clothing the ideas of another in an English dress, he expects no higher praise than that of having executed his task with fidelity, and of having by so doing contributed his feeble efforts for the advancement of knowledge.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the Appendix VI. I have given the original Latin as well as an English version of the portions of Avienus, which Prof. Heeren has translated into German. The description given by Heeren of the early Carthaginian voyages in the Atlantic Ocean, receive no small confirmation from the ancient traditions of the Irish. No one but a genuine Irish antiquarian would, of course, contend that the Annals collected by Keating, Flaherty, and O'Connor, are to be received as implicitly as "Holy Writ," and no one but a confirmed sceptic would reject them as wholly unworthy of attention.[1] There is, in all the varying accounts given by the Irish historians, one fact in which all the traditions meet—that letters and some of the arts of civilized life were brought to their country by a people called Phenians; by a change, which, as Faber remarks, is very common in the traditions respecting the origin of nations, the people is sometimes spoken of as an individual, and the personified Phenius becomes the inventor of letters[2] and the parent of civilization. The route prescribed for the Phenians, or the descendants of the imaginary Phenius, brings them from some part of the Levantine coast to the western Mediterranean, and thence round Spain to the British islands. In the oldest legends no date is assigned to the successive steps of this migration, and the chronology given by Keating and

[1] Turner, *History of English Middle Ages*, i. 276, says, that of all their traditions, one of their most ancient and least irrational is that which deduces some part of their population from Spain.—A Greek writer, Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, mentions this tradition twice; and his account is valuable, as it shows that in the ninth century the Irish derived themselves from Spain, when they had no motive but their own traditions to do so.

[2] Much has been disputed about the Irish letters. The Bobeloth characters, the Beth-luisnon, Ogham, and Ogham-Crabh writing, have been eagerly dilated on. But also it has been fancied that Fenius Farsadh, the pronepos of Japhet, first invented Irish letters. Turner's *Middle Ages*, vi. 277.

O'Connor is manifestly a clumsy forgery by the monks in the middle ages. Still there are some circumstances which would lead to the conclusion that the period when the Phenians came to Ireland, must have been nearly that which is assigned for the voyage of Himilco. Of these the most remarkable is the tradition that a colony of Phenians worked the mines in the county of Wicklow, and that another discovered metallic treasures at Killarney. Now it is sufficiently well known, that the first mines worked by the Poeni, as the Carthaginians should properly be called, were those in Spain, and that the art of mining was brought there to some degree of perfection about the time of Himilco's expedition.

The appearance of the ancient shafts in different parts of Ireland is precisely similar to that which travellers in Spain assure us is presented by the remaining traces of Carthaginian works; the brazen instruments sometimes dug up in the Irish bogs, are found when assayed to have the same proportions of mixture in the metals, as the Carthaginian relics discovered in Sicily and Italy; and the shape of several ornaments found at various times is perfectly congruous to the description given of Carthaginian habits by the Roman historians. Of the coincidences in language it is useless to speak, for the only relic of the Carthaginian tongue is so hopelessly corrupt, that it may be wrested to support any system of which the wildest antiquarian ever dreamed.

The long-disputed question of the Milesian settlement in Ireland may be then settled, if we suppose that the Phenians were a Carthaginian colony; their acquiring the mastery of the country will not appear surprising when we reflect that a handful of Englishmen at the present moment rules over Hindostan; and the pretensions of the Irish to remote antiquity and an eastern origin will appear to have resulted from the adoption of the traditions, which the colonies that introduced letters brought with them from the parent state. In these traditions no note was taken of time, no attempt made to separate what occurred in the earlier steps of the migration from what happened in later periods. Hence room was afforded for the invention of all the fabulous tales that the fancy of flattering genealogists and dreaming monks could invent; but all these leave unchanged the simple fact, that the Irish traditions invariably ascribe the introduction of letters and the arts to a colony called Phenians, and ascribe to that colony a route precisely coincident with the progressive course of the Carthaginians.

Respecting the Cassiterides there are many interesting particulars in Turner's Anglo-Saxons, (vol. i. p. 51, etc.,) to which the reader is referred.

Oxford.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

To the Reader.
The Translator's Preface.
General Introduction to the Historical Researches on the Nations of Antiquity iii
Preface to the Reflections on Ancient Africa xix
General Introduction xxiii

CARTHAGINIANS.

Chap. I. Formation and Condition of the Carthaginian Dominions in Africa 3
Chap. II. Foreign Possessions of Carthage 22
Chap. III. The Government of Carthage 46
Chap. IV. Public Revenue of Carthage 66
Chap. V. Of the Navigation and Maritime Commerce of Carthage 73
Chap. VI. The Land Trade of Carthage 86
Chap. VII. War Forces 120
Chap. VIII. Decline and Fall 130

ETHIOPIANS.

Chap. I. Geographical Survey of the Ethiopian Nations . . 143
Chap. II. The State of Meroë and its Monuments . . 171
Chap. III. Commerce of Meroë and Ethiopia . . . 225

EGYPTIANS.

Preface. On the Nature of a History chiefly founded on Monuments.
Preliminary Observations 249
Chap. I. General View of the Country and its Inhabitants . . 286
Chap. II. Political State of the Ancient Egyptians . . 309
Chap. III. Thebes and its Monuments 366
Chap. IV. Commerce and Manufactures 446
Chap. V. Decline and Fall of the Empire of the Pharaohs . . 466

APPENDIX.

PAGE

I. Aristotle upon the Carthaginian Government 474
II. Commercial Treaty between Rome and Carthage, concluded in the year 509 B. C. 475
III. Second commercial Treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage, in the year 348 B. C. 476
IV. Treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Philip, king of Macedonia, in the fourth year of the second Punic war, 215 B. C. 477
V. The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which he deposited in the temple of Saturn 478
VI. Fragments of the Account given by the Carthaginian commander Himilco, of the Countries of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules 481
VII. Fragments of the Works of Mago on Husbandry . . 484
VIII. On the Genealogy of the ruling Houses of Carthage . . 487
IX. On the late Discoveries in Africa 491
X. On the Travels of G. A. Hoskins, Esq. in Ethiopia . . 492
XI. A comparison of the ideas put forth by the Author upon the high antiquity of Egypt, with those of Champollion and Rosellini . 496
XII. The passage of Clemens Alexandrinus respecting the Egyptian characters 501
XIII. Inscription on an Obelisk at Heliopolis 502
XIV. A comparison of the Egyptian kings, as given by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho 503
XV. The relation between Theocracy and the Monarchical form of Government 506
XVI. The Commercial Routes of Ancient Africa 508

General Index 511

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH Modern history possesses great importance from our proximity in point of time to the actions it records, as well as their manifold relations to the age in which we live, yet on the other hand Ancient history is not without certain advantages peculiar to itself; which, notwithstanding the many centuries that have intervened, confer upon its records the appearance, as it were, and the graces of a perpetual youth. The crowds of illustrious men conspicuous in its annals, as citizens, as statesmen, or as warriors, will never cease to have their admirers, and, it may be hoped, their imitators also; and even if we admit that these heroes of past ages may have been indebted for part of their grandeur to the venerable mists of antiquity through which we contemplate them, yet does Ancient history possess an incontestable advantage over that of modern times in the rich variety of the forms of government and polity which it unfolds to us. Modern history is confined to Europe, or, beyond those limits, to the colonial settlements of Europeans; and consequently, throughout all its details relative to civilized nations, preserves an uniformity which is the necessary result of the almost equal degree of refinement they have attained. This similarity of manners, arts, and religion has, in some degree, given to mankind at large, as contemplated in these countries, the appearance of one mighty nation, which may be considered, notwithstanding some subordinate differences, as forming an uniform whole. How different an aspect does the Old world present to us! The most civilized nations of the earth were not then, like those of modern Europe, the links of a general system; were not pent up within one quarter of the globe, but dispersed through all the parts of it then known: lastly, they were not associated by the ties of a common religion. Every nation, in consequence, much more readily assumed and maintained a character peculiar to itself; a great diversity of governments grew up and flourished together; and thus it is that Ancient history, although many of our present constitutions were then unknown, enlarges the sphere of our observation, and affords us, in the variety of the forms of government presented to our notice, practical lessons of political wisdom.

On the other hand, questions relative to the commerce of ancient nations appear to be much less intimately connected, than is the case in modern times, with their political institutions; because commerce had not as yet excited in an equal degree the attention of their governments. Nevertheless, even at that time, there were states which in a greater or less degree owed their existence to commerce; and of which the institutions can be very imperfectly understood without a reference to this subject. We cannot, however, form a judgment on any individual question, till we shall have ascended so far in the history of Antiquity as to comprehend the whole extent of ancient commerce, with its principal characteristics, by the light of such records as have been preserved to us. This will justify the extensiveness of the present inquiries, which embrace the trade as well as the political constitutions of the ancient world. Both these questions will be elucidated, according to the plan of the present work, by the inquiries we shall pursue respecting some of the most prominent nations *individually*; but it is necessary to offer first some general observations, which, by developing certain principles, may contribute to illustrate the detail which follows.

Nothing can, in itself, be more obscure than the question respecting the formation of states or civil societies, (expressions which we may consider as synonymous,) and the causes of the diversity of form they have assumed; but this

question, which the very remoteness of their origin and the want of credible information renders so difficult, has been still more embarrassed by the practice of transferring to ancient times ideas drawn from the constitutions of existing nations, which are utterly inapplicable to those of Antiquity. The further we advance in such investigations, the more we shall have reason to be convinced, that the origin of political constitutions was, at the first, exceedingly simple, and as far as possible from being the effect of deliberate intention or established principles; being much more the result of circumstances and necessity. It is seldom, however, that the history of nations ascends so far: but our observations on such tribes as are still in their political infancy supply us with data respecting the progress of ancient nations, which we shall in vain expect from the history of the latter;[1] nor was there ever a period when the opportunities of making such observations were more copious than at present. What then are the general conclusions to which such observations lead us, and how do they agree with the records which have been preserved to us in Ancient history?

The first bond of community existing among men was, beyond all question, the natural one of *domestic* ties. It is greatly to be doubted whether any people ever existed, among whom the law of marriage, or the domestic alliance of the two sexes, did not prevail; and even if an instance or two could be cited, it may safely be pronounced that such a state of society would resolve itself into barbarism. The very bond, however, of domestic society implied an inequality which was necessarily productive of authority on the one hand and submission on the other. Among barbarous nations the husband is always the lord of his wife and of his children, so long as the latter are supported by him; and as the moral motives which should mitigate this authority are few and feeble, it is apt to degenerate into absolute despotism. His wife and his children are treated by the lordly savage as parts of his property; and all the laborious occupations of the household or the field, and every task which does not demand courage as well as strength, are laid upon the females of the family.

It cannot escape an attentive observer, that this sort of domestic tyranny, so early established and the fruitful source of so many evils, must also have been a serious obstacle to the establishment of a better order of things. By whatever means anything like a *constitution* may be effected, it presupposes the association and combination of a considerable number of separate families. Can it then be matter of surprise that we find so many abuses in civil constitutions, when their roots had already penetrated so deep into the domestic relations from which the latter were formed?

This bond, however, of consanguinity, is much more extensive and powerful among savage tribes than among civilized nations. The different members of the family do not, as with us, devote themselves, as soon as they have attained a certain age, to various occupations in the world without, and thus separate from the parent-stock. All pursue the same occupation, whether it be hunting or the tending of cattle. Consequently the families remain united: they gradually form Tribes, and the Tribes—Nations. The distinction of tribes is universally prevalent, and no less influential among the savages of North America or Australasia, than among the half-savage inhabitants of Central Asia, or of the deserts of Arabia and Africa. The members of the same tribe settle or migrate together: and although the first formation of such societies was undoubtedly the effect of a law of Nature, yet their common interest must have confirmed and strengthened the bond of union, as providing for their mutual defence and security during their continual petty wars. It is always the case that tribes of this sort are subjected to a despotic authority possessed by the head of their race; who owes his power to the patriarchal privileges of his birth, and consequently is sometimes tempted to indulge it, till it becomes an oppressive

[1] Among the works illustrative of the history and geography of nations which have appeared since the last edition of these Inquiries, deserves to be mentioned first, Mountstuart Elphinston's *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies*, London, 1815; the author of which had visited Afghanistan, as ambassador at the court of Cabul. The Afghans are at present precisely in a *transition-state*, half pastoral and half agricultural. Tribes of both classes live intermingled; and in no part of the world are there greater opportunities for studying with advantage the outlines of civil society in its infancy; respecting which the accomplished author has afforded us details as authentic as they are interesting.

tyranny: at the same time that the dependents of other chiefs are nowise sufferers in their personal freedom.

We must distinguish, however, between such patriarchal authorities, prevalent among wandering tribes, and the civil and political constitutions which presuppose settled habitations and territorial possessions. It is true that even the pastoral state of such tribes can hardly exist without the acknowledgment of certain laws of property: the herds, for instance, are considered to belong to certain individuals, and occasionally the pastures to certain tribes; but the occupations of such races of men, confined principally to the tending of cattle, are so exceedingly easy and simple, that they fail to supply motives for the development of their faculties. The questions which arise among them respecting their possessions are so little intricate, that the decision of the head of the tribe is sufficient to compose all their differences respecting the grand controversy of *Meum* and *Tuum*. Another state of things prevails when such wandering tribes obtain settled possessions, and the law of absolute proprietorship over certain lands and territories is introduced in favour of individuals. It is not easy to define in each instance, on historical grounds, how and when this came to pass: partly because our records rarely ascend so high, and partly because these changes rarely took place simultaneously, but for the most part gradually and insensibly. We may however allege a multitude of causes, connected with the climate, the nature of the soil, and the external relations of each nation, which contributed to effect this change, and will afford us abundant matter for observation.

The consequence of this adoption of settled habitations was the establishment of towns and cities, which severally possessed their respective territory, of greater or less extent. The effect of the formation of communities of this sort was the commencement of certain relations between the inhabitants of the same place; and the outline, however rude, of something like a civil constitution. The unity of their interests and their common security, required that they should be governed by councils common to all, and guided by the same leader. The authority of the heads of tribes and families declined in the same proportion: because as these cities increased in population they gave occasion for a great diversity of arts and occupations, which facilitated the resort of strangers, and contributed to break through the distinctions of clan and tribe.

Whatever may have been the original causes of the formation of such cities or communities, for the present inquiry one fact is amply sufficient,—that in several countries of the Old World, such as Egypt, Syria, Italy, etc., we find that cities existed at the earliest period to which our acquaintance with those countries ascends.

Such an origin of civil government was the frequent and perhaps universal source of the constitutions which we denominate Republican. To this inference we are led by all the evidence which Ancient history has preserved to us; without pretending to establish an hypothesis which might be made the basis of still broader conclusions. The free states of Antiquity, as far as we are acquainted with them, were nothing more than cities surrounded by their peculiar districts; and this character they continued to preserve, whatever degree of political consequence they may have subsequently attained. At the same time, the greatest differences prevailed with regard to the equality or inequality of rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of the country as compared with the citizens of the town. The Phœnician, Grecian, and Italian free states were of this description. It is easy to conceive, from what has been advanced, how such a state of things may have commenced and been established in a single city, or even throughout a territory of small extent (though in this case there always previously existed, or was soon formed, some chief town); while it is very difficult to imagine how an entire nation, dispersed over an extensive tract of country, could fall at once upon the expedient of adopting a free civil constitution.[1]

With respect to such constitutions, it is easy to see not only how they came to be greatly diversified, but also how some of them attained great importance. It

[1] The example of the Jewish confederacy is not a proof to the contrary. The various tribes which composed it would have been effectually dissolved in a complete anarchy, if the establishment of kingly power among them had not contributed to hold them together.

is true that their leading characteristics must always have continued essentially the same. When the state consisted of a number of citizens possessing equal rights, it was a necessary consequence that assemblies should be convened from time to time to debate on their common interests. In such assemblies all the inhabitants of the same town or its territory, being members of the same community, were entitled to appear in person: and this circumstance may furnish us with an answer to the question,—How it came to pass that the Representative System, as it obtains among the moderns, continued so long unknown to the ancients?—Because the very forms and constitution of their republics, implying as they did a right of voting in person, excluded the idea of *representation*. For several reasons, however, it was found necessary to remedy the defects inherent in a form of government purely democratical, by establishing another council, consisting of men of some experience, who might be constantly at hand to supply the place of assemblies which could not be always held, and to decide questions of a nature remote from the apprehension of a popular meeting. Such a council was formed under the name of a Senate, and consisted of the most considerable and most experienced citizens, constituting a distinct and independent body. Finally, as the various departments of the administration demanded a number of special functionaries, it became necessary to create Magistrates, who were intrusted with a greater or less degree of authority according to circumstances.

Such was necessarily the outline of the civil constitutions of all the ancient republics; Comitia—a Senate—and Magistrates, composing their principal parts. Yet, notwithstanding this general similarity, what a diversity of modifications may we expect to discover in them! It is impossible that in any state an absolute equality should exist between its members. The unavoidable differences of opulence and poverty will for the most part bring with them a political inequality also. The hereditary disposition of the more distinguished families to appropriate to themselves the exclusive possession of honours and offices necessarily tends to establish a patrician caste, which would engross the control of all public business. In this manner the constitution would become more or less aristocratic or democratic (to borrow the language of the Greeks); and the same principles will serve to show how individuals also came to acquire an authority more or less arbitrary. Differences no less important would obtain with respect to the senate, the number of its members, as well as the number, the offices, the authority, and the denominations of the magistrates. An example of such diversities we may remark in the free towns of Germany during the days of their liberty; and which is preserved in the few which still subsist. No other country has borrowed so largely from the political institutions of Antiquity, (as may be best seen by tracing back the history of such free towns for two or three hundred years,) notwithstanding some diversities which it does not belong to this place to point out.

Such republics were necessarily of small extent at their commencement: without, however, renouncing their original character, they were often enabled in various ways to extend the limits of their power and their territory, and even to become the mistresses of empires, as, for instance, Rome and Carthage. When several communities belonging to the same nation were situated near each other, they naturally formed a mutual alliance; especially when the pressure of enemies from without drove them to combine their means of resistance. In such cases it was natural that the most considerable state or city should place itself at the head of the confederation, and assume a precedence, which almost necessarily degenerated into a species of domination; of which we see examples in the conduct of Rome towards the Latin states, of Tyre with respect to the Phœnician, of Thebes with respect to those of Bœotia, etc. Nevertheless, the inferior cities would still continue to lay claim to a certain independence. In questions affecting the whole confederacy, such as those of peace and war, the superior state might sometimes carry its claims of precedence to the extent of an absolute supremacy; but so long as her general authority remained unquestioned, she did not much concern herself with the internal polity of the inferior states, or with matters which only affected them individually. Such a precedence enjoyed by the principal state will readily explain how cities, insignificant in themselves, were able to attempt and achieve conquests, aided in many cases by a combination of favourable circumstances, with men of talent and spirit at the head of affairs, and enjoying the resources which their navigation, commerce, and mines supplied.

But besides this class of states, whose origin and formation we have endeavoured to illustrate, Ancient history presents us with another totally different in all the circumstances of their creation and constitution,—in the *Great Monarchies* of antiquity; of which the origin was often no less rapid than their extent was enormous. Some of them were of moderate size and consisted of a single people; the power of their kings being derived from the ancient hereditary law of patriarchal authority. In this manner in Epirus, Macedonia, and elsewhere, the family of their native princes maintained itself on the throne. Others, however, (and those in every respect the most considerable,) comprehended under one dominion a multitude of all nations and languages. It is not to be supposed that a number of independent nations should have voluntarily submitted themselves to one, and it is, *à priori*, much more probable that such a state of things was the result, for the most part, of the rapid growth and victorious progress of a conquering people. The sequel of these inquiries will convince us, in the case of Asia, that such conquering nations were, for the most part, wanderers and shepherds, who forsook their own barren abodes, allured by the prospect of booty and the hope of possessing richer and better cultivated regions, which they overran, pillaged, and subdued. Even if these conquerors had been less barbarous than they were, it is obvious that the whole political condition of such monarchies was necessarily formed on a model totally different from that which prevailed in republics, which owed their existence to the erection of cities and establishment of communities. In a kingdom founded upon the right of conquest, the authority of the ruler could only be maintained by force of arms; and even if a military despotism in its fullest extent were not the consequence, it is obvious that the constitution must partake of that character. An absolute monarchy is the inevitable result; sufficiently rigid to preclude such states from ever assuming the character of *free;* and this may already serve to explain in part the remarkable contrast which the great Monarchies present, in their internal constitution and development, to the Republics of antiquity.

If we are not at liberty to affirm that all the ancient forms of government originated in the manner we have described, it is at least certain that the greater number and the most powerful of the states then existing may be classed under one or other of these two descriptions. When we reflect, however, that all civil societies, which deserve the name, are associations of free men;—that it was not possible that anything like political wisdom or sound philosophy should have regulated their first formation;—that the very desire of security and mutual defence which contributed to their creation was not likely to be at all times equally urgent, and might sometimes be forgotten;—when all these considerations present themselves to the mind of the inquisitive historian, he feels that, in the infancy of the human race, such communities could not have been held together except by a more durable and powerful bond than all of these,—that of *Religion*. There is no conclusion which political history supplies more remarkable than this; that the farther we advance in the history of any nation, the greater becomes the influence of religion in state affairs: and it is the more necessary to advert to this early combination of Religion with Polity, because many circumstances in the following inquiries can only be illustrated by referring to such an union. On the present occasion I use the term Religion to express the barbarous reverence which uncivilized nations have always paid, by certain rites and customs, to imaginary deities, under whatever form they may have been represented or conceived to exist. Whether there may or may not exist some tribes among whom no traces of religion (in the above sense of the word) can be discovered, is a question which has not been perfectly ascertained, and which, in the present case, is immaterial; since, even if such exist, they form at all events exceptions of the rarest occurrence. Now, to convert such a religion into a bond of political union, it is only necessary that it should possess in each nation or

tribe a *national* character, as is generally the case; since, as is proved by a multitude of examples, every nation is easily led to adopt certain gods as its tutelary and peculiar deities. Such an idea,—of a tutelary deity the common protector of the whole nation,—is obviously an invisible bond of interest and alliance. From being an invisible bond of union it is calculated to become a visible one also, and in this respect is especially influential. As soon as the worship of their deities became connected with some particular spot, and took place in some national temple or sanctuary, with public festivals at which all the nation and only that nation assisted,—so soon was there established among them a principle of *unity*, independent of external circumstances, and allied to the innermost feelings of man. Of this we find abundant confirmation in every page of Ancient history.

A state consisting of a single city with its petty territory, in which the very circumstance of its inhabitants living together establishes a strong bond of union, can better subsist without this tie of a common religion, though even in this case it can hardly be altogether dispensed with. But the absolute necessity for such an alliance is best seen in the cases of confederations formed after the manner we have been describing. The very idea of combination implies a previous state of separation, and on this account extraordinary means are necessary to prevent the dissolution of the confederacy and a return to the original condition. It may be added, that as every such association imposes on its members certain common burdens, there is a natural tendency on the part of the combined states to release themselves from such obligations, so soon as circumstances may permit. What then shall insure the durability of such alliances? It is true that the pressure of foreign enemies and the necessity for a combined resistance may effect this for a time, but such occasions are transitory:—even the influence of a paramount authority can insure it only to a certain extent, and only while completely predominant:—Religion alone can maintain such an union, through the influence of common rites and temples, which confer an individuality, as it were, upon the nation;—which appeal to the senses, and the heart; which distinguish that from all other nations, and by that very circumstance infuse into it a spirit of *nationality*. In this manner the temple of the Tyrian Hercules became the centre of the Phœnician League,—that of Jupiter Latialis of the Latin Confederacy; and thus it was that the Grecian states, discordant in their forms of government and disunited by frequent wars, yet felt themselves to be members of one community, when assembled to celebrate the festival of the Olympian Jupiter.

It is true that Religion can afford no such bond of union to a variety of nations of different origin and various creeds, who formed one mighty mass only in consequence of the superior power of their common conquerors. In as far indeed as the religion of the conquering nation superseded those of the conquered, it exercised of course a considerable but not an universal influence; but its principal efficacy in such cases consisted in its introducing *legislation*, which opposed, as it were, some bounds to the overwhelming violence of military despots, and limited what it could not control. Legislation, to be effectual and to insure respect, demands the sanction of a higher authority. Among nations which have already attained a certain degree of intellectual cultivation and political constitution, the laws, it is true, will of themselves command respect, because men have had time to be convinced that obedience is a duty; but such sentiments were not to be looked for among rude and uneducated tribes, who were not disposed to venerate the laws, except as far as they were sanctioned by Religion. For this reason, in the earliest ages of antiquity, civil institutions, no less than those which were of a character strictly religious, bore the impress of Religion; and even in the present day we see an example of it in the case of all those nations which own the authority of the Koran. Among the Greeks and Romans also, the enactments of Lycurgus and Numa were sanctioned by the authority of the popular religion. Such a state of things naturally caused the establishment of a *sacerdotal* race, as a distinct order, or even *caste*, (the customs of the East differing in this respect from those of Greece and Rome,) which necessarily attained the highest influence in political questions; an influence which, although occasionally abused, was not without its good effects in limiting

the omnipotence of the monarch. Religion also prescribed certain ceremonies which all were equally bound to observe; and the duty of observing them, and the forms they imposed, placed some salutary limits to the power of the sovereign.

The above must be received as merely some general observations on the political constitutions of the Ancients, which in the sequel we shall have abundant occasion to apply to particular examples. A system of Polity, in the full sense of the term, is not the proper subject of researches which necessarily follow the course of history. Nevertheless, if I do not deceive myself, the remarks already offered suggest an explanation of some obscurities which, in the opinion of many of our theorists, involve the first origin of civil society. We do not consider the formation of such societies to be the result of a formal, social *compact*—the very idea of which is at variance with the condition of a people still in their infancy:—nor do we think that anything like the *discovery* of a constitution took place at a definite period; but we believe it to have grown insensibly out of the exigencies and the passions of mankind. All this was so far from being the result of theory, that it is probable the notion of a theory never entered the heads of the first founders of states, whatever may have been thought of subsequently; and in consequence of this want of system at their commencement, the different forms of government assumed a variety of character, which the theorist finds it hard to reduce to the classifications of modern systems.

The origin of *Commerce* is involved in no less obscurity than that of Government. Though we may be convinced that in general it must have originated in the wants of mankind, and the consequent interchange of various commodities, yet many important questions still remain, which history cannot solve satisfactorily. For instance, we are either altogether ignorant, or little less than ignorant, when and how men first came to convert simple *barter* to *commerce*, properly so called, by affixing an adventitious value to the precious metals as measures of the price of a commodity;—how this arrangement became universal, and what were its earliest effects on commerce and civilization;—when gold and silver were first stamped and became current as coinage, and how this discovery also was universally disseminated? Such inquiries are beside our present purpose, and would probably be of little utility, since all that can with any certainty be ascertained on these subjects, has been already said. It will be a much more necessary, and, it is to be hoped, a more profitable task, to take a general survey of ancient commerce at the period of its greatest prosperity, and to point out the peculiarities by which, as regards its objects and institutions, it was distinguished from the commerce of modern times.

It is obvious, that so long as the fourth and largest quarter of our globe remained undiscovered, not only the direction, but the very character of commerce in general must have been essentially different from that of our own times. The three great continents of the Ancient world were not separated by the ocean, and either actually touched or nearly approached each other; and the only sea which was interposed between them all, (the Mediterranean,) was of limited extent. This occasioned the distinctive character belonging to the commerce of antiquity as compared with that of our own days, namely, that the former was principally carried on by land; the trade by sea being merely an appendage to the land commerce. We are accustomed to consider improvements in commerce as inseparable from improvements in navigation; a way of judging totally inapplicable to ancient times, in which the navigation of the Mediterranean, or along certain coasts, however active it may have been, was principally serviceable as assisting and co-operating with land traffic, and as the means of transporting certain weighty commodities.

Commerce by sea, on the grand scale, owed its origin to the *discovery of America*. Up to that period the commerce of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages pursued, on the whole, the same course:—this great event alone formed an era in its history. The great high-way (as it may be termed) which led from the East to Europe and Africa, continued unchanged on the whole, however it may have been altered by some slight deviations; and the traffic which it was the means of carrying on, continued always the principal one. We may therefore

be permitted to doubt whether the circumnavigation of Africa could ever have produced those great and general results which followed upon the discovery of America. It is probable that the communication with India would have long continued to be a mere coasting trade, such as it originally was.

But the discovery of America alone, independently of the circumnavigation of Africa, was sufficient to give a new character to the commerce of the world. That vast continent was accessible only across the ocean; not to be approached by a timid navigation from promontory to promontory, or island to island. Either this great discovery, with all its immeasurable consequences, was to be renounced, or it was necessary to brave the perils of the Atlantic. The ports of the Mediterranean became deserted as soon as those on the western coasts of Europe were opened to fleets from both the Indies; and the ocean at last assumed its proper character and natural pre-eminence, as the high-way for the commerce of the world.

As the commerce of Antiquity was principally carried on by land, we shall be better able to appreciate its nature and extent by taking a survey of the general characteristics of land traffic.

It is evident that the countries which are the most fruitful in the most valuable commodities, (especially if these be peculiar to their soil,) must also be able to supply the greatest quantity of exports; which will be sought by other nations, however remote, who may have learnt the value of such productions. Now the interior of Europe, till the times of the Roman empire, continued in a state which made it incapable of assuming any importance in commerce. Some of the southernmost states of Greece and of Italy had, to a certain degree, emerged from barbarism:—the rest were so uncivilized—had so few wants, and so few commodities of their own to offer in exchange, that even if anything like trade was carried on with them, it was not sufficiently important to rank as a branch of general commerce. Even that of Greece and Rome could be little more than what was necessary to supply their own demands. What productions —raw or manufactured—had they to offer to the East in return for hers? An exception must be made in favour of the south of Spain, the precious metals of which found a ready market in every country.

It is obvious, then, that Asia and Africa, both of them inhabited in a great measure by civilized nations, and both—(more particularly the eastern regions of Asia)—renowned for their splendid natural productions,—must have become the grand emporia of Ancient commerce. Obstacles, however, unknown to modern Europeans, were presented by the vast extent of the Asiatic continent, the peculiarities of its geography and soil, the many deserts which intersect it, and the lawless hordes which infest them. The safety of the merchant accordingly demanded precautions unnecessary in our own countries. As it was impossible for single travellers to effect those long and hazardous journeys, it became necessary to collect companies either sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, or able to pay for the protection of a body of guards. Such bodies of men, which we are accustomed to designate by the word Caravans,[1] could not, however, be collected at a moment's notice, or in every place; and it was necessary that a rendezvous should be appointed, that the merchants and travellers might know where to join a sufficient force for their common defence. In like manner the places of resort for the sale as well as the purchase of their merchandise were necessarily fixed, being recommended by their favourable position, or by some other circumstance, such as long usage; because in such situations alone the sellers were sure to meet a sufficient number of purchasers, and *vice versâ*. For like reasons the very course of the caravan was not a matter of free choice but of established custom. In the vast *steppes* and sandy deserts which they had to traverse, Nature had sparingly allotted to the traveller a few scattered places of rest, where, under the shade of palm trees and beside the cool fountains at their feet, the merchant and his beast of burden might enjoy the refreshment rendered necessary by so much suffering. Such places of repose become also *entrepôts* of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of

[1] I follow the common pronunciation of the word, which is properly *Kiervan*.

temples and sanctuaries, under the protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade, and to which the pilgrim resorted; and these frequently increased to great and opulent cities, and contributed, by motives of interest or necessity, to attract to the same route the various bands of travellers.

From all this it is apparent why such commerce by caravans became subject to certain rules, and restricted to a definite course. It is not wonderful therefore that the routes of caravans should have continued, on the whole, invariable, for hundreds and even for thousands of years; notwithstanding they may have been partially diverted by the decay or destruction of particular cities, or the growth of others in their stead. The same considerations will show us how it came to pass that certain situations peculiarly favourable for the transactions of land commerce, such as Egypt and Babylon, so soon assumed a conspicuous place in history; which they continued to preserve through the Middle Ages no less than in those of Antiquity, notwithstanding some occasional diminutions of their splendour. We shall also find that similar reasons led to the effect we have already pointed out, namely, that the commerce of the Middle Ages continued, on the whole, to be the same in its operations with that of Antiquity, and could not in fact have been otherwise, except it had changed its nature to a sea commerce from a traffic by land. Till this took place, in other words, till the discovery of America, the species of commerce by land which was carried on, derived its characteristics not so much from the method it pursued and the countries it traversed, as from the nations by which it was maintained; and whether the grand channel of communication through Asia terminated at Tyre or at Alexandria, made no essential difference in the nature of the commerce itself.

The trade by caravans requires a multitude of beasts of burden, particularly of camels, an animal fitted above all others not only for supporting great burdens, but for enduring long and painful journeys through desert tracts sparingly supplied with water. In like manner a number of camel-drivers are necessary, accustomed to the care of these animals, and, like them, habituated to support fatigue and privation. The horse and the mule, though useful for such purposes, are far inferior in these qualities to the camel; and accordingly we do not find any large communication by means of caravans to have existed except in regions where the camel (the ship of the desert, as it is termed by the Arabs) is found. But this useful animal, though reduced to a state of perfect bondage, is not, like the horse or the mule, easily reared in the stable; it loves the free air and open country, and consequently the rearing of camels has, on the whole, continued at all times the occupation of nomadic tribes.

This will already explain how such tribes,—(even if their habitual mode of life had been less analogous than it was to that of the followers of a caravan,)—came to devote themselves so much to this mode of traffic. When they did not themselves become merchants they were accustomed (as we shall see by examples cited in the course of this work) to supply beasts of burden to the inhabitants of mercantile cities, and not unfrequently to undertake the transport of commodities for others;[1] and when we consider that one half of Asia and of Africa is occupied by such roving tribes and their herds,[2] can we be surprised that this description of traffic should have been so widely extended?

Whatever may be the strength of the camel, it was still too limited not to have the effect of restricting the commerce carried on by its means. Many hundred camels would scarcely suffice to convey the freight of one of our East Indiamen; and consequently the transport of wares by such means of conveyance must have been exceedingly confined. Articles of great weight or bulk are necessarily transported in much smaller quantities by land; and this will explain the fact how so many of the most valuable products of distant countries, though known

[1] See Elphinston's account of Cabul, p. 290, fol.

[2] The camel is found throughout the whole of Southern and Central Asia as far as 53° N. Lat.; as well as throughout the whole of Northern Africa. We have no means of knowing to what extent it is found in Southern Africa, but it would appear to be entirely unknown there; possibly never passing the great chain of mountains which divides that continent. I have pointed out in another work the effect which the importation of this useful animal might have on the commerce of those countries, *Hist. Works*, ii. 8, 420.

to exist, so seldom became articles of commerce among the Ancients. How, for instance, could rice, the most valuable of all the productions of the East, be conveyed in any large quantities to Europe? How could the sugar and saltpetre of Bengal be transported by land to the markets of the West? On the other hand, articles of less weight but great value, such as spices, perfumes, light apparel, the precious stones and metals, etc., were readily transported, and on that account also became objects of primary importance in Ancient commerce.

These remarks will have the effect of illustrating the great importance of the communication by means of caravans to the nations of Antiquity. Civilization being generally the result of commerce, it is obvious that the progress in this respect of the nations of Africa and Asia mainly depended on such a mode of intercourse; and a moment's consideration will teach us how it was calculated, in itself, to promote by twofold relations such a consequence. In the first place, a communication by caravans always creates a considerable *intermediate* commerce. The caravans necessarily traverse various countries and nations, and the demands of these, as well as the interest of the merchants, have the effect of promoting an interchange of articles of commerce. It is true that in many cases this continued for centuries extremely simple, and it would be an extremely hasty conclusion to assert that in every case a progressive improvement in civilization was the necessary result of such traffic; which is apt to be limited according to the luxuries or necessaries in demand. In proportion, however, as such interchange is confined to profitable and excludes injurious articles of commerce, it produces an immediate improvement in the economy of domestic life. Among more civilized nations it is proportionably extensive; and although the fixed track to which the caravans are confined prevents their disseminating very widely an equal degree of improvement, yet such a mode of communication has the effect, as we have already seen, of creating certain emporia of commerce along the line of its route, which being frequented by numbers attracted by the love of gain, gradually grow up into flourishing cities, and, following the usual progress of refinement, increase in wealth and civilization,—in luxury and corruption. The progress of commerce at large being intimately connected with this species of *intermediate* traffic, the importance of the latter is sufficiently obvious.

Notwithstanding the prevalence in Ancient times of land commerce, we must not lose sight of the trade then carried on by sea, particularly as it has been variously misrepresented by authors. Some have not scrupled to send the fleets of the Tyrians and Carthaginians to America; while others have denied their means of effecting the distant voyages of which we possess indisputable evidence.

The chief characteristic of the navigation of the Ancients was this, that it continued to be at all times a coasting navigation. The sailors of Antiquity never quitted the land except when constrained to do so by some unavoidable necessity, such as the violence of currents, or when the passage from one coast to the other was of the shortest duration. It is the general opinion, that they were compelled to adhere to the land for want of the mariner's compass; but the true reason must be sought in the scantiness of their geographical knowledge, which embraced only three parts of the world. To induce seamen to make distant voyages across an open sea some *object* is necessary, which, before the discovery of America, did not exist to any. Such long navigations were not attempted nor desired; and it may be doubted whether the bare circumstance of the invention of the compass could have ever given rise to them, had not a daring adventurer been conducted by it to the discovery of regions on the other side of the Atlantic. The mariner's compass had already been discovered more than a hundred years when Columbus first used it as his guide across the Ocean.

But while we admit the navigation of the Ancients to have been always carried on along the coast, we must be cautious how we attribute to it the degree of imperfection so liberally assigned it by many. It is certain that a coasting navigation is not only subject to greater difficulties and dangers than any other, but has the property, in consequence, of forming at all times the most expert seamen. Is it not true that at the present day the Newfoundland fisheries and the coal-trade form the best mariners of England? The greater frequency of danger in

such navigations habituates the sailor to overcome and despise it. It would be a most unwarrantable inference, therefore, to conclude that, because the nations of Antiquity confined themselves to coasting voyages of small extent, they were therefore deficient in maritime experience and skill. It was by the prosecution of such voyages that the Portuguese found their way to the East Indies. The very position of the three continents of the Ancient world precluded the possibility of fixing any absolute limit to navigation; and nothing was more likely to advance discovery than the long continuance of such coasting voyages. No insurmountable barrier prohibited further progress:—the love of lucre and the love of discovery perpetually allure the mariner onwards from the known to the unknown;—and when we reflect that the Carthaginians and Phœnicians were enabled to pursue at their leisure, and in profound peace, their long and adventurous voyages, we shall easily admit that they may have been gradually induced to extend them farther and farther till they had penetrated into very remote regions. Without attempting at present to draw any general inference from these observations, we may at least be convinced that it is a very unfounded proceeding to assert that the accounts we possess of the distant voyages of these nations along the coasts of Europe and Africa, and even of the circumnavigation of the latter, are fabulous, merely because they do not coincide with our own preconceived notions of the unskilfulness of Ancient mariners. If we would have some *external* evidence,—what corroboration can be more strong than the instance of the Normans during the Middle Ages? Can it be doubted that *they* circumnavigated Europe? Or can we deny the fact of their voyages, which, nevertheless, from the relative position of their native country, were prosecuted under circumstances of much greater difficulty and danger than were the expeditions of Tyre and Carthage, seated as these were on the coasts of the Mediterranean?

At the same time the navigation of the Ancients was not so exclusively a coasting one as not occasionally to venture across the open sea; but within very moderate limits, and only in the case of narrow seas. A glance at a map of the Eastern hemisphere of the globe will show us two seas of this description, both of great importance. The *Mediterranean*, with its subordinate portions, comprehending the Black Sea; and the *Indian Ocean*, lying between the coasts of Eastern Africa, Arabia, and Hindostan, and comprising the Arabian and Persian Gulfs.

The Mediterranean was obviously formed to be the principal scene of the commerce and navigation of the Ancients, by its position, in the centre of the three continents, and surrounded by the most fruitful and most civilized regions of the known world. The facility of its navigation was greatly increased by the abundance of islands strewed over its surface, the promontories which on every side stretch far into its bosom, and by the smallness of its total extent. It served as the medium of communication between the inhabitants of the three continents, who, beyond all question, would have continued as uncivilized as those of Central Africa, if the basin of the Mediterranean had been a *steppe*, like those of Mongolia.

In the Indian Ocean, within the limits we have mentioned, navigation is facilitated not only by the vicinity of the opposite shores, and by the frequent occurrence of islands, but also by periodical winds, which change their direction twice in the year. During all the summer half-year, from May to October, the prevailing south-west winds wafted from the coast of Africa to those of Malabar and Ceylon the fleets which the north wind, prevailing at the same time, had carried down the Arabian Gulf, and led through the straits of Babelmandeb: and in like manner, during our winter months, a constant north-easterly breeze served to conduct them home again, and taking a southerly direction as it entered the Arabian Gulf, conveyed them securely to its innermost recess.[1] The sequel of these observations will convince us that at a very early period the nations of the South availed themselves of the advantages thus afforded them by nature; and will at the same time show us how easy it was for the Ancients to

[1] The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf have both of them their monsoons, which differ in their directions. In the latter northerly winds prevail during the summer, and in the former south-westerly; which assist the navigation towards the coast of Malabar. On the other hand, during the winter months north-easterly winds prevail in the Ocean, and, in the Arabian Gulf, gales from the south; the effect of which is such as has been described.

prosecute the voyages referred to, without supposing the nature of their navigation to have undergone a change.

The extreme difference between the commerce of the Ancients and that of the Moderns must be apparent from what has been advanced, but it will be rendered yet more evident by a brief comparison of the system and objects of each.

The system of Ancient commerce was, on the whole, much more simple than that of modern nations; wanting many of the artificial improvements without which trade, as it now exists, could not be carried on. Its object was simply to supply certain demands of necessity or luxury; and these the merchant sought to sell at an advanced price, especially when he had bestowed upon them labour of his own. In this simple manner he acquired competence or wealth; but without carrying his speculations or his views any further. Consequently the commerce of the Ancients was characterized by this leading circumstance,—that it was a traffic or barter of *commodities*. In many cases, especially in very ancient times, these commodities were simply exchanged by way of barter; and even when the precious metals became the standard of value, they were at first employed with a reference to their weight, and only at a later period as coins properly so called. We know indeed that the Phœnicians, the Persians, and other nations possessed a coinage of their own, and we are certain that some species of coin (the Daric for instance) were current among the Greeks also; but it is not known to what extent this practice prevailed. One thing however is certain, that there was nothing like a *money trade* established among the Ancients, which at present forms a very principal branch of European commerce, and which, if it existed at all, was then merely in its infancy. In some of the great cities, such as Athens, Rome, Alexandria, etc., the constant influx of foreigners must have given rise to the trade of money-changers; but as long as there was no *exchange*, properly so called, such partial and incomplete interchanges of coinage could never become a branch of trade. The instances to the contrary which have been produced from certain Ancient authors are of an extremely doubtful nature, and appear to be nothing more than cases of orders of payment. It was natural that these should be drawn on a third person, but the art was not yet known of making them circulate, and converting them into articles of commerce. In modern days the money market at large is intimately connected with public credit, particularly with that of the great commercial states; and may be considered as a consequence of the habit so universally adopted and understood, of contracting and liquidating at a minimum price public debts. Such a practice was unknown, because unnecessary in Ancient times. The moderate expenditure of Ancient governments was supplied either by means of tribute, or, in the free states, extraordinary occasions were met by voluntary loans on the part of the citizens, which were subsequently repaid; without ever affording grounds for mercantile speculation. A regular system of exchange must be dependent on certain general laws affecting that branch of trade, and can scarcely be maintained without a well-organized system of *Posts;* since everything depends upon a certain, rapid, and constant correspondence between the different money markets. Yet we are not at liberty to suppose the commerce of the Ancients to have been as inefficient as ours would be if all communication by postage were suddenly removed; since it is a very different thing to be deprived of an advantage, and never to have possessed it: in the latter case the difficulty suggests of itself some partial remedy. It is not, however, the less certain, that many branches of modern commerce owe their present activity,—nay, their very existence,—to the communication established by the system of posts.

The greater simplicity of Ancient commerce is also shown by this circumstance, that a much less variety of employments was created by it, restricted as it was to the mere purchase and sale of commodities. Yet even in this respect we must not be too positive in our assertions. Who can pronounce with certainty all that passed in the great mercantile houses of Tyre or Carthage? We have many examples to prove that in commercial countries a great variety of employments has been always created by trade, besides those immediately devoted to it: for instance, in Egypt, the various mercantile agents, interpreters, brokers, etc.; and we are warranted by the unchangeable character of Oriental manners

to infer that such was probably the case in Ancient times. The principal difference, therefore, lies between the commerce of Europe as it is, and as it was. Even in the East, however, it is probable that the circumstances of those times made it impossible for the merchant to transact, as he does at present, a great proportion of his affairs by means of others: he was obliged himself to travel into foreign countries to purchase his commodities, particularly into regions which, (like Spain,) from their situation on the other side of the Mediterranean, and from the barbarism of their inhabitants, did not admit of any other mode of access. On this account also he was compelled, for the most part, to be at the same time the owner and captain of his vessel. All these observations are of course liable to many exceptions, but it may be safely asserted in general, that the very circumstance of the want of a regular communication by *posts* rendered it impossible for the Ancients to carry on their negotiations in the manner now established, by *commission*.

The *objects* of commerce must have been obviously much more limited then than in the present day, not only because many articles of trade now of great importance were then either unknown or little used, but also because the means of conveyance employed were insufficient, as we have seen, to transport the weightier merchandises.

Among these must be comprehended the most necessary article of all—*Corn*. Allowing that such a trade may to a certain extent have been carried on by land, it is clear that this necessary of life could not have been so transported in large quantities, or to any great distance. A trade in corn is especially dependent on navigation, and, in ancient times, was limited, in general, to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and possibly also of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. The coasts of Barbary and Egypt, which at the present day are so productive, were then still more so, because more highly cultivated. Who does not know that Rome derived her very subsistence from their granaries, and those of Sicily?

The transport of Wine was attended with even greater difficulties; it being impossible to transport liquids in sufficient quantities on beasts of burden; and difficult and sometimes impossible for wagons to follow a caravan, from the want of roads, or the badness of them. There were also other circumstances which contributed to give a totally different character to the wine-trade of the Ancients. The western countries of Europe, which now almost exclusively supply the rest of the world with this article, then produced little or none, even for their own consumption; at the same time that they had little demand for this luxury, and (contrary to the present state of commerce in this respect) contributed little to increase its value as an article of trade. Every country was then content with a wine of its own; and the cultivation of the vine was the more considerable and the more widely disseminated, because there existed no religion which interdicted the use of the grape.

On the other hand, Oil was then a much more important article of commerce. It bears transportation better than some kinds of wine, and was at that time in universal request, in consequence of the little use of butter in the southern countries. It may be added, that the cultivation of the Olive has undergone little change: the districts which then produced that useful tree continue to produce it exclusively; and Sicily, and the southern coast of Italy, were then indebted to it for no small share of their prosperity.

The difficulties opposed to the conveyance of different articles of clothing were much less considerable, although the raw material could not be imported in such large quantities as at present. The most precious of these, silk, cotton, and fine wool, were peculiar to the East, and the sequel of these observations will show the high degree of importance attached to these commodities as articles of land commerce.

The precious productions of the East, spices and perfumes, particularly frankincense, poured in a rich stream through various channels from the coasts of India and Arabia, to supply the costly sacrifices of the Ancients. The subject will be treated more fully in the course of the present work, but it has been already remarked, that no article of commerce was so well adapted to land carriage.

The epochs of the Roman and Macedonian empires are far from being the most important or the most instructive, either as respects the polity or the trade of the Ancients. The variety which distinguished the ancient forms of government was necessarily overwhelmed by an universal dominion, and Commerce herself was apt to be fettered with the same bondage in which every other civil relation was confined. We must ascend to a more distant age, if we would contemplate the constitutions of the Ancients in all their diversity, and their commerce in its most tranquil and flourishing condition. The period immediately preceding the establishment, and during the continuance of the Persian monarchy, appears to offer to the historian the most satisfactory survey and the richest field of inquiry. By examining this epoch we shall be enabled to estimate correctly the commerce of Alexandria of a later date, and the questions arising out of the political systems of the Romans and Macedonians. In like manner, by ascending to the age referred to, we behold, as it were, everything in its proper place, before the success of one nation had deprived the rest of their independence:—every commercial state then occupied the rank and position in the general system for which it appeared to be designed by its peculiar advantages. The shores of the Mediterranean were inhabited in every direction by industrious and sea-faring nations: *Carthage* had occupied the greater part of the coast of Africa, and by opening her ports for the importation of foreign produce, had already begun to monopolize the commerce of the Interior. *Cyrene* was the immediate neighbour of Carthage, and had become her rival, by her possessions along the eastern portion of the same coast. Over against these cities the Grecian colonies of Sicily and Italy had grown, by the cultivation of their fruitful territories, to a degree of opulence and prosperity which in the end proved fatal to them. Their narrow limits could with difficulty produce as much oil and wine as was absorbed by the neighbouring country of Gaul, and the boundless continent of Africa; which were either altogether barren of these productions, or afforded them sparingly and with difficulty. Italy was then principally in the hands of the Etrusci; a nation who, in spite of the jealous rivalry of Carthage, maintained themselves in the Mediterranean: while the *Romans*, pent up as yet within the limits of Latium, were content to carry on a peaceful traffic, and conclude a treaty of commerce with their future enemies the Carthaginians. The internal commerce of Gaul was in the hands of *Massilia*, the most peaceful and prosperous of all the Grecian states; while, on the coast of Spain, *Gades* and other independent Phœnician colonies, were mistresses of fleets which even braved the waves of the Atlantic.

The States of Greece, more particularly Athens and Corinth, with their Ionian dependencies, had secured to themselves the commerce of the Ægean and the Black Sea; and even Egypt, exclusive as it was (under the dominion of the Pharaohs) in all its institutions, had opened at Naucratis a free port for Grecian commerce. The later kings of this ancient dynasty went still further, and with the hope of making themselves masters of Phœnicia and Syria, removed their residence from Memphis to Sais, and equipped fleets at the same time on the Arabian Gulf and the Mediterranean. The nations of Central Asia were brought into closer contact by the levies of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and even the compulsory migration of some conquered nations—(the first expedient which despotism in its infancy devised to maintain its conquests)—was not without some beneficial result, by making different nations better acquainted with each other,—with their productions and their demands. The haughty *Babylon*, formed by her very position for the seat of empire and of commerce to the rest of Asia, had already become the resort of the arts and civilization; while Tyre and the other Phœnician states maintained their rights as the principal channels of communication for the trade of Asia and Europe: a trade which, though momentarily disturbed by the Persian conquest, presently resumed its former current. Under the dominion of the last, the whole of Central Asia assumed the internal arrangement of a settled empire: the traveller pursued without difficulty his way along the high roads from Sardes to Persepolis and Bactria; and the very remains of their palaces, decorated with the representations of public feasts, on occasion of which the different nations are

portrayed as presenting their offerings before the throne of the monarch, are even now a striking proof of the industry and arts of the people, and the wise government of their kings.

If to this outline we add the commerce of Southern Africa and Ethiopia, carried on, as we shall have occasion to see, by means of caravans communicating with Carthage and Tyre across the deserts of that continent, we are presented (in the period we are contemplating) with a picture of life and activity—of the commerce and combinations of mankind,—extending over the fairest portions of the globe, and affording the historian a surprise and pleasure, proportioned to the multiplicity of the objects it embraces. Without pushing our inquiries to the utmost limits of recorded time, we take up our position at a period when the clear light of authentic History began to lose itself in the twilight of Tradition:—an obscurity which, in proportion as it is capable of being penetrated, allures the curiosity of the observer. Without attempting to explore it beyond the limits to which the torch of criticism may safely conduct us, we may hope that occasionally some scattered rays may shoot far into its recesses.

Of this splendid picture we shall attempt to delineate at least the principal features. To this end we must cause the warlike races which usually occupy the most prominent place on the stage of History, to withdraw awhile, and make room for more pacific and unpresuming nations. Let the march of devastating armies give place to that of peaceful caravans; and instead of ruined cities, let us contemplate the more pleasing spectacle of newly-founded and flourishing colonies.

PREFACE.

During the forty years which have now nearly elapsed since the first appearance of these Reflections upon Ancient Africa, a progress has been made in the exploration of this quarter of the globe, which far surpasses the highest expectations that could have been formed with any semblance of probability. Bruce's Travels, and the Narrative of Lucas, in the first part of the Proceedings of the African Society, were at that time the most important authorities to which I could have recourse for a comparison between the present Africa and the Ancient, which forms throughout the groundwork of these Researches. But the spirit of the age, which, with a power before unknown, achieved all it attempted, did wonders with regard to Africa. Hardy and enterprising adventurers, among whom were some of my personal friends, penetrated into its interior. The chief country, indeed, of this part of the world, once the cradle of civilization and science, unexpectedly obtained a political consequence which it had lost for centuries: it was the object of an expedition led on by the hero of the age, with a literary as well as an armed retinue; of an expedition which, from the new stores of information it opened, will never be forgotten.

The fruits of these enterprises, by the honourable liberality of our government, were placed at my disposal; and, encouraged by the indulgent reception which I saw vouchsafed to my first essay, I felt the obligation pressed upon me, to lay every new edition before the reader in as improved a state as possible. This I did in the second edition, which appeared in 1804, and which not only contained many additions and improvements, but was almost entirely rewritten. If this was rendered necessary formerly by the Travels of Hornemann, Denon, and others, it was not less so after the appearance of the great French work, *Description d'Egypte*, with its magnificent atlas of copper-plates, of which I made use in the third edition, published in 1815. It only remains for me now to state what has been done for the fourth.

Already, in the third edition, it was found necessary to divide the

Reflections upon the African Nations into two volumes; the first containing the Carthaginians and Ethiopians, the second the Egyptians. The same division has been observed in this fourth edition. But the vast increase made to our stock of information respecting this quarter of the globe within the last ten years, has made numerous additions and occasional alterations necessary. For the section on the Carthaginians, much new information has been derived from the Travels of DELLA CELLA, which shows us, for the first time, what a rich harvest for the lovers of antiquity may be collected in the ancient Cyrenaica; from those of CAPTAIN LYON, who, following the footsteps of HORNEMANN, conducts us into the very heart of Africa; and, above all, the important work of General Count MINUTOLI, by which the ichnography and picture of the ancient Ammonium are laid before us.

Others, of which premature accounts have reached the public, such as those of Major Denham and his companion, could only be quoted from periodical publications, such as the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, the *Quarterly Review*, etc.

Still more important is the information which has lately been afforded us respecting Ethiopia. The names of Burkhardt, Belzoni, Gau, and Caillaud, of whom the two first, alas! have fallen sacrifices to their enterprising spirit, here become illustrious. To Burkhardt we are indebted for an accurate description of the tribes inhabiting those regions. Of Niebuhr it may truly be said, that there scarcely ever existed a traveller whose merit has been so soon and so generally acknowledged as that of my immortal friend: his name is already an authority both in the East and the West. Belzoni has erected himself a lasting monument by rescuing from the desert the gigantic grotto of Ipsambul. The great work of Gau now lies before our eyes, displaying with the most scientific accuracy the monuments of Nubia as far as the cataract of Wadi Halfa. The bold enterprising spirit of Caillaud penetrated even still farther: the monuments of ancient Meroë could no longer remain concealed; and even the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon again presents itself to our admiring eyes. The fruits also of these enterprises, so far as they have yet been made public, are placed within my reach; and what interesting matter I found therein for enriching this new edition, the discernment of the reader will discover. The chapter upon Meroë has been almost entirely re-written. I was taught to regret the delayed publication of the *Travels of Gau and Caillaud*, by the use of the engravings; and even hesitated whether I ought not to defer the parts published till the appearance of the letter-press. The plates, however, lay almost complete before me; and it seemed

to me, as these at all events must form the groundwork of the inquiry, most advantageous to form it upon my own judgment and view of these, and to leave a future comparison to the reader, or to supply the omission in an Appendix to some following part. When, however, I applied through a common friend to MONSIEUR CAILLAUD, in order to obtain information respecting the appearance of his Travels, he gave me for answer that they would be ready for the public in a few months; and tendered me, in the most obliging manner, more early communications; a favour I felt bound in justice to decline. But, not unacquainted with my former researches, he added an assurance, which I here give in his own words: "Le jugement de M. Caillaud sur la position de Meroë," as he writes, "se rapporte parfaitement avec celui de M. Heeren; et il approuve beaucoup ce qu'il dit sur la marche de la civilisation entre l'Ethiopie et l'Egypte. Il pense, et atteste même, qu'un antique état de Meroë a joué un très grand rôle dans cette marche, et que les premiers progrès du développement des arts et de la civilisation sont descendus d'Ethiopie en Egypte, où ils se sont développés, et perfectionnés; qu'un grand nombre d'usages dans les cérémonies religieuses tout à fait perdus en Egypte, et que l'on retrouve dans les cérémonies anciennes, y sont encore conservés. Il a remarqué aussi, que le costume des habitans de certaines contrées a la plus grande resemblance avec le costume connu des peuples anciens. Il ajoute, qu'un grand nombre des monumens de ces contrées doivent dater d'une antiquité très reculée; que quant à beaucoup d'autres qui subsistent encore, et dont les restes sont encore bien conservés, il ne croit pas qu'ils soient très anciens: les pluies qui tombent si abondamment dans ces pays devant contribuer et contribuant à leur destruction." All this will undoubtedly be further explained and more accurately determined by the journal of Caillaud. The reader needs scarcely be told, that it gave me great pleasure to find this conformity of opinion between myself and a person who had been at the very place in question: whether it will give as much satisfaction to certain critics, who had already decreed that what has now come to pass could not be, and who would rather shut their eyes than see, I shall leave them to settle.

Quite of another kind are the discoveries which the successful exertions of Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics, especially the names of the Pharaohs, promise us. It is certainly to Egypt that they have the closest relation, and it is therefore in that part of my work that I shall more fully consider them; still, however, they touch upon Ethiopia. When it is remembered how many particulars in regard to this subject remain still undetermined, although

the discovery of a phonetic alphabet is proved in general; if it be moreover considered, that without a knowledge of the Coptic no progress can here be made; it will not be expected that I in this path, following the footsteps of Champollion, should attempt blindly to grope my way. Still however I cannot pass over in total silence, as the reader will readily see, the relations which these discoveries bear to my researches. They will therefore be found quoted in a few places, not as proofs of my assertions, but merely to show the agreement of their results with my statements.

The advantages, then, of this new edition will appear from what I have now said. Everything available in the new discoveries for the improvement of my work has been carefully made use of; and with that discriminating caution which would render it most likely to shed a clearer light upon the subject. How far I have attained my end the reader must judge; yet I flatter myself that fair critics will not underrate my endeavours to impart to these researches that degree of clearness and precision which my means and ability would allow.

The new maps which are appended will, I hope, give a proof of this. They represent ancient Africa, so far as is necessary for the present work, *previous* to the Ptolemies and Romans. The modern names are always enclosed within brackets: of the ancient, no more places are specified than could be conveniently given upon a general map without overcharging it; namely, the countries, nations, and cities which have some historical importance.

With much greater confidence than I did the foregoing do I now deliver this edition into the hands of the reader; as my former statements are here confirmed by additional evidence in numerous and important particulars. *The monuments are still standing;* and stand too firm to be disputed away by the efforts of daring criticism.

Göttingen, May 4th, 1825.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

AFRICA, from the earliest times to the present, has always excited, in a more lively degree than any other quarter of the world, the curiosity of mankind; and yet it has never been drawn forth from the mysterious obscurity in which it is involved. The great difficulties which the nature of its interior opposes to every attempt made to explore it, have prevented any one of them, up to the present time, from being successful beyond a certain point; still this very mystery and obscurity, combined with the peculiar productions of its soil, have always offered a continual allurement to inquisitive spirits; and no sooner has one enterprise in part or altogether miscarried, than new ones have been formed. Nature seems to have destined Africa for her mysterious workshop: there peculiar races of men are formed; there the larger species of savage beasts, inhabitants of the desert, wander in safety; there a vegetable creation arises, the first glance at which tells us that it belongs to a distant and unknown region of the world.

Notwithstanding this, a considerable part of Africa broke through, at an early period, the thick darkness in which it seemed enveloped; and indeed, as a comparison of the latest discoveries with the earliest will show, a much greater portion than has hitherto been generally supposed. According to evidence, which has gained credit in an unusual manner, Africa was circumnavigated at a period of very remote antiquity;[1] and although this circumstance had no influence upon the further exploration of the southern part, it concurred with many favourable circumstances to promote that of the northern. Even in the earliest ages, the north-east coast of Africa was inhabited by civilized and commercial nations, who were natives of the soil like the Egyptians, or had migrated from other countries like the Carthaginians and Cyreneans. The extensive intercourse and multifarious connexions which these nations had, as the further prosecution of these inquiries will show, with the interior of this quarter of the globe, brought

[1] Herod. iv. 42.

many accounts from thence to the countries on the sea-coast; and it is possible that Herodotus might collect during his residence in Egypt, a place where merchants from every quarter met together, his admirable accounts of these countries: accounts which not only confirm the latest discoveries, but which often go beyond them and require further discoveries to establish their credibility. But the vicissitudes to which Africa was afterwards exposed must have assisted still more to extend the information respecting it. The dominion of the Ptolemies in Egypt was in more than one way conducive to this end. As the commerce of this country increased, the circle of geographical knowledge became of course extended. The necessity of obtaining elephants for their wars, which could only be procured from the interior of Africa, occasioned more minute inquiries to be made respecting it. The more accurate information thus obtained, and the connexions so formed, paved the way to those conquests, which under the third Ptolemy and Evergetes I. extended into the interior of Æthiopia. We need not, therefore, wonder at finding in the fragments which are left us of the works of the Alexandrine geographers, and especially of Agatharchides, so minute a description of those distant regions, which did not again become known till in the present age they were discovered by Bruce. The fall of Carthage also, much as that state had done in exploring Africa, tended rather to extend than to limit the information already obtained of its interior. As a Roman province, North Africa acquired a Roman character; and besides the wars carried on in the country of the Garamantes, which extended to the frontiers of Æthiopia, another circumstance aided the exploration of Africa. Its immense deserts were obliged to furnish the savage animals for the great combats of wild beasts that took place, principally under the emperors: and to which the Roman people became the more attached, in proportion as the state declined. The Roman historians sufficiently show the almost incredible pitch to which these amusements were carried at that time, and if we reflect upon the distance that it would be necessary to penetrate into the interior of the country to obtain the great number of lions, elephants, and other beasts requisite for them,[1] we shall scarcely be able to doubt but this

[1] Compare for example the catalogue of wild beasts of the emperor Philip, which must have been brought for the great procession and fight of wild beasts at the secular games (*ludi sæculares*) 1000 years from the building of Rome. Among others there were no less than ten giraffes (*camelopardi*). *Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. p. 58, *Bipont edition.* There is no

custom was of great importance in extending the information respecting those countries, although we cannot say exactly how much was actually gained thereby.

In this way antiquity obtained its knowledge of Africa, which was still further increased, in the middle ages, by the victories of the Arabs, and their settlement on its northern coasts; when all those places, Fez, Morocco, and others, now overrun by barbarians, were, under their dominion, the seats of science and literature. From this source, and from the discoveries of the Europeans in the latter part of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth centuries, have been drawn up, to the latest times, our accounts respecting Africa, as well as the names on our more early maps. The entire change which then took place in the colonial system of Europe, and which caused it to turn its whole attention to the two Indies, was without doubt the principal reason why curiosity respecting this quarter of the globe, which no longer seemed interesting, except to furnish slaves for planting distant possessions, lay dormant; till in our own days, by a conflux of fortunate circumstances, the spirit of discovery has again been roused, and in twenty years done more towards dispelling the mysterious darkness which hangs over Africa, than had been done in the two preceding centuries.

The physical features, however, of this quarter of the globe, notwithstanding all that has been done by ancient and modern research, have not been yet so well ascertained as to enable us to reduce them to any general division, as is done with regard to Asia. How little, indeed, do we know, even after the repeated journeys undertaken from the Cape of Good Hope, of the southern part, into which nobody up to the present time has penetrated beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, whilst all our information respecting the country northward of this is limited to a very unsatisfactory knowledge of the coasts.[1] Our present view therefore must be confined, as it would have been in ancient times, merely to the northern part, particularly as the object of these inquiries, limited to the period when that alone was known, requires no more.

foundation for the belief that these species of wild beasts were found at that time farther north; and we see, therefore, that the Roman hunters must have penetrated into the heart of Africa.

[1] Light, however, on these parts now begins to dawn; if the accounts drawn from the papers of the deceased Bowdich, formed upon the reports given him by the Portuguese, respecting the inland countries between Congo and Mozambique, be authentic, then these countries form a table land without high mountains; with streams flowing in various directions, and a great lake, Maravi, said to extend northwards as far as Mombazo, and probably forming a chain of lakes similar to those of North America. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1824.

The northern part of Africa is divided into three regions, which Herodotus has already very properly distinguished. He separates his Libya into the *inhabited*, situated on the Mediterranean, the *wild beast* territory, and the *desert* Libya.[1] This division, founded upon the natural features of the country, answers to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara; but the fertile and inhabited lands beyond the desert, which we comprise under the names of Nigritia or Soudan, are not included therein. They were not, however, as the prosecution of this inquiry will show, altogether unknown to Herodotus. But the part which he knew of it he gave to Æthiopia, the general name for the interior of Africa as far as it was inhabited by black or dark-coloured people.

The first region therefore comprises Mauritania, Numidia, the proper territory of Carthage, (which the Romans afterwards called, in a stricter sense, Africa,) Cyrenaica, and Marmarica; or the northern parts of the present kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, which are together comprised under the name of Barbary. Justly, indeed, does it merit the name of *habitable* Africa, which is pre-eminently given it by Herodotus, on account of the fertility which almost every where characterizes it. The coasts of Tripoli and the eastern part of Barca have, however, even to the sea, large sandy districts, but even these were inhabited in ancient times by nomad hordes.

Beyond this region, under latitude 30°, a chain of mountains runs across Africa, which in the western regions are comprised under the name of Atlas. Separate portions only of this chain are known up to the present time, although recent discoveries satisfactorily show that it extends in the same latitude across the whole continent of Africa, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Egypt. Its loftiest and broadest part seems to be in the west, where it usually bears the name of Atlas, and where it occupies the whole of the southern provinces of Morocco and Algiers; as it approaches Tripoli, where it takes the name of Harudsta, it becomes narrower, parched, and sterile; after which it continues along the north boundary of the desert, a chain of barren rocks, until it reaches Egypt.[2] In the western

[1] Herod. ii. cap. 32, and iv. 181.

[2] See Hornemann's *Journal of his Travels in Africa*. He is the first traveller, within my knowledge, who has opened to us the eastern half of this chain, and shown us that it extends athwart Africa. His accounts are confirmed and enlarged by the journey of Della Cella to Cyrenaica, as well as by that of General Minutoli. Although this chain, according to Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto fatto nel*, 1817, p. 162, is sometimes broken eastward of the Great Syrtis, yet it is not interrupted to any extent; and the same species of mountain, a sort of chalk stone, succeeds again soon after.

parts, where there is no lack of water, it is, more than in any other, the peculiar haunt of savage beasts; from which circumstance Herodotus, with great justice, calls it the *wild beast* country. By the Arabs it is called the Land of Dates,[1] from the great quantity of that fruit, so important to Africa, which grows there. The whole region, therefore, comprises the southern side of Atlas, together with the territory lying near it, extending as far as the great desert, between the 30th and 26th degrees of north latitude. The later Greek and Roman geographers call it Gætulia; and it is known even by their poets, as the native haunt of savage beasts. This whole district forms at present the southern parts of the before-mentioned kingdoms; but in consequence of the weakness of those wretched governments, several independent states have been formed there, as Fezzan (*Phazania Regio, Ptol.*) which formerly belonged to Tripoli, Sigilmessa, and others: but the inhabitants of these regions are, and have been from the earliest times, the greatest merchants and travellers in the world. Of these people the great caravans are principally composed, which at one time penetrate athwart the deserts into the golden regions of the interior of Africa, and at others pass to Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

Their country, which is only fertile in some of those places where water is found, loses itself by degrees in a barren desert; which Herodotus calls the *sandy regions*,[2] and which is comprised by the Arabs under the general name of the Desert, *Sahara*. It extends, as Herodotus very accurately remarks, across Africa, from Egypt to the western coast, and stretches itself, under the same degrees of latitude, through the regions of Asia, Arabia, the southern provinces of Persia, and penetrates considerably into northern India.[3] It is, however, an inaccurate, though a common notion, to suppose it forms one continuous sterile ocean of sand. It contains, on the contrary, not only several fruitful patches, but whole districts, which form steppes, over which nomad hordes wander with their cattle.[4] The breadth of this sandy region is not every where the

[1] *Beladal Jerid*, commonly pronounced *Biledulgerid*.

[2] Herod. iv. 181, ὀφρύη ψάμμης, a *sandy tract*. He expressly adds, that the same extends from Thebes in Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules.

[3] Through Kerman (*Carmania*) Mecran (*Gedrosia*) as far as Moultan in North India.

[4] See especially Golberry, *Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique*, vol. i. cap. 6. Upon the physical nature of the soil of the desert see in particular Minutoli, *Journey to the Temple of Ammon*.

same; its widest extent is in the western half of North Africa, between the present kingdom of Morocco and the Negro country; and its narrowest between the present states of Tripoli and Kassina, where also it is most frequently interrupted by watery districts. It becomes again much broader as it approaches Egypt. Every where, however, it presents sufficient terrors to prevent single travellers from venturing to cross it; and where it is broadest, the largest caravans cannot traverse it without the greatest danger. The western desert of Zuenziga is the most terrible of all; the deserts of Berdoa, Bilmah, and Barca, with some others, form parts of it, and finally lose themselves in the sandy deserts of Upper Egypt and Nubia.

Beyond these sandy solitudes happier regions are again found. A chain, or rather a ridge of mountains, which probably runs across Africa under 12° north latitude, becomes the common parent of many large and small rivers, and entirely changes the features of the country. The dark obscurity in which this ridge, called on our latest maps the Kong mountains, has always hitherto remained, has only recently been partially broken through. The streams which it pours forth, swollen by the violence of the tropic rains, which here, near the equator, have their longest duration, overflow like the Nile the neighbouring lands, and fertilize their soil. Instead of a sandy desert, the eye now ranges over extensive plains covered with wood, and now over gently sloping hills, containing, often at the depth of but a few feet, the richest veins of gold. Of the succeeding immeasurable tracts we scarcely know a single spot, yet, from what little information we have, southern Africa seems generally more fertile, and therefore more thickly inhabited, than the northern.[1]

These preliminary observations on the physical state of Africa, upon which rests the foundation of the whole inland trade of this quarter of the world, are of the greatest importance to our subject, and many of the following remarks would be unintelligible without them. I purposely abstain from more minute detail, as I would not burthen the memory of my readers with names which might obscure the general outline.

One of the most extraordinary facts respecting all this part of Africa is, without doubt, the rarity of large rivers, which,

[1] We as yet know nothing of great sandy deserts which may be contained in southern Africa; and the many and very considerable streams therein, render it improbable that any such are there to be found.

however, may be accounted for from the course of the principal mountain chain. The northern chain runs so closely along the Mediterranean, that the rivers which flow from it are properly mountain streams, which, after a short course, lose themselves in the sea. The extensive tracts which lie between this and the southern chain, have no slope either towards the north or south, sufficient to make the streams take either of these directions, but only towards the west and east, and even this, as it seems, only near the mountains. Under such circumstances those regions must necessarily remain without water, as no stream could form itself a channel through them. These impediments do not cease till we come to Egypt, where the mountain chain ends, or alters its course; and the Nile is the only large stream which continues to flow from south to north in the northern part of Africa. Whether, however, this river has yet been traced to its source, and whether it flows in the same direction, from south to north, at its rise, still remains, notwithstanding the recent discoveries and the boast of a celebrated traveller that he had penetrated to its head, undetermined. We know that this stream is formed in the interior of Africa by the conflux of several rivers, but it seems not to be settled which of these is properly the Nile. The river which Bruce takes to be it rises between the 10° and 11° north latitude, and bears the name of *Abavi;* but the more westerly branch, which is called by him the White River, (*Bahr el Abiad*, the *Astapus* of the ancients,) has its source much deeper in the interior of Africa; and seems, from the mass of waters which it rolls along, to have more right to be considered as the principal stream. The direction of its course remains still uncertain and unexplored; even the latest adventurer, M. Caillaud, who saw its conjunction with the Nile, could not trace the stream upwards; the problem, therefore, still remains unsolved, whether the Nile comes from the south or west. A tradition which, from the earliest times to the present, has obtained in Africa, speaks of a branch of the Nile flowing in the latter direction. It is clearly and precisely given by the father of history: "The Nile," says Herodotus, "flows out of Libya, dividing it into two parts; and, as I conjecture, (assuming unknown things from what is known,) runs in a direction parallel to the Danube."[1] The Arabian geographers name this river the Nile of the Negroes, but make it to run in a contrary

[1] Herod. ii. 33.

direction, from east to west: only giving it a common source out of the same lake with the Egyptian Nile;[1] while, according to the statements of the latest travellers in Africa, the assertion of Herodotus is still the generally prevailing belief in the interior of this quarter of the world.[2] This question, however, is not likely to remain long unsettled in an age like the present, in which so much zeal is testified to clear up every doubt that remains respecting the distant regions of the globe; and since a British traveller has already penetrated along the western bank of the Nile as far as Darfur,[3] without finding any river, we may with safety conclude, that it is only above this point that such a westerly principal arm can now be sought for, if after all it really should exist.

Intimately connected with this question is another, of which, in modern times, we have a more accurate solution; namely, upon the course of the stream, which generally goes under the name of the Niger. Modern geographers have often confounded this stream with the Senegal, which, flowing from east to west, falls into the ocean under 16° north latitude; and is reckoned among the principal streams of Africa. In the ancient geographers, on the contrary, the Senegal, which by Ptolemy and others is called the Daradus, never bears the name of the Niger. Pliny, as well as Ptolemy, seems rather to have understood by this latter, a river in the interior of Africa, not flowing from east to west, but from west to east.[4] This being added to the information given above respecting a branch of the Nile, which was said to flow from the west of Africa, caused the Niger to be confounded with the Nile, and is by Pliny expressly declared to be the same river with the Astapus, or White River.[5] Modern geography, in consequence of the exploration of the Joliba, discovered by Mungo Park, tends to confirm the tradition respecting the existence of a river in the interior of Africa, flowing from west to east; a tradition known to Herodotus,[6] and upon which he founded the conjecture that this river might be the Nile.[7] Its discoveries, however, offer no confirmation of the conjecture that the Joliba has any connexion with the Nile; but there are, on the contrary, im-

[1] As Edrisi and Abulfeda. See Hartmann, *Geogr. Africæ Edrisiana*, p. 23.
[2] Hornemann, p. 138, 141.
[3] H. Browne, whose particular object it was to trace the course of the White River to its source; but who was detained prisoner in Darfur.
[4] See Ptolemy, *Africa*, tab. iv. The principal authority is Pliny, V. cap. 9.
[5] Pliny, l. c.
[6] Herod. ii. 32. See the section upon the Land Trade of the Carthaginians.
[7] Herod. ii. 33.

portant reasons which render it improbable; for not only the length of the course which we must in that case assign the Joliba, and which would make it divide nearly all Africa in its widest part, but also the course of the mountain chain, as far as we are acquainted with it, and the direction of the slope depending upon it, seem to contradict it.[1] The latest discoveries of the British, of which however we have only preliminary notices,[2] seem to place it beyond a doubt that the Joliba falls into the great lake of Tzaad in the empire of Bornou. Whether, however, it flows again out of it on the eastern side of this lake, or whether the floods, during the rainy season, cause a junction with the White River, is still unknown.

This want of navigable rivers, together with the large sandy deserts, must have impeded the intercourse of the African nations, and on that account must have thrown great, almost insurmountable, difficulties in the way of their civilization. The inhabitants of the interior of this quarter of the globe have lived, from the earliest times, almost always cut off from the rest of the world. Protected by their sandy deserts, they were scarcely accessible to the persevering toil of friendly caravans, never to the army of a foreign conqueror. Great and sudden moral or political revolutions seem to have happened as rarely here as violent physical changes. Nature, nevertheless, has provided in a remarkable manner, that they should not remain total strangers to each other; she has not only given them fruitful inland countries, but stored even the immense sandy deserts themselves with treasures, which have either excited the avarice, or been required by the necessities of mankind. The central countries of Africa were celebrated among the northern nations, even in the earliest ages, for the abundance of gold which they contained; but probably another present, bestowed by nature on the desert, did more towards keeping up an intercourse between them. In its interior were found, sometimes in hills, sometimes in lakes, the great magazines of salt, which supply the most distant tribes with this indispensable mineral, of which the negro countries are totally destitute, and which obliges them to undertake in large companies such dangerous journeys through the sandy regions.

[1] The arguments for the opposite opinion have already been explained by Rennel, in his additions to Hornemann's Travels, p. 191.
[2] The accounts of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny, in the *Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1823, before the publication of their travels. The improbable hypothesis, that the Joliba turns to the west, and runs into the Congo river, and which even occasioned an unsuccessful journey of discovery to that river, falls therefore of itself to the ground.

Besides this, unfortunately for humanity, even in that early period the slave trade existed, (which, as far back as history can trace, seems always to have been a native of that soil,) and many other, though less important, branches of commerce. Thus we see that several thousand years ago, as well as at present, there existed an intercourse with the nations of Central Africa, which became the principal cause of its civilization, and furnished the remainder of the world with the means of information respecting this quarter of the globe. The accounts which are come down to us from antiquity concerning it are scanty and defective, but on that very account are the more attractive to the historical inquirer; and the research which will be made as we proceed[1] will perhaps, therefore, be more secure of the attention, and have more claim to the indulgence of the reader.

But if the interior of Africa was subject to fewer changes, her coasts, especially the northern, were more exposed to foreign migrations. Here arose the republic of Carthage, one of the first and most remarkable of the ancient world; here the state of Cyrenaica, had it enjoyed more domestic tranquillity, might have become the rival of Carthage. Here also the only native people, who on the shores of the Nile attained so high and remarkable a degree of civilization, attract our attention; while the Æthiopians in the obscure distance, and enveloped in the thickest mist of antiquity, glimmer, almost invisible, on the confines of the earth.

In the hands of these nations rested the commerce of Inner Africa, and besides them not a single large state, that we know of, has been formed within it, as the later Numidian empire is not here to be considered. But although my inquiries may be limited to these, I shall nevertheless find occasion to introduce what I may have to say respecting the other inhabitants of this quarter of the globe. Cyrene did not become sufficiently large, and too little information is left concerning it to give materials for a separate division. The accounts preserved respecting it, will find a more appropriate place in the third part of this work, which relates to the Greeks and their colonies in general.

[1] See the section on the Land Trade of the Carthaginians, in which will be found further explanation and proofs of what we have here said.

REDUCTION RATIO CHANGE(S) WITHIN TITLE

AFRICA

florentibus Carthaginiensium · Aegyptiorum et Aethiopum Regnis.

Nomina recentiora uncinis sunt inclusa antiqua mercatorum.

HISPANIÆ PARS

Insulae Baleares

Carthagenova

Prom sacrum

Tartessus

Gades Fretum Herculis

Hippo Reg.

Vacca

Hippo Zarytus

Carthago

SICILIA

Utica

Prom Hermæum

Tunis

Gaules Ins.

Melite Ins.

ZEUGITANA

Zama

Adrumetum

Tridrus

Leptis minor

Emporia

Cercina Ins.

Syrtis minor

Tripolis

Cyrus fl.

Leptis maj

Rhodus Ins.

Creta

Cyprus

Peloponnesus

Platea I.

Canobus Alexandria

Nilus

Pelusium

Tanis Zoan

Suez

Heliopolis

Memphis

Labyrinth

Arsinoe

Ammonium

Siwah

Augila

Oasis parva

Oasis magna

Thebae

Elana

AEGYPTUS

ARABIAE PARS

SINUS ARABICUS

Mare rubrum

Elephantine

Philae

Syene

Calabsche

Debut

Seboua

Amada

Dakke

Dendur

Ibsambul

Soleb

Berkeli

Cataracta

Wadi Halfa

NUBIAE DES

Napata vel Meroe

Meroe

Gerri

Mesurat

ROE

INS

Cataracta

Curaoe Ins Todu

Nasamones

Psylli

Syrtis magna

Regio Syrtica

Cyrenaica

Barca

CABALES

AUSCHISE.

ASBYSTA.

ADYRMACHIDÆ

ORIGAMMN.

Hesperidum horti

Gindanes

Gindamis Cydamus

Machlyes

Atlas M.

Zaveces

Maxyes

Gyzantes

Massylii

Massaesyli

Numidae

Tyrbae Metagonitae

Phoenicum et Carthag. Classes

Solis Promont. Cap Blanco

Insulae Fortunatae

Cerne Ins.

Atlas M.

Cap Bojador

AETHIOPES

GAETULIA

BILEDULGERID

Gindanes

Garamantes Phasania

Fezzan

Garama Tasili

Murzuk

Tibesti M.

Zala

TIBBO

Aethiopes Troglodytae

Atarantes Tegerri

TUARIKS

AFRICA

SAHARA DESERTA

ZAARA DE ZAHARA

Tegarara

Bilma

ATLANTES

BORNU

Regnum

KASCHNA R.

TOMBUCTOO

Niger fl.

Lari

Kuko

Lac Tsad Wangua

Senegal fl.

Nubia cornu

Gambea fl.

Niger fl. Jolibe

Kong M.

NIGRITIA SUDAN

DARFUR Regn.

Bahar el Abiad

GALLA POP.

Montes Lunae

Sabea Regio

Axuma

Adule

ABASSINIA

GOJAM

Lacus Aquilae Fenter

AGOWS POP.

ARABIA FELIX

Babelmandel fret

Aromata Prom. Cap Gardefan

SAMALI

Regio turifera Haereditc comita

AETHIOPES MACROBII

Milliaria geographica

Longitude East from Ferro 10 20 30 40 50 60

Heerens Reflections African Nations

CARTHAGINIANS.

CARTHAGE.

NEC TANTUM CARTHAGO HABUISSET OPUM SEXCENTOS FERE ANNOS, SINE CONSILIIS ET DISCIPLINA. CICERO DE REPUBL. ii. 48.

IT has been the unfortunate lot of Carthage to have her fall alone stand conspicuous in the annals of the world, and the preservation of her glory left to foreign historians. Her native writers have long been lost;[1] and even among foreigners no one has written a proper history of Carthage. The Greeks and Romans have only left us details of those transactions in which they themselves were concerned; and would, perhaps, have been altogether silent respecting this state, had it not been for the wars it carried on against Syracuse and Rome; and though very minute information is given us respecting these wars, especially concerning the struggle with Rome, yet it becomes gradually less valuable as we ascend into more remote antiquity. This later period, however, is not the one from which we can hope to form a proper opinion of Carthage. From the time when the contest between these powerful republics broke out, Carthage no longer remained what she had been. Her whole existence from that period, even though fortune sometimes shone favourably upon her arms, was no more than a struggle for self-preservation; all other enterprises, as well as her whole previous system of policy, were sacrificed for that object. The heroic family of the Barcas, indeed, did for some time support the declining commonwealth; but, having been once shaken to its foundation, it could never afterwards recover its former splendour and stability.

[1] Sallust. *Jug.* cap. 17, *Qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est,—dicam.* The *libri Punici* here mentioned are evidently historical books written in the Carthaginian language, as is shown by the added *interpretatum nobis est.* The addition *Qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur* points out the possessor, and not the author,—"I (namely Sallust) am told they belong to King Hiempsal." It is highly probable, that the historian saw these books not at Rome, but during his government in Africa; where he collected the materials for his Jugurthine war. Hiempsal II. was at that time king of Numidia. That the Carthaginians were not deficient in literature is evident from their writings on agriculture, which were translated at Rome.

Herodotus is the only great historian who has descended to us from the flourishing period of this state—shortly before, and during the Persian empire—and here deserves particular notice. From the general plan of his work we might have expected that he would have given us a digression as well upon Carthage, an opportunity for which more than once occurs,[1] as upon the other states and nations which he describes. Why he has not done so, whether from accident or design, or because he had not visited Carthage himself, or what other reason he might have, it is impossible to determine. Of how much might he not have informed us! He, by whom no opportunity was neglected of collecting information respecting the Carthaginians! Notwithstanding this, many of his accounts, as will be seen as we proceed, are indirectly of the highest importance to this inquiry. Polybius saw Carthage (only) in its decline; he is accurate and impartial as an historian, although a friend of the Romans, and even intimate with the younger Scipio. He frequently gives us a deep insight into the internal affairs of the Carthaginian republic; and some genuine documents which he has preserved us, together with the voyage of Hanno,[2] afford us some compensation, although but little, for the loss of its native writers. Diodorus Siculus[3] is principally valuable because he comprises the period immediately before the Roman wars, namely, that of the wars with Syracuse; and for having preserved many interesting particulars. Livy, on the contrary, can only be referred to for events relating to the wars; he did not give himself the trouble to study the internal state of Carthage, and clothes, moreover, the picture which he draws, in a Roman dress. Appian, in his book of the Roman wars, is in this respect more copious; although in the art of handling his materials he is far inferior to Livy. Among a host of other writers, Justin,[4] although otherwise scanty and not to be relied upon, must be mentioned as the only one to whom we are indebted for a continuous view of the earlier fortunes of the republic and her first advance, respecting which most of the

[1] As for example in viii. 165. [2] This, as well as the documents here mentioned, will be found collected and translated at the end of this volume.

[3] Diodorus has drawn his accounts of Carthage from two Greek writers, Ephorus and Timæus. The doubtful nature of the first is shown by his exaggerated statements respecting the number of the Carthaginian armies and fleets; which by Timæus, who is very accurate where his passions do not come into play, are always reduced to half, or one third. See examples in Diodorus, i. p. 584, and other places.

[4] The accounts of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, whom he only abridged, concerning Carthage, are mostly drawn from Theopompus, and perhaps from Timæus, as I have shown in my treatise, *de Fontibus et auctoritate Justini*. See *Commentat. Soc. Scient. Goetting.* vol. xv. p. 225, etc.

others are totally silent.—It is not our intention to write a history of Carthage, and if it were, it is not her later period that would occupy our chief attention. Our consideration should be given to that brilliant period when this state was in full activity, and enjoyed the free exercise of its power. What form did she at that time bear? Upon what foundation in reality rested her internal constitution, and how was it made to totter? What was the circumference and condition of her home territory? What were her relations with her provinces and colonies? What with the independent nations of inner Africa? How far did her intercourse extend in this direction, and what were the limits of her navigation? How were her armies and fleets organized? What were the principles of her policy, and how were they acted upon? In a word, what was Carthage and what did she wish to be? None of these questions seem to me yet satisfactorily answered, although a prominent place is assigned to Carthage in every work on universal history.[1]

CHAP. I. *Formation and condition of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa.*

CARTHAGE was one of the many colonies which Tyre, like other Phœnician states, established on the northern coast of Africa.[2] It was not the only one, nor the first; Utica was certainly more ancient,[3] as were probably some others. All this coast, reckoning from the Lesser Syrtis westward, was covered with colonies of the Phœnicians, as may be seen in my inquiries respecting them; and that they even extended their settlements beyond

[1] The best information we have at present respecting Carthage, is to be found in Spanish writers. I pass by all others to mention the very valuable work of Campomanes, *Antiguedad Maritima de la Republica de Cartago*. The first part contains the history of the great enlargement of the Carthaginian navigation and maritime power, and is certainly very valuable, as it is confined to one definite object. The second comprises the Periplus of Hanno, with a too prolix commentary, mostly founded on etymologies. Hendrich, *de Republica Carthaginiensium*, is a mere compilation, partly tricked up with out of the way hypotheses. Since the first appearance of these inquiries, they have been made use of by most of the writers among us upon ancient history—would that I could add, corrected and enlarged. I mention, however, with pleasure, the instructive treatise of Professor Kluge of Breslaw, Aristoteles, *de Politia Carthaginiensium*; to which I shall again refer in the prosecution of this work.

[2] According to the usual chronology, Carthage was built B. C. 878, and destroyed B. C. 146. It stood therefore altogether 732 years. Its history is best divided into three periods. The first extends from the foundation of the city to the commencement of the wars against Syracuse; from 877—480. It comprises the period of the rise and growth of the state; its extension in Africa, in Sardinia, and other smaller islands in the Mediterranean. It was likewise the period of the commercial wars with the Massilians and Etrurians. The second extends from 480—265; from the rise of the Syracusan to the commencement of the Roman wars. It comprises the period of its greatest power and extent. The third, from 265—146, includes the history of its wars with Rome, the period of its declining power, and its overthrow. See my *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 59, etc. of the English translation.

[3] Proofs of this may be found in Bochart, *Canaan*, p. 473, etc.

the Pillars of Hercules, on the shores of the great ocean, is shown hereafter from several concurrent facts. In this they were influenced by various circumstances. To some parts they were allured by the fertility of the soil, and to others by the traffic which they carried on with the nomad inhabitants; but besides these, their principal motive, the same which drew them to Sicily, seems to have been the keeping open a communication with southern Spain, and to maintain their power there, which, on account of its rich mines, became, as it were, their Mexico and Peru.

Most of these settlements were established for purposes of trade, and seem originally to have been but small; they were indeed, at their first formation, rather staples for their goods than places of traffic. Many of them, however, taking advantage of their happy situation, soon got that trade into their own hands which they should have insured to the mother state. Among the ancients, with whom, excepting the Romans, the bonds which connected the colonies with the parent states were slight, this was a common occurrence; modern history seems likewise to confirm the fact, that trading colonies, if they improve, are the most uncertain of all possessions.

Besides these, there was another species of colonies in the ancient world, most numerous among the Greeks, but not unknown to the Phœnicians. This owed its origin to civil broils or dissensions. The discontented party emigrated or was expelled, and sought settlements for themselves in foreign lands. The Greeks in such cases went to Asia Minor or Lower Italy; the Phœnicians to Africa.[1]

According to all accounts, Carthage belonged to the latter species, and this circumstance deserves here to be remarked, because through it the connexion between her and the mother state becomes determined. She was from the beginning an independent state. Tyre and Carthage, without claiming dominion or acknowledging subjection, observed towards one another all those duties of mutual regard, which, according to the opinions both of the Phœnicians and Greeks, mother states and colonies owe to each other. Tyre constantly refused the use of her fleet to Cambyses when he wished to attack Carthage;[2] and Carthage not only testified her religious devotion to the Tyrian god by embassies and votive offerings, but

[1] We are, for example, quite certain that it was under such circumstances that the city of *Leptis Magna*, in the territory of Syrtis, was founded by a colony from Sidon. Sallust. *Jug.* c. 78. [2] Herod. iii. 17, 19.

granted a place of refuge to the inhabitants and treasures of Tyre when that city was besieged by Alexander.[1]

History has not preserved to us the means by which Carthage first raised itself so much above the other Phœnician colonies. It certainly might have been effected by a conflux of favourable circumstances; but the excellent situation of the city, which at the same time afforded it every convenience for navigation, and protected it from foreign attack, was certainly one of the principal. Carthage was built in the interior of a large bay, formed by the projection of Cape Bon[2] in the east, and Cape Zebid[3] in the west, now called the Gulf of Tunis. At the bottom of this bay is a peninsula, which was formerly connected with the mainland by an isthmus about three miles broad. Upon this peninsula was Carthage erected, about half way between Utica and Tunis, both which might have been seen from the walls of the city, as the former was only nine and the latter only six miles distant. A very narrow neck of land, projecting westward into the sea, formed a double harbour for the vessels of commerce and war, and also separated the lake behind from the Mediterranean. On the side towards the sea it was only protected by a single wall; while upon the isthmus, on the contrary, it was guarded from foreign attack by the citadel *Byrsa*, and a threefold wall, thirty yards high and thirty feet broad.[4]

Carthage observed from the beginning the natural policy, which her original weakness must have prescribed to a single city, built on the border of a large and populous quarter of the world. She endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the original nations that lived in her neighbourhood. The Tyrian colonists came not as conquerors, but bought the land for their city and its territory for a yearly ground-rent or tribute, which is often mentioned in their early history; and

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 190. [2] The ancient *promontorium Hermæum*.
[3] The ancient *promontorium Apollinis*.
[4] The local situation of ancient Carthage deserves a more minute inquiry than it would be here proper to give it. The principal source is Appian, i. 435, etc. The picture of Campomanes, i. *fin.*, is mostly drawn from fancy. The accounts of Shaw upon the great change of the coast must form the principal groundwork; the charts thereto annexed are undoubtedly the best: but the situation of the haven is not given, and it is precisely in that wherein lies the obscurity. It appears certain, however, from Appian, that the neck of land stretching into the sea, only half a stadia broad, formed one side of the harbour; from which it becomes plain how the Carthaginians, at the time Scipio blockaded their harbour, found so easily a passage out. Another obscurity rests upon that part of the city called Magalia, or Magara. According to Appian, viii. 117, it seems to have been a sort of suburb, full of gardens, occupying the most southern part of this neck of land. It is, however, difficult from the description of Appian to obtain a clear notion of the whole. We have hitherto hoped in vain for the publication of the recent researches made by Earl Camillo Borgia.

which, as Justin tells us, although it seems very improbable, continued till the time of Darius Hystaspes.[1]

They forsook, however, this policy as soon as they found it convenient, that is to say, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough. Wars with the natives naturally followed,[2] in which, though the Carthaginians obtained the superiority, yet they only obtained subjects who were eager at every opportunity to shake off their yoke. It is necessary that we should now inquire a little further into the state of these nations. This inquiry will lead to the most important results, respecting the whole internal state and real power of the Carthaginians. Herodotus, Scylax, and Polybius will be the authorities for the observations we shall make.

Whenever Polybius[3] speaks of the African nations who fought in the Carthaginian armies, he always most carefully distinguishes the subjects of the Carthaginians from the free people who served as mercenaries. The former he calls Libyans, (Λίβυες,) the latter, whenever they are Africans, Numidians or nomades, but this name being given them entirely on account of their manner of living, is not properly the name of the people; the different tribes or races comprised under this general term are, therefore, likewise mentioned by him under their particular names. The Libyans, on the contrary, he never distinguishes more precisely; it stands always as the general name for the African inhabitants of the Carthaginian territory. It seems probable that, about the time of Polybius, the earlier divisions of the tribes and distinctions of these people were lost, because, as we shall presently see, they had not only been obliged to change their manner of living, but had partly become mixed with the Carthaginians.

One general character distinguishes these Libyans from the other inhabitants of northern Africa. They had settled places of abode, and appear every where as followers of husbandry; while all the other tribes, both on the eastern and western sides of the Carthaginian territory, seem, on the contrary, even in the most flourishing period of that state, to have been nomades. The tribute imposed by Carthage on the Libyans was for the most part paid in grain,[4] and it was principally with the produce of their industry that those republicans were enabled to raise and maintain the numerous armies with which they made their foreign conquests.

[1] Justin, xix. 2. [2] Justin, l. c. [3] A principal authority on this subject, vol. i. p. 161, 167, 168, *Schweighæuser's edition*. [4] Polybius, vol. i. p. 177.

If Carthage wished to establish an empire in Africa, it was necessary to obtain as subjects nations who had fixed dwellings. Dominion over merely nomad hordes is little better than none; it cannot, at least, become the permanent foundation of a state. The Carthaginians, therefore, observed a very natural policy in endeavouring to civilize the nomad hordes, wherever they could bring them under their yoke. But whoever reflects upon the difficulties to be surmounted before nomades can be brought to that state, and made to change their manner of living, will be able satisfactorily to account for the frequent wars in which the Carthaginians were engaged with the old inhabitants, from that circumstance alone; as well as the implacable hatred of the latter towards their rulers, even supposing there were no acts of oppression on the side of their new masters.

At the time Herodotus wrote, that is to say, in the flourishing era of the Carthaginian state, no native people were to be found in North Africa, beyond the boundaries of the Carthaginian territory, who tilled their lands. All the native tribes between Egypt and the Lesser Syrtis, and as far as the lake Tritonis,[1] then connected with it, were, according to the express testimony of that writer, nomad hordes.[2] With these we shall shortly have an opportunity of becoming more particularly acquainted. The father of history has so minutely

[1] We have in ancient geography a lake, an island, and a river Triton; the latter said to communicate with the lake. See Cellar. *Geog. Ant.* ii. p. 860. The situation of the lake has been differently stated; we may, therefore, doubt whether the name always signifies the same. It is generally placed near the Lesser Syrtis; others are said, according to Pliny, v. 4, to place it between the two Syrtes; and Solinus, cap. 27, even places it near the Greater Syrtis, towards the *Aræ Philænorum*. Solinus, however, has merely misunderstood Pliny; and the expression, *between the two Syrtes*, is at least so undefined, that it does not contradict the general opinion. The uncertainty of these statements probably arises in part from the Argonautic poets having made their heroes visit these territories, and created a locality from their own imagination, many of which were afterwards introduced into the works on geography. From Herod. iv. 179, it is clear that he took the Triton lake to be one and the same as the Lesser Syrtis, or as being closely connected with it. This opinion also, as Rennel, *Geog. of Herod.* p. 662, very pointedly remarks, is confirmed by Scylax, p. 49, *ed. Hudson*, who places the island Triton in the Syrtis, and makes mention of no lake Triton. The passage in Scylax is certainly very corrupt, and instead of the words ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Σύρτιδι ἐνίστηκεν ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων, it must be ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καὶ λίμνη, καὶ π. τρ. or, if it should be preferred, ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ λίμνη Τρίτωνος, καὶ π. τρ. This is clear from the following: ἡ δὲ λίμνη αὕτη, which λίμνη, namely, cannot be the Syrtis itself, because we read that it had only a small opening (στόμα μικρὸν); but it is the lake which, according to Shaw, i. p. 274, is now called *Shibka el Lowdeath*. Nevertheless, in the times of Scylax, this lake communicated with the Syrtis, though only by a small entrance, in the midst of which an island was to be found. This, as he adds, however, was only uncovered by the sea in time of ebb, and in flood time remained under water. The sand bank, therefore, has thus been raised up, and cut off the communication between the lake and the sea. The difficulty, however, still remains, where the river Triton is to be sought for. Although we, with Shaw, thereby would understand the little river El Hammah, yet this will not suit the statement of Herodotus, who makes it a river of considerable magnitude, iv. 178. But the narrative of Herodotus, cap. 179, is drawn without doubt from some Argonautic poet. May not then the size of the river, if not its very existence, be merely the creation of some such poet's imagination? The settlement of the Triton lake is important for the geography of the Carthaginian dominions, as it is usually considered as their boundary towards the south. [2] Herod. iv. 186.

enumerated and so accurately described them, that the credibility of the accounts he has left us concerning them cannot be doubted. "But immediately on the other side of the river Triton," continues he, that is to say on the western bank, "we first find nations who cultivate their lands."[1] He gives us the names of three of these tribes; the first is the Maxyes,[2] and from the slender account which Herodotus gives of them, we clearly see, that they had not been long accustomed to their new manner of life. They were a branch of the Ausenses, the remaining part of whom, as he before remarks, were still nomades. "The Maxyes, on the contrary, are tillers of the earth, and accustomed to live in houses." They still, however, retained their former customs. "They suffer the hair on the right side of their heads to grow, but shave the left; they paint their bodies with red lead." Both these are still nomad customs. That of painting the body is expressly mentioned by Herodotus,[3] as existing among other nomades; and the manner of cutting the hair was the mark of distinction by which the clans were distinguished from one another; according to the fashion in which it was done, or the side of the head which was cropped. Herodotus always particularly mentions the mode in which the neighbouring clans wore their hair; and remains of this custom seem still to be preserved by their successors, the present Tuariks.[4]

Next to these we find the Zaueces: "whose women used to drive their chariots of war."[5] They were, therefore, a people who bred horses; and perhaps, by the custom just mentioned, gave occasion to the relations respecting the Amazons in these regions. The use of war-chariots, which the Carthaginians adopted in their early times, was probably taken from them, as will be shown in another place.

These two tribes are mentioned and described by Herodotus alone, who immediately after quotes the Carthaginians as his authority. They were undoubtedly the extreme tribes of the Carthaginian territory towards the south. Herodotus also describes their country as full of woods, overrun with wild beasts, lions, elephants, boars,[6] etc. We may, therefore, conclude that agriculture was still in its infancy among them; no evidence, however, is wanting of the fact, that the culture of the soil improved as it approached Carthage.

[1] Herod. iv. 191. [2] These Maxyes are probably the same people as those mentioned by Justin, xviii. 6, and called Maxytani; and whose king is said to have been Hiarbas, who desired Dido for his wife. [3] Herod. l. c. [4] Hornemann, p. 151. [5] Herod. iv. 193.
[6] Herod. iv. 191. The confirmation of these accounts of Herodotus may be seen in Tully's *Narrative of a Residence in Tripoli*, 1820. The woods on the road from Tunis to Tripoli are so infested by savage beasts, that even numerous caravans cannot pass them without great danger. As the darkness comes on, the woods resound with the howling of the jackall, and the dreadful roar of the lion seeking his prey; even large watch-fires will scarcely keep them off.

A third tribe, larger by far, and more remarkable, was known to Polybius and others, as well as to Herodotus. This was the tribe of the Gyzantes or Byzantes,[1] which was subdivided into many branches. "In their country the bees collect a vast quantity of honey, and still more is said to be made by confectioners. All these paint themselves like the others with ruddle, and eat apes, which are found in great numbers on their mountains."[2] Respecting the quantity of honey in these territories, accurate accounts are given by Della Cella. The clefts in the mountains are full of swarms of wild bees, whose honey not only serves for nourishment, but forms also an important article of commerce.[3] The manufactured honey, mentioned by Herodotus, is that prepared from the juice of palms, the method of preparing which is described by Shaw.[4] In these same regions it is still in most frequent use. The mountains are branches of the Atlas, marked on our modern maps, but without proper names being given them. The number of apes was there so great, that, according to Diodorus,[5] three places derived from them the name of ape-towns, (Pithecussæ,) in which the apes lived with the inhabitants in their houses.

Herodotus places his Gyzantes to the west of the Zaueces, and consequently towards the Numidian frontiers. A proof that he only obtained information respecting the most distant and least cultivated tribes of this nation. From other writers, it is clear that it not only extended itself much farther, but also that it occupied the finest and most fertile part of the Carthaginian territory, which therefore bore the by-name of Byzazium.[6] It lay in the neighbourhood of the Lesser Syrtis, and stretched to the Mediterranean. According to Polybius, it was 2000 stadia, or 227 miles in circumference.[7] I shall frequently have occasion to speak of this region, which was the granary of Carthage.

With regard to the other Libyan tribes, I do not find their names mentioned; the loss, however, is but of little consequence. There are many proofs which show positively that there was a continuation of them, and that they were extreme-

[1] The latter name is given them by Steph. *de Urbibus* in Βύζαντες, in the notes to which will be found collected the evidence of the other writers who speak of them.
[2] Herod. iv. 194. [3] Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 154. [4] Shaw, p. 291.
[5] Diodorus, ii. p. 449. [6] See Steph. l. c. [7] Polyb. iii. p. 384.

ly numerous. They always formed a part of the Carthaginian army; and in the unfortunate war against the mercenary troops, or rather in the civil war which Carthage carried on immediately after the termination of the first war with Rome, 70,000 of them were under arms at one time,[1] and numbers equally considerable occur upon other occasions.

These tribes seem to have preserved themselves the purest, and to have intermingled the least of any of those which inhabited the southern and western part of the Carthaginian territory. They did not even understand the Carthaginian tongue, but seem to have spoken many different languages among themselves.[2] Those dwelling to the east, on the contrary, along the coast from the capital to Byzazium, and even in that province itself, had intermixed in a greater degree with the Carthaginians, and from them had descended a race which is often mentioned in history under the name of the Liby-Phœnicians. They were generally, but not always, expressly distinguished from the genuine Libyans;[3] and occupied the richest and most fruitful part of the country.

In order to keep these tribes in subjection, Carthage made use of the same means that Rome did towards the small nations of Italy; that is, she settled colonies of her own citizens in their territory. This answered the double purpose of maintaining their authority and improving the connexion and intermixture with the original inhabitants, which, as we see, produced the Liby-Phœnician race. No state in the ancient world probably better understood, or prosecuted on a larger scale, the colonial system than Carthage. A separate division of our work will be devoted to her foreign settlements; and we shall only here treat of those within her own territory.

The foreign colonies of Carthage were always chosen for purposes of commerce; this is even shown by their situation, as they all, without exception, lay near the sea; but those within her own territory were, at least for the most part, inland, and fixed upon for the promotion of agriculture. Even those on the sea-coast had so limited a trade, that they could scarcely rely on that alone for subsistence. But as the exports of the Carthaginians consisted partly in the productions

[1] Polyb. i. p. 181. [2] Ibid. i. 168.

[3] Polyb. i. p. 458. Another important passage is found in Diodorus, ii. p. 447. He expressly distinguishes four species of inhabitants in the Carthaginian territory in Africa. The Phœnicians, or the inhabitants of Carthage itself; the Liby-Phœnicians, under which he comprises, rather improperly, the inhabitants of the cities on the coast; the Libyans, or the ancient native tribes; and the nomades.

of their soil, commerce and agriculture mutually assisted each other. The policy of the Carthaginians led them to consider the formation of these settlements as the surest method of preserving the good will of the people; as it prevented the too great increase of the lower orders in the capital, and placed the poorer citizens, by the distribution of lands, in better circumstances. "In this way," says Aristotle,[1] "Carthage preserves the love of her people. She sends out continually colonies composed of her citizens into the districts around her, and by that means makes them men of property. It is a proof," he adds, "of a mild and intelligent government, that it assists the poor by accustoming them to labour."

A sound and equitable policy certainly! But it presupposes a people still sufficiently uncorrupted to have a taste for agriculture; and in the later period of Carthaginian history we hear no more of the formation of such settlements.[2] So in Rome, where the same means were adopted, they could only be employed till the time of the Gracchi; the later military colonies, under Sylla and others, were altogether of a different nature; and corresponded so little with the intention of their founders, that they confirm in a remarkable degree the observation just now made.[3]

The whole Carthaginian territory seems to have been full of these settlements; they appear, however, to have abounded most on the eastern side, from the gulf and lands belonging to the town of Carthage down to the Lesser Syrtis, in the seat of the Liby-Phœnicians and Gyzantes, or the district of Emporia.

That these places were kept in strict dependence upon Carthage needs scarcely to be remarked. The tribute which they paid was a principal source of the Carthaginian revenue; and the wars, by which the Carthaginian dominions were extended, were chiefly carried on at their expense.[4] Under the name of *the towns* (αἱ πόλεις) they are always mentioned in connexion with the other colonies on the north coast of Africa, as a main support of the Carthaginian power; but sometimes are distinguished from them by the name of *the neighbouring*

[1] Aristot. *Op.* ii. p. 252; *Polit.* ii. 11.; and vi. 5. p. 317. I cannot understand this latter passage in the way that Mr. Kluge would, as referring to individuals of the nation, who obtained government offices in the neighbouring cities to enrich themselves; for Aristotle is speaking of the manner in which the poverty of the great multitude might be relieved; δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὁπῶς τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἄπορον ᾖ; and says that trade and agriculture promote this object.

[2] "Nothing," says Cicero, *de Republ.* ii. 4, "more weakened Carthage than the preference of its citizens for trade and navigation, for which they neglected agriculture and arms."

[3] Sallust, *Catil.* cap. 11. 16. [4] Polyb. i. 177.

towns (αἱ περιοικίδες).[1] In other respects they seem to have been rather open towns than walled cities:[2] the Carthaginians had no fortified places except along the sea-coast. There is no doubt but the jealousy of the capital prevented their being fortified; but it also left them the certain prey of every conqueror, or adventurer, who had courage to invade the territory of Carthage.

From these towns, colonised by the Carthaginians, we must carefully distinguish the original Phœnician colonies, which were established by Tyre and other Phœnician states; some, indeed, previous to Carthage, in the territory which afterwards belonged to that city. It is impossible to trace the origin of all of these with accuracy and certainty; we know, however, that of Utica and Leptis,[3] and according to the accounts of Sallust,[4] most of the large towns on the Carthaginian coast, Adrumetum, Hippo, and the smaller Leptis, were of genuine Phœnician origin.

These Phœnician colonies were from the beginning, or soon became, free towns; every one of which, with the territory belonging to it, formed a small republic. As Carthage became powerful they in some degree certainly became dependent, but were never so absolutely under the government of the Carthaginians as the above-mentioned colonised towns. They seem to have been rather allies than subjects; as even the mother country, Tyre itself, does not appear ever to have had unlimited authority over the other towns. So much at least is certain with respect to the principal among them: Utica, for example, which according to the unanimous voice of antiquity was the most considerable town next to Carthage, and which, after her ruin, became the capital of the Roman province of Africa.

I found this opinion upon the following circumstances, namely, that Utica in two genuine documents, made indeed at very different times, is expressly mentioned as a state by itself, as well as Carthage. The first of these is the commercial treaty between Carthage and Rome, made in the year B. C. 348. In this it is said, at the very beginning, "upon these conditions shall be peace between Rome and her allies, and between Carthage, Utica, Tyre, and their allies."[5] Utica is

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 5.
[2] How numerous these must have been, we may gather, among other things, from Agathocles being able to conquer nearly two hundred of them. Diodorus, ii. p. 418. A string of names is given by Scylax, p. 48.
[3] Steph. *de Urb.* Ἰτυκη. [4] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. 19. [5] Polyb. i. 437, etc.

here evidently placed upon an equality with Carthage, as even its allies are recited. It seems, therefore, to have had the right of contracting alliances; notwithstanding this treaty was entered into in the most flourishing period of the Carthaginian state.

The Tyre here mentioned with Utica, could scarcely be the Phœnician Tyre. Its situation renders it improbable that it should have entered into a treaty with Rome; it was, besides, at this time under the dominion of Persia: but the principal fact is, that nothing occurs throughout the whole treaty that could relate to that city, or be of any importance to it. I feel, therefore, inclined to believe that instead of Tyre, some other name should be read, perhaps Tunis, or Tysdrus, if indeed Polybius himself did not refer it to Tyre; or might it not have been one of the large sea-port towns on the Carthaginian territory, of which we at present know nothing further, but which at that time was really so called?[1] It was no unusual thing among the Phœnicians for colonies to be named after their parent town. Of this New Carthage in Spain and Tyre on the Persian Gulf afford us examples. If, however, the Phœnician Tyre should be understood, I can only account for it from the custom which prevailed among the Carthaginians of comprising the parent town in their treaties. The second document on which I ground my opinion belongs to the last period of Carthage[2]—to the second Punic war. It is the treaty which Hannibal entered into with Philip of Macedon. As in the former case, Utica, wherever its name is mentioned, stands upon an equal footing with Carthage. The alliance with the Macedonian king is contracted by Carthage and Utica. If Utica, then, in both these periods, were connected with Carthage merely by alliance, surely no proof will be required that it did in earlier times maintain its rights.

What I have here proved respecting Utica, is more than probable respecting the other Phœnician cities in the Carthaginian territory. The cities in alliance and having equal laws with Carthage, are not only distinguished in the documents which we have just cited, but also by the historians,[3] from those in subjection; and what could these be if not the Phœnician cities? They were originally, as Phœnician colonies,

[1] The names alone of many of the great Carthaginian cities have descended to us; for what know we, beyond the names, of the great cities Toka, Maschala, Hecatompylos, enumerated by Diodorus? See Diodor. ii. p. 449.
[2] Polyb. ii. p. 589, etc. [3] Diodorus, ii. p. 413.

equally free and independent as Carthage itself. It follows, therefore, from the nature of these circumstances, that they could not at first be treated as subjects, but only as allies. Surely we have many examples in history in which the preponderance of the superior power transforms allies into subjects; and when we see that Utica alone is mentioned as an independent city, we must from that circumstance conclude, that the others did not stand altogether in the same rank with her; though they certainly did not belong to so low a grade as the various places of the interior. The words of the treaties show this, and they are confirmed by history. They appear throughout as the most faithful adherents of Carthage. They usually remain so when the Carthaginian subjects revolt; they are fortified, they besiege, and in their turns are besieged.[1] All these are sure proofs that they stood so closely connected with Carthage as to have the same friends and enemies, but by no means that they were subject to her despotic sway.

It was a general principle of Carthaginian policy, to improve as much as possible the cultivation of their lands; and to accustom the native tribes under their subjection to do the same. There was, however, a considerable portion of their territory which, from its physical nature, was, either for the most part or altogether, unfit for tillage. Such was the case in the country of the Syrtes, or the north coast of Africa between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis, which forms the present proper kingdom of Tripoli, a narrow strip of land about a hundred geographical miles in length. While the territory of Carthage already described, consisted of fertile lands watered by the Bagradas and other rivers; that of the Syrtes comprised only a sandy plain,[2] stretching from the interior of Africa to the sea, and only watered in a few places by small streams.[3] In districts of this kind a Carthaginian or Phœnician colony

[1] Proofs of this will be found in all the wars which the Carthaginians carried on in their own territory.

[2] This remarkable difference in the soil, which begins even at Lake Triton, is truly and accurately remarked by Herodotus, iv. 191. "As far as the Triton river the soil is level and sandy, but from thence towards the west it becomes mountainous and woody."

[3] For a more accurate description of the country on the sea-coast, we are indebted to Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 22, etc. From Tripoli to Lebeda, (the ancient Leptis,) the fruitful strip along the coast is scarcely half a mile broad; then follow, in the neighbourhood of the river Cinyps, green meadows, which however are again soon lost in the sandy deserts surrounding the Gulf of Sidra, or the Great Syrtis. Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 60, and Tully, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 213. [The work of Della Cella has been translated into English by Aufrere, 8vo, 1822. All however that is interesting in the two writers above mentioned, as well as in the important narrative of Beechey, *Expedition to Explore the Coast of Africa*, 1828, 4to, and the accounts of the most recent travellers, will be found collected and condensed in *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, 1829, 3 vols. 12mo. A compilation which has deservedly received much praise. TRANS.]

was settled; such, for example, as the Greater Leptis, whose ruins still attest its former greatness; Œa, and some few others. But in general the soil was unfit for agriculture, and still remains so,[1] and therefore the native tribes remained nomades even in the most flourishing times of Carthage. Of these we have a very accurate account in the works of Herodotus, and it will be of importance for the further prosecution of our design, to give here more definite and clear information respecting them.[2] There dwelt still around the Triton lake, the Ausenses and Machlyes: the latter cut the hair from the back of their head, as the former do from the front, in order to mark their race.[3] A branch of the Ausenses, that is, the Maxyes before mentioned, had taken to cultivate the soil. Near to these were the Lotophagi, or Lotus eaters, and behind them lived the Gindanes. The name of the former, who had spread in remote antiquity far over the earth, became celebrated by the songs of Homer, and which afterwards gave rise to so many fables among the Greek poets, is the name of one or more tribes who subsisted principally on the fruit of the lotus-tree; for corn in those countries could not be cultivated. The ancients have handed down such minute descriptions respecting this tree, (which must not be confounded with the lotus plant of Egypt,) that it is impossible to mistake it.[4] It is the *Rhamnus Lotus*, LINN. Its fruit, even at the present time, is the common food, not only in these districts but also in the centre of Africa; and now, as well as formerly, a sort of wine or meath is made from it, but which will only keep for a few days.[5] The site of the Lotophagi may be very accurately determined from Herodotus. They must have occupied just the middle point of the coast of Tripoli, from about the island Meninx, which they likewise possessed, as far as the ancient *Leptis Magna*. They had not, certainly, spread themselves farther west, as we shall immediately see. The determination of this point is necessary, as it will be of great importance on another occasion.

Next to them towards the east, follow the Macæ.[6] They cropped both sides of the head, leaving only a tuft on the top.

[1] Dapper, *Description of Africa*, p. 295.

[2] The accounts of Scylax, p. 48, should be compared with those of Herodotus, with which they agree very well, though not borrowed from them. This description of the coast alone shows the high antiquity of this writer.

[3] Herod. iv. cap. 180. [4] Polyb. iii. p. 384, and Strabo, p. 1191.

[5] Dapper, p. 296. In Tripoli is a market-place where tree-fruit, similar to beans, is brought in large quantities. It comes chiefly from the island Jirba, the ancient Meninx. See Tully, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 11, where the fruit is accurately described. [See also *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, vol. i. p. 43, and 254.] [6] Herod. iv. 175, 176.

The Cinyps[1] (Zenifes, and Magro) flows through their country, and served as a fixed boundary both for their country and that of the Lotophagi. According to Scylax, they only attended their flocks on the sea-coast during the winter; in summer, as soon as it became dry, they retired with them into the mountains.

Finally, the extreme nation towards the east are the Nasamones; for those adjoining are beyond the country of the Syrtes, and lie in the territory of Cyrene and Barca.[2] The Nasamones were a very extensive race, and lived chiefly by tending their flocks. They sent a caravan yearly to Augila for dates, one of the principal articles of food in Africa. Between them and the Macæ another nation had formerly dwelt: these were the Psylli, who were buried in the sands during an excursion, or caravan-journey, into the interior of Libya. "The south wind," says Herodotus, "having dried up their water-springs, they came to the resolution of advancing towards the south; but when they came to the sand, the south wind buried them."[3] How closely this narrative agrees with the place, we again learn from the latest discoveries. "The south wind," says Della Cella, "drives the sand out of the great desert like moving clouds, which bury whole caravans."[4] These are the nations in the eastern part of the Carthaginian dominions, from the Lesser Syrtis to the frontiers of Cyrene. It is improbable that they should all have vanished from the earth; and it seems they have not. They appear merely to have been pressed back into the mountains by the Bedouin Arabs, from whom they are distinguished by descent and manners, although intermixed with them by marriage.[5] Here they still live upon the lotus and honey; their women decorate their legs with rings, and are offered to strangers.[6] Their skin, which they paint with ruddle, is even still so thickly crusted over, that their true colour cannot be discerned. They were all, according to the distinct testimony of Herodotus, nomades, and from the nature of their soil were obliged to remain so. The relation in which they stood with the Carthaginians is no where expressly defined;

[1] Dapper, p. 295. The city founded near it of the same name was, even in the time of Scylax, l. c., already a waste. [The modern name of the Cinyps is, according to Beechey, *Expedition to Explore the Coast of Africa*, 4to, 1828, and Arrowsmith, *Eton Comparative Atlas*, 1828, *Khâhan*. Butler calls it *Quaham* in the index to his *Ancient Atlas*. These works have been published since the last German edition of Heeren. TRANS.]

[2] Namely, the *Auschisæ* and *Cabales* around the Greater Syrtis; the *Asbystæ* beyond Cyrene; the *Giligammæ* and the *Adyrmachidæ* dwelling on the frontiers of Egypt. All nomad tribes. Herod. iv. 168—171. [3] Herod. iv. 173. [4] Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 93. Their expedition was probably intended for Phazania in the country of the Garamantes. [5] Della Cella, p. 154. [6] Della Cella, p. 109; cf. Herod. iv. 168.

there is no doubt, however, of their being in subjection to them, as their country was always considered as part of the Carthaginian dominions. What tribute they were obliged to pay, we indeed know not, but supposing it to have been of ever so little importance to so great a commercial state, still the possession of this country, and a dominion over these nations, must have been a matter of the highest consideration.

For, in the first place, they served them as a bulwark against the power of Cyrene. The growth of this Grecian colony was regarded by Carthage with a jealous eye, and she carried on many wars against it. Who could tell that it would not become a second Carthage? And in that case, it could not be indifferent who was in possession of the desert by which the states were divided; nor whom the hordes obeyed who wandered over it.

But these nations were of still more importance to Carthage on another account. By them were formed the caravans which crossed the Libyan desert, and penetrated to the banks of the Niger, and journeyed eastward as far as Upper Egypt and Æthiopia. By their means, as we shall see, Carthage maintained an intercourse with the interior of Africa, upon which depended a considerable portion of her trade. In a following chapter I intend to give further proofs of this. History, indeed, only gives us a few unconnected views of these secrets of the Carthaginian policy in trade; but fortunately they reveal so much that there can be no doubt respecting the principal facts.

I have still to mention certain other towns, which, under the name of *Urbes Metagonitæ*, are sometimes met with as Carthaginian towns in Africa.[1] Historians have not accurately defined their situation, but they certainly must be sought for on the coast of Numidia, westward of the proper territory of Carthage. A promontory is still found there called *Metagonum*;[2] a district of precisely the same name; and even a people *Metagonii*.[3] Pliny, on this account, takes the name Metagonitis to be synonymous with Numidia.[4] I understand, therefore, by these towns, all those settlements established by the Carthaginians on the coasts of Mauritania and Numidia, and which seem in a manner to have formed a regular chain from their frontier to the Pillars of Hercules. Should it still remain doubtful whether all those towns were really comprised

[1] Polyb. i. p. 458. [2] The present *Cabo di Ferro*, not far from Bon, in the province of Constantine. [3] See Cellarii, *Geog. Ant.*, vol. ii. 929, 936. [4] Pliny, v. 2.

under that name, an authority has fortunately been preserved, which leaves the truth of the fact beyond dispute. We find in Scylax a specification of all the towns and harbours which lie along the shore, and on the small islands opposite, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. After the enumeration of them[1] he expressly adds, "all the towns and marts from the Hesperides (on the Larger Syrtis) to the Pillars of Hercules, belong entirely to the Carthaginians." It is, therefore, certain that a chain of Carthaginian towns stretched as far as that point. These stations were of great importance to Carthage, both on account of the trade which she carried on with the inland nomad tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood, and because they enabled her to keep open a communication by land with Spain, as well for her merchants as for her armies. Hannibal took care to have them all properly garrisoned before he set out for Italy.[2] In other respects they seem not to have been of great importance, as none of them ever attained any celebrity.

From what we have now said, it will be easier to answer a question otherwise very difficult: namely, what were the boundaries of the Carthaginian empire in Africa? We mean, of course, in its most flourishing state. On the south and north its limits are determined, but there is still some difficulty in settling them towards the west. Nature herself has traced the southern frontiers: the Carthaginian dominion reached as far as the land was fertile; that is to say, to the Triton lake, which is, besides, expressly mentioned as the boundary.[3] The barren districts began, indeed, on this side the lake, but towns, nevertheless, were found as far as the Triton lake, which were afterwards destroyed in the Roman wars.[4]

With still more accuracy are the eastern frontiers defined. As in this part they joined another state, Cyrene, it became absolutely necessary that the boundary should be determined; and long struggles and wars at length produced a treaty, in which the advantage was on the side of the Carthaginians, as it secured them the districts between the Syrtes. According to a tradition, it is said that the brothers Philæni purchased this advantage by the sacrifice of their lives;[5] and, indeed, the

[1] Scylax, p. 51. *ed. Huds.* Unfortunately their names are very much corrupted. According to the corrections of Vossius, they were called Collops, Pithecusæ, Tipasa, Canucchis, Jol, Chalka, Siga, Mes, Acris, besides the small islands of Acium, Psamathus, etc., whose situation cannot be determined.

[2] Polyb. i. 458. [3] Strabo, p. 1189. [4] Strabo, l. c.

[5] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. lxxix.; Valer. Max. v. 6. 4. According to Sallust, the war to which this gave rise was very fierce both by sea and land, and happened during the flourishing period of both powers.

offering was not too great, if we remember, from what has been said before, how important these regions must have been, although barren, to Carthage. The last place in the Carthaginian dominions was *Turris Euprantus*, on the eastern shore of the Greater Syrtis, from whence a considerable contraband trade was carried on with Cyrene.[1] Near to this place stood the landmarks, which were named *Aræ Philænorum*, in honour of the brothers. They were nothing more than mere marks of the boundaries, and were no longer in existence in the time of Strabo.[2] In the accounts come down to us respecting these landmarks, all writers agree.[3]

It is a task of much difficulty to determine the western boundaries. In this quarter nomad hordes alone wandered about, and it will on that account alone be immediately seen that any certain limits were both impossible and unnecessary.

According to the writers most worthy of credit, the Carthaginian dominions reached as far as the *Gaditanian*[4] gulf. But it is evident that this must not be understood to the letter. They had established cities, harbours, and forts along the coast, and in the small islands opposite, for reasons which I have already in part given. The permission of the nomad hordes, who dwelt in these districts, was without doubt obtained for this purpose; and in this way the Carthaginians came, by degrees, to be masters of the coast: a matter to them of the utmost importance, but of very little consequence to the native tribes. Carthage seems especially to have desired to secure this point, when the conquest of Spain first suggested itself to her. A communication with that province would thus be kept open by land, should any untoward event interrupt it by sea. But we discover no where a trace, nor even so much as a hint, of her arrogating to herself an authority over the interior of Numidia and Mauritania. "The Carthaginians," says Strabo,[5] "rule over Libya, wherever it is not occupied by mere nomad hordes." It is well known, also, that during the Roman wars the native princes of the neighbouring country of Numidia appear as perfectly independent. Indeed, how could Carthage have maintained a dominion over them? The Carthaginians certainly had formed an alliance with these princes, which they

[1] Strabo, p. 1193. [2] There still exist, however, pillars of sandstone, with inscriptions almost obliterated, which may be taken for them; Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 77. Scylax employs the singular number in speaking of them; *οἱ τοῦ φιλαίνου Βωμοί*, p. 47. So also Polybius, i. p. 469. The account of Sallust is evidently a corrupted tradition.

[3] Polyb. i. p. 469, and besides him Scylax in the passage above quoted.

[4] Polyb. l. c. [5] Strabo, p. 1189.

endeavoured to strengthen, and knit more closely, by giving them ladies of high rank in marriage.[1] Some of them might perhaps at times have been tributary, but these exceptions cannot be taken for a rule.

The most probable boundary to the west of the proper Carthaginian territory, where it stretched farther inland, was, therefore, in short, the point where the tribes who cultivated the soil ceased, and the nomad hordes began. Although it is not likely that any line was drawn marking the exact boundary, yet we shall commit no great error by placing it under 8° east longitude. Beyond that was Hippo Regius, the residence of the Numidian kings, which never belonged to Carthage; an accurate definition is from the nature of things impossible.

According to this survey, the fertile provinces of Carthage, occupied by people who tilled the soil, extended from Cape Bon in a direct line to the most western angle of the Triton lake, a distance of nearly 200 geographical miles. Its breadth in most parts was 150 miles.[2] The northern part is usually called *Zeugitana*, a name of uncertain derivation. It comprised, besides the capital, the most important sea-ports, as Hippo Zarytus, Utica, Tunis, Clypea, and others. The interior of the country was every where filled with Carthaginian colonies and native tribes, who had intermingled with the Phœnicians. Vacca, Bulla, Sicca, and Zama, are the best known of these settlements. The soil was fertile throughout, but more particularly so on the banks of the Bagradas. The southern part was called *Byzazium*. It derived this name from the Byzantes, the principal race, which from the earliest times had been settled in it, but had gradually intermixed with the Carthaginian colonies. Its coast was also covered with a succession of flourishing sea-ports, of which Adrumetum, the Leptis Minor, Tysdrus, and Tacape were the principal.

In the more extensive sense of the word, another district was included in Byzazium, but which was very often separated from it, and requires here to be particularly noticed, on account of its great importance to Carthage. I mean the country around the Lesser Syrtis and the Triton lake, which is generally mentioned under the name of *Emporia*.[3] All writers agree

[1] In this manner Hamilcar Barca gained the nomad prince, Narvan, by the promise of his daughter. Polyb. i. p. 193. The well-known example of Sophonisba is shown then not to be the only one. [2] Strabo, p. 1189, gives 2500 stadia, (280 miles,) but expressly remarks, at the same time, that the authorities differ.

[3] The territory of Emporia is expressly distinguished by Polybius, (i. p. 436,) from Byzazium, or Byssatus. In other places writers are not always very exact respecting it.

in praising it for its astonishing fertility. "This region," says Scylax,[1] "which is occupied by Libyans, is most magnificent and fertile, it abounds in tall fine cattle; and its inhabitants are most beautiful and wealthy." It derived its name from the many flourishing towns it contained,[2] and which, as the name implies, were places of trade. From all the passages in Polybius concerning them, we learn the great esteem in which they were held by the Carthaginians. The principal cause of this was, that they contained the great store-houses, from which their troops, especially those of the capital, were supplied with provisions.[3] Their situation, moreover, renders it probable that they were the great staple towns for the trade with the interior of Africa, and it might be from this that they derived their name.

In addition to these cultivated countries, the abode of men who tilled the earth, Carthage possessed the *Regio Syrtica*, or the sea-coast between the two Syrtes, extending from Tacape to the monument of the *Philæni;* a tract of about 400 miles, inhabited by nomades, as the sandy nature of the soil rendered fruitless the labour of the husbandman. Great Leptis, a colony from Sidon, occasioned by civil disturbances,[4] and Œa, were the only considerable towns in the whole district. The reasons why this country, notwithstanding, was of so much consequence to Carthage have been already given. From all that has now been said, I think I may draw the following important conclusions respecting the Carthaginian state.

First: That the Carthaginian territory in Africa was never so completely united that all its parts stood in an equal and entire dependence upon the capital. The succession of old Phœnician colonies along the coast was only, at least for some time, a number of confederate states, of which Carthage was certainly the head, but by no means the absolute mistress. Those nations were the only real subjects of Carthage who were accustomed to agriculture, to which manner of living they had been brought by the Carthaginians themselves, for the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes were only so far in subjection to Carthage as to pay tribute.

Secondly: The internal weakness of Carthage, so frequently remarked by every writer, and usually ascribed to her great

[1] Scylax, p. 49. [2] By Strabo, p. 1191, an *ἐμπορεῖον* is chiefly named as important. Also by Appian, *Punic.* cap. 72, it is called the territory, *ἡ περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον γῆ*.

[3] This is clear from Polyb. ii. p. 204. Compare i. p. 436, and iv. p. 547.

[4] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. 78.

military establishments, and the employment of mercenaries, may be far more naturally explained by this very circumstance. The policy of the Carthaginians did not extend so far as to make friends of the nations they conquered. The inborn hatred which the nomad hordes had previously felt, was continued, and nourished, and increased, by the oppression of their rulers. The approach of every enemy was considered by them as a signal of revolt; how otherwise could Agathocles, and after him Regulus, have dared to invade Africa with only 15,000 men, without deserving to be reproached for their temerity? and which they certainly would have justly merited under any other circumstances.

CHAP. II. *Foreign possessions of Carthage.*

I. PROVINCES.

CARTHAGE inherited from her parent state the spirit of commerce; but the desire of conquest sprung, at first, from her situation, and was nourished by success.

This will not appear strange to any one who understands the genius of powerful free states. There is no example of any great republic, either of ancient or modern times, that did not become a conquering state, provided its geographical situation did not prevent it. Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, Venice and Genoa, are proofs of this fact. The latest and largest republics of Europe began and ended with conquest; and North America will arrive at the same point, whenever space is wanting in which she may peaceably extend herself.

The states of Phœnicia Proper were republics, although they had what were called kings. But there are some states, which, from their situation, are obliged to renounce all projects of conquest, or, at least, to confine them within very narrow bounds; and such were these. Their small territory was surrounded by powerful empires, against whom they could not always defend even their own independence.

The case with Carthage was entirely different. Built on the edge of a large quarter of the globe, whose warlike nomades afforded, for pay, numerous armies; and almost surrounded by countries without a master, she could conquer, and soon found it her interest so to do. For the first time, therefore, history here shows us a free and powerful commercial

state, whose greatness was founded upon foreign possessions acquired by force of arms.

A commercial state of such a nature must, in prosecuting its conquests, necessarily have been guided by considerations which obliged it to pursue a different line of policy from that followed by the Persians and Babylonians, who took countries by assault, and subdued and plundered one nation after another, for no other reason but because there was yet a nation to plunder and subdue. It must by no means be inferred from this that the Carthaginians, throughout their whole course, pursued one fixed formal plan of aggrandizement, but only that experience had pointed out to them certain maxims upon which they acted whenever it was possible, and which they only left for some cogent reason. This line of conduct was planted in the spirit of the aristocratic government, where such maxims so easily become hereditary in the ruling families, of which history shows us such evident proofs as to leave no doubt of the fact.

Even the extent and nature of their possessions on the continent prove clearly enough, that a willing moderation, flowing from this principle, was connected with their system of aggrandization, which prevented them from occupying more than they intended to retain. Did there ever exist a more powerful state which had such large and tempting prospects of increasing its dominion, and which, nevertheless, limited its extent so willingly? Behind her proper territory, Carthage saw spreading itself the immeasurable Africa, in which no other state was yet formed, and which in a manner seemed waiting for a ruler. Notwithstanding this, her proper dominions here were, and remained, confined within a moderate compass. Western Europe offered her the same temptation. But even the rich country of Spain, known to them so minutely, although they had several settlements therein, could not incite them to a regular conquest of it, until it offered them, in time of need, when their political power had lost its balance, a compensation for Sicily, during the last struggle with Rome.

But their foreign possessions chiefly show, that they followed one maxim equally simple and natural. A maritime and commercial nation would soon, of itself, become acquainted with the fact, that it could have no better or more secure possessions than islands. That large continents, although upon

pressing occasions they may quietly, at least for a time, shut their ports, or suffer a blockade from without, cannot be maintained by a fleet: of this North America furnishes us with a sufficient example in modern times. The policy of the Carthaginians must soon have discovered this, and they limited, therefore, even in the most flourishing period of the republic, their foreign possessions almost exclusively to islands.[1] These served both to shelter their squadrons, and to conceal their designs; here no troublesome rivals were to be feared, and if any showed themselves they were easily restrained; here commercial activity, unperceived, could exert itself; here no loss was to be apprehended in an age when there were no great maritime powers as rivals.

These were all established maxims which the Carthaginians undeviatingly followed in their conquests, and the western half of the Mediterranean, sprinkled with large and small islands, opened to them a field which seemed just suited to their situation and power. History has preserved to us but few accounts respecting the occasion of their first conquests. The private settlements which the Carthaginians at first estab lished here, gave them, probably, opportunities of interfering in the broils of the native tribes, and the system of conquest arose out of the system of colonization. This, however, does not appear to have been the case with Sicily. We know of no regular colonies planted there by the Carthaginians. They seem at once to have entered upon its conquest; and history has not left us altogether in the dark respecting *when* and *by whom* this design was first prosecuted. It took place just at the time that the Persians, under Cyrus and his immediate successors, started forth as conquerors in Asia, namely, in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era.[2] The Carthaginians were at that time indebted for the foundation of their power to one single family, namely, to that of Mago, which gave them a succes-

[1] The republic of the united states of Holland has followed, in modern times, a similar policy with regard to its East India possessions, and this example confirms the truth of the remark. With how much more ease, and with still greater advantage, has Holland maintained herself in India, than either France or England! the East Indian empire of the latter threatens to fall in the end under its own weight.

[2] Between B. C. 550—450. Justin, xix. 1, gives us authority for all the following statements. The chronology here is derived from the fact, that Darius, before his expedition against the Greeks, sent to Hamilcar for assistance. Therefore about the year 490. But his brother and father had had the command before him, as had his sons after him. We cannot therefore, upon the whole, err in this statement. Attempts at conquest in Sicily and Sardinia had indeed been made by Malcus, or Malchus, before the time of Mago; but that in Sardinia ended unfortunately, and sent its commander into exile. Justin, xviii. 7. It must therefore have happened between 600 and 550; and was the first noticed in history.

sion of heroes similar to that of the Barcas at a later period. Mago himself, the founder, was the first who introduced military discipline and created their foreign power.[1] He was succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar, who made Sardinia the scene of their conquests. Here Asdrubal fell, after having been eleven times commander; his native town honoured him with a public mourning. His brother, upon whom he bestowed the command before his death, met with a similar fate in Sicily, as after being defeated in battle by Gelon of Syracuse, he is said to have killed himself.[2] Each of them left three sons: those of Hamilcar were Himilco, who succeeded to his father's command in Sicily; Hanno, to whom, perhaps, we are indebted for the Periplus; and Gisco. Those of Asdrubal were Hannibal, Asdrubal, and Sappho. All were placed at the head of the armies of the republic,[3] and extended its dominion both without and within Africa, by their victories over the Mauritanians and Numidians. They are also said to have been the first who relieved Carthage from paying tribute to the Libyans. This is all the information we have respecting these conquests. The following more minute survey of their provinces will serve to prove the remarks already made.

I. SARDINIA.

The first and most important province of the Carthaginians was Sardinia, the largest of all the islands of which they became completely masters. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few insignificant tribes, who retreated into their inaccessible mountains, were all brought under the subjection of the Carthaginians, who founded Calaris, (*Cagliari,*) which still remains the capital,[4] and Sulchi, both on the south side of the island. On every occasion, and in almost all the genuine documents which have descended to us respecting Carthage, Sardinia appears as their first and most valuable province; and in these it is expressly mentioned immediately after their territory in Africa, with which it is placed on an equal footing. The first two treaties with Rome afford sufficient proof of this. By the earlier of these, it is true, the Romans were permitted to trade in Sardinia, as well as in Libya, that is to say, in the Carthaginian territory in Africa, yet only under great restric-

[1] Justin, l. c. *Primus omnium, ordinata disciplina militari, imperium Pœnorum condidit.* [2] In the year B. C. 480. Herod. vii. 167. [3] *Per hos res Carthaginiensium ea tempestate gerebantur.* Justin, l. c. [4] Pausan. x. p. 838.

tions. In the second, their ships were forbidden, in express terms, to enter the ports of either.[1]

It seems remarkable that this large island, about 162 miles in length, and from between 60 and 70 in breadth, should have been, both in ancient and more modern times, the least known of any country in Europe. It is only lately that a better description has been obtained of it,[2] and that only increases our desire for further information; previous to this, Otaheite and Owhyhee were better known to us than Sardinia; and the knowledge of the ancients respecting it was equally scanty.

The great value in which the Carthaginians held this island, and were necessarily obliged to hold it, may be accounted for from its geographical situation; for a nation whose existence depended upon maintaining a dominion over the western Mediterranean, and which never completely subdued Sicily, could not do otherwise than make Sardinia their principal station. There is no doubt but it was likewise the emporium for their trade with the west of Europe, with which they kept up a constant intercourse, and indeed no situation was better adapted for that purpose.

Sardinia, however, was not of less importance to the Carthaginians on its own account; for in affording them supplies of corn, it was only surpassed by their African dominions. It is thus spoken of upon every occasion in their history;[3] even its rudest and most savage native tribes, who dwelt in the mountains, were not entirely ignorant of agriculture. The mountainous districts of the island, it is true, were not much adapted to husbandry; but its fertile valleys and plains were not at all inferior to those of Sicily.[4] But no one who considers how numerous her armies were, and also the little attention paid to agriculture at that period in the west of Europe and in Africa,[5]

[1] Polyb. vol. i. p. 435, 439. [2] Azuni, *Histoire geographique politique et naturelle de la Sardaigne*. T. i. ii. 1802. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 274. Polyb. i. 205. [4] Strabo, 344, etc.

[5] We may quote Sardinia as a proof of the manner in which the Carthaginians were wont to treat their provinces. When the Romans took it from the Carthaginians it was in a flourishing condition. Polyb. i. p. 196. The latter do not appear certainly to have been the first who introduced agriculture into this island, although they certainly increased it very much among its ancient inhabitants. The various races of these Strabo has minutely specified. One part of them dwelt in caves in the most inaccessible mountains; and these it was that the Carthaginians could never completely subjugate. Strabo, p. 344, and Diodorus, i. p. 342. Sardinia, however, in general, was from the earliest times occupied by foreign settlers, who are most satisfactorily enumerated by Pausanias, x. p. 838. A particular account, but completely at variance with all these remarks, is found in the treatise *de Mirabilibus*, cap. 105, ascribed to Aristotle. "The Carthaginians," it is there said, "had rooted up all the fruit-trees in Sardinia, and interdicted agriculture to the inhabitants upon pain of death." Whence this tale could come I know not. The interdiction, perhaps, only referred to the unconquerable cave-dwellers, that they might starve them out. That the tradition itself, however, was wholly unfounded, was not unknown to Beckmann, the latest editor of that work, wherefore it is needless to enter into a fresh refutation of it here.

will question the great importance of this fruitful country to Carthage.

But besides this, there is another circumstance which, it is probable, greatly increased the value of Sardinia in the eyes of the Carthaginians. Although it admits not of proof, there are many reasons for supposing that mines were worked there, which yielded a rich produce of precious stones and metals. That countries containing one or both of these had a peculiar charm both for the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is already well known. Gold is now in vain sought for in Sardinia, though that island is still rich in silver.[1] Among the precious stones the sardel holds the first rank; it is not unfrequently found in the island,[2] though whether it derives its name from that, or, according to Pliny,[3] from the city of Sardes in Lydia, is uncertain. The high value put upon this stone by the ancients, and its importance in commerce, may be known from the frequent use made of it by lapidaries. I am induced to believe that the Carthaginians obtained treasures of this kind from the island, by the pains which they took to keep all strangers at a distance from it. That they did this has already been shown in the above-mentioned treaties with Rome. Strabo also states,[4] that strangers were forbidden, upon pain of death by drowning, to sail to Sardinia, or the Pillars of Hercules. By the Pillars of Hercules we must here understand the south-western part of Spain, where their richest mines were situated. Might not then the severe prohibition respecting Sardinia arise from the same cause?

Carthage kept a garrison in Sardinia, formed almost entirely of mercenaries.[5] Civil and military authority seem here, as well as in the other foreign possessions of Carthage, to have been separated, and not bestowed on one person;[6] a regulation which, if it really existed, gave it a decided preference over Rome in the manner of governing its foreign provinces.

The conquest of Sardinia cost the Carthaginians many wars, as has already been remarked. The Etrurians are said to have possessed it before them; but I find no trace of their having carried on a war with them respecting it. In the first treaty concluded between Carthage and Rome, B. C. 509,

[1] Azuni, ii. p. 341, where the several silver mines are enumerated. Might not some traces be even still found there of ancient works? [2] Azuni, ii. p. 351.

[3] Pliny, xxxvii. 7. That the Carthaginians carried on a considerable trade in precious stones I shall prove in another place. [4] Strabo, p. 1154. [5] Polyb. i. p. 195.

[6] Polyb. i. p. 195, where the *Boetharch* (the governor in times of peace) is distinguished from the *Stratego*.

namely, in the period of Darius Hystaspes, it appears to have been completely a Carthaginian province. According to the above-mentioned accounts of Justin, however, from which indeed only a general chronology can be deduced, they were still at this period busily engaged in its conquest; but the apparent contradiction instantly vanishes if we remember, that frequent revolts occasioned frequent wars. Sardinia remained a Carthaginian province till the year B. C. 237, a little beyond the close of the first war with Rome.

II. CORSICA.

The name of Corsica but seldom occurs in Carthaginian history, and it is doubtful whether it was ever entirely brought under the dominion of that republic. From a very early date it appears to have been occupied by the Etrurians, and a part of it seems to have continued subject to their authority. On one occasion, however, when their jealousy had been roused, the Carthaginians gave a proof that they were not at least indifferent respecting who possessed the island. Some Greeks wished to settle there: a body of Phocians, who had left their native country rather than endure Persian bondage, landed at Corsica, and there founded the colony of Alalia. Carthage did not think it proper to suffer this. She entered into a treaty with the Etrurians, and the allied fleets came to an engagement with the Greeks, who, though victorious, feeling themselves too weak to maintain their ground in the island, quitted its shores and turned towards Italy.[1]

What happened to Corsica after this, whether the Carthaginians left it to its fate and to the Etrurians, or whether they assumed a share in its government, history does not inform us; but in the year 450, about eighty years later, Corsica[2] appears under the dominion of the Etrurians. At a later period, however, though the time be uncertain, it must have again fallen under the yoke of Carthage; for in the wars with Rome it is mentioned as a Carthaginian province, which, together with Sardinia, fell at the end of the first contest into the hands of the Romans. It is not however probable that they at this time possessed all, or even a considerable part, of Corsica; and, in fact, the opinion respecting their dominion there at all rests upon very weak authority. Certain it is, at all events,

[1] Herod. i. 166. This remarkable sea-fight, the first which history records, happened before B. C. 536, in the time of Cyrus. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 471.

that they never gained much from this island, nor could it ever have been of so much importance to them as Sardinia.[1] Its soil was rugged and sterile, and the inhabitants savage; Carthaginian policy was, besides, too profound to place much value on a possession which would have been more expensive than useful. Their only care was to prevent rivals from settling there, who might disturb their commerce or interrupt their navigation.

III. SICILY.

The largest of the islands I have reserved till now, because it was never entirely subdued by Carthage. Had that republic once effected this object, which she was more than once on the point of doing, her dominion would probably have been established for centuries, and Rome would have been unable to shake it.

A glance at the map, with some knowledge of the fertility and internal riches of Sicily, will be sufficient to justify that policy of Carthage, whose principal and almost only aim was the possession of this island; an object she endeavoured to effect with all that firmness and constancy which so peculiarly belongs to aristocratical governments. How much the dominion of the Mediterranean, the provisioning of her armies, and the trade in oil and wine, depended upon the execution of this project, it were needless to prove. The island, besides, is of so moderate extent, that she would have had no difficulty in maintaining it.

Sicily was also the point where the interest of the Carthaginians and Greeks clashed. Both of them here possessed cities; but those of the former were soon eclipsed by the latter. The Greek cities were free independent states, and that, combined with the extraordinary fruitfulness of the soil, and the unobstructed sale of their merchandise, enabled them to raise themselves to a considerable pitch of opulence and power. Those of Carthage, on the contrary, were founded with all that economy, and watched with all that jealousy, which is peculiar to suspicious, niggardly merchants. The best among them would not bear a comparison with Agrigentum, much less with Syracuse.

Carthage, so far as we know, founded no new colonies in

[1] See Strabo, p. 320; and Diodorus, i. p. 340. Diodorus says, that the Etrurians *some time* had been masters of the island.

Sicily. The Phœnicians Proper had already established some settlements there, which, as the power of the Carthaginians extended itself, fell into their hands.[1] The latter here also, as they did on many other occasions, trod in the footsteps of their parent state, whose dominion and navigation in the western part of the Mediterranean fell in the same ratio as theirs increased. The settlements of the Phœnicians spread at first over all the coasts of the island, since they possessed the promontories and the islets lying around. But as the Greeks continually extended their possessions, the others, on the contrary, in the same degree, were always forced to retire; and so became at last limited to merely the western part of the island, where Motya, Panormus, and Soloes for a long time remained their principal settlements. They likewise often found allies in the neighbouring people Elymi.

Carthage seems at first only to have obtained possession of those cities from whence lay, as Thucydides remarks, the shortest passage to Carthage. By this she appears to have gained a strong footing in the island, and was fully satisfied, during the increasing power of the Greeks, if she could maintain her ground.

But frequent contentions with the native inhabitants soon led to wars; and these to plans of conquest, which even from the beginning seem to have been forwarded by the continual dissension of the Greek cities in Sicily among themselves, some of whom invited the Carthaginians to their assistance. We are told by some writers that they also formed alliances with the Persians: first with Darius, during his war with the Greeks; and again with Xerxes, during his celebrated expedition against their country.[2] At all events, it was at this exact point of time that Hamilcar, son of Mago, endeavoured to advance the Carthaginian arms in Sicily. He was unsuccessful: for on the very same day that the might of Asia was overthrown at Salamis by the Athenians and their allies, was the united power of Africa destroyed by their western countrymen in Sicily; and Hamilcar himself fell a sacrifice to his

[1] Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2. The most important passage in Thucydides respecting the first establishment of Carthaginian dominion in Sicily is obscure; because the expression φοινικες may as well be referred to the Proper Phœnicians as to the Carthaginians. The historian intends, in my opinion, to embrace both by it. He enumerates the nations which had established themselves in Sicily, and as the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were descended from the same stock, he only reckons them as one. The beginning of the passage, therefore, refers to the Phœnicians, as the first colonists. The close, on the contrary, refers to the Carthaginians, as it states, that they possessed the cities which lay nearest to Carthage.

[2] Herod. vii. 165.

enterprise.[1] The Greeks after this enjoyed for some time a state of tranquillity on the island, as the Carthaginians could only maintain themselves in their old possessions on its western side.

This tranquillity, however, was not of long duration, and after the second change of the republican government of Syracuse into a monarchy, under Dionysius I., (B. C. 410,) the Carthaginians made a new attempt to conquer Sicily. The contention of two Greek cities, one of whom, Segesta, called in their assistance against Selinus, gave them a new opportunity of commencing hostilities. The rapid progress, however, which they at first made, extended their views; it proved also the cause of a revolution in Syracuse, which gave despotic power to Dionysius. He and his successors, especially Agathocles, pursued, as often as circumstances would permit, the same uniform design of converting Sicily, and Lower Italy if possible, into one kingdom. Had this design been carried into execution, Carthage would not only have lost her possessions on the island, but would probably have anticipated her approaching overthrow: if not a sudden, a lingering decay must have brought her to her end. To say nothing of the dominion of the Mediterranean, which she would thereby have lost, as well as have been cut off from Sardinia, and have had her sea trade ruined, how would she have been able to withstand the united efforts of the Greek states of Sicily and Magna Græcia? Circumstances would naturally have given rise to bloody wars. It could not, therefore, have been either a false or ambitious policy in Carthage, to make every exertion in her power to frustrate their intention.

The history of these wars does not properly belong to this place. They continued, with little interruption, till the commencement of the struggle with Rome—nearly one hundred and fifty years, (410—264, B. C.,) without either party being able completely to expel the other from the island. It is probable, however, that the Carthaginians only wanted a great commander to put them in entire possession of Sicily. Had a Hannibal at that time been at their head, neither the timid and insolent Dionysius, nor the adventurer Agathocles, would have been able to have withstood them. Syracuse, moreover, had its most dangerous enemy within its walls. The inhabitants of that city were by far the most restless of all the states

[1] In the year B. C. 480.

of Greece. Their own commander, as Polybius cleverly observes,[1] dared not remove his army to any distance without the walls, because he might be sure that during its absence a revolution would take place. The history of the world, indeed, could scarcely produce another state, which, in so short a space of time, underwent such various, such sudden, and such violent changes in its form of government. Its history, in reality, might with great justice be called a practical compendium of the art of government.

It would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt the settlement of the Carthaginian boundaries during these wars. They were subject to continual changes, dependent upon the success of their arms. In the treaty of peace, however, made in the year B. C. 383, the little river Halycus, on the south side of the island, was fixed upon as their frontier,[2] and it may be regarded as the usual boundary after that time; so that about the third part of the island, which lay on the western side of that river, was under the dominion of the Carthaginians, subject, however, to frequent variation. In the time of Agathocles they seem only to have wanted the city of Syracuse to complete their conquest of the whole island; while at other times they found themselves limited to their original possessions, which they endeavoured more firmly to secure by removing their principal seat to Lilybæum, (after Motya had been taken from them by Dionysius,) as being a better situation for their fleet and armies.[3]

IV. THE BALEARES, AND OTHER SMALLER ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The remaining smaller islands in the Mediterranean, as well those lying along the coast of Africa and Sicily as those in the open sea, were all taken possession of by the Carthaginians. They cost them little to maintain, and served as so many staples for their goods, and as stations for their vessels to touch at in their long voyages. Nearly all these had previously been Phœnician settlements, and history does not inform us of the exact epochs when the Carthaginians became, in each of them, the heirs and successors of their forefathers. They were probably obtained without bloodshed.

The greater and lesser Balearean islands, Majorca and Minorca, together with the neighbouring Ebusus, or Yvica, they seemed to have occupied at an early period. Diodorus fixes

[1] Polyb. i. p. 19. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 503, et ibi nota. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 498.

the time when they took possession of the latter at one hundred and sixty years from the building of Carthage.[1] It produced wine, oil, and fine wool. The Carthaginians built in it the colonial city Ebusus, celebrated for the splendour of its buildings and its excellent harbour; but it may be questioned whether they ever became masters of the whole island. The inhabitants of the Baleares were Troglodytes, and fought as slingers in the Carthaginian armies. Excellent mules were bred in these islands, and the Carthaginians found among the inhabitants a ready sale for their African slaves, particularly females; their situation sufficiently shows that they were at the same time the principal staples for the Spanish trade.

Nearer to the African coast lie the islands Melita, Gaulos, and Cercina.[2] The first two of these islands were also very early occupied by the Phœnicians, as we learn from monuments and coins still existing, probably about the same time that they founded their colonies on the opposite coasts of the continent.[3] Next to them, and seemingly also at a very early period, an Ionian colony from Chalcis settled there, as is likewise shown by coins and inscriptions.[4] It is impossible to determine exactly when they were brought under the dominion of Carthage; most likely about the same time that she effected her conquests in Sicily and Sardinia, but certainly not later. When Scylax wrote they were already occupied by the Carthaginians.[5] Malta was a principal mart for Carthaginian manufactures, chiefly for woven goods. From this place the finest cloths were exported.[6] Malta was therefore covered with large manufactories and buildings, and the inhabitants derived from their industry a high degree of prosperity and opulence. Gaulos and Cercina served as convenient stations for ships; the harbour of the latter was even sufficiently large to hold vessels of war. I pass by the other smaller islands—such as Lipara, and those belonging to it, which, previous to the commencement of the Roman wars, had been subjected by Carthage,[7] who was enriched by their produce, and benefited by their harbours. The express assertion of Polybius,[8] that all the islands of the western Mediterranean belonged to her, makes it unnecessary that we should point them out separately by name.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 343. [2] See Cluver, *Sic. Ant.* p. 425, etc. Their present names are Malta, Gozo, and Karkenna. [3] The principal work on ancient Malta, but which did not appear till after the third edition of these Inquiries, is *Malta Antica illustrata, co' Monumenti e coll' Istoria dal Prelato* Onorato Bres; *Roma*, 1816. [4] Especially a *tessera Hospitalis*, besides the money issued by the people and senate of Malta. Bres, p. 91. [5] Scylax, p. 50. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 339. [7] Polyb. i. p. 53. [8] Ibid. i. p. 22.

Respecting the internal government of these provinces, and the relation in which the Carthaginians stood with the inhabitants, very little information unfortunately can be obtained. If we may judge of the other islands from what we know of Sardinia, the republic garrisoned them with bodies of mercenary troops, commanded by Carthaginian officers. This plan was also adopted in Malta.[1] Its inhabitants, however, could never be entirely brought under the dominion of Carthage; many of them chose rather to retire into their inaccessible fastnesses, and dwell in caves, where the Carthaginians could not approach them: forbidding the introduction or possession of silver and gold lest they should excite the cupidity of their enemies.[2]

V. SPAIN.

Should what has been already said respecting that principle of Carthaginian policy, which led them to confine their conquests within certain bounds, want further confirmation, no country will give it as well as Spain. Carthage possessed for a long time, perhaps centuries, settlements in Spain, and had entered into a close connexion with the tribes which inhabited it, without aiming at a complete conquest of the country, or the subjugation of its inhabitants. She did not venture to take this step till the loss of Sicily and Sardinia pointed it out to her as the only means of preserving herself, and counterbalancing the formidable power of the Romans.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to point out the exact period when the Carthaginians first obtained footing in Spain. Here, as well as in Sicily, they trod in the footsteps of their forefathers the Phœnicians. From time immemorial that people, as has been shown in our inquiries respecting them, made that ancient Mexico the chief object of their voyages, and there formed settlements, some of which afterwards became, in their turn, opulent and powerful states. Who is unacquainted with Gades, Carteja, and Tartessus? South-west Spain, or the country of the Turdetani, the present Andalusia, was the proper territory of Phœnician colonies. Of the history of their settlements, however, such scanty accounts have descended to us, that we can only form a general notion of their government and of their relations as well among themselves as with Carthage. Gades was and continued the principal among them,

[1] When the consul Sempronius took the island in 218, the Carthaginian garrison, under Hamilcar the son of Gisco, was 2000 strong. Livy, xxi. 51.

[2] The inhabitants of the Balearian islands are an example of this. Diodorus, i. p. 342.

and seems to have exercised a kind of authority over the others, or at least to have been the chief of these allied cities. It was likewise the seat of the national god, the Tyrian Hercules. There existed, therefore, a relation between these cities similar to that which existed between Carthage and her neighbouring colonies, and that between Tyre and the towns around her in the parent state. The number of settlements on the coast had also produced an intermixture with the ancient inhabitants; and this had created a mingled race, called *Bastuli*, similar to the Liby-Phœnicians in Africa, whom the inhabitants of the interior would not acknowledge as their brethren.[1] We may see by this, that Gades bore a great similarity to Carthage, although it seems never to have equalled her in power.

It was in the south-western districts that the Carthaginians planted their first settlements in Spain. That this took place at a very early period is rendered probable by their early occupation of the Balearian islands, which certainly were of no use to them but as places to touch at in their intercourse with the peninsula. But the express testimony of Scylax, a contemporary writer who lived in the flourishing period of the republic, renders the fact certain. "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules in Europe," says he, "are found a number of Carthaginian marts."[2] These settlements must, moreover, have caused a further extension and increase of possessions at a very early period, even a considerable time before the commencement of the Roman war. This is incontrovertibly proved by the testimony of Polybius, from whom we learn that the Carthaginians even at that time were not only masters of all the islands of the western Mediterranean,[3] but also of many parts of Spain. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to define accurately how much belonged to them; but from the nature of things we must place their possessions in the southern and western part of the peninsula. There is, however, much room to doubt whether their dominion extended far into the country; for at the commencement of the conquests of Hamilcar Barca in Spain, not even the Tartessians, who dwelt on the banks of the lower Guadalquiver, were under their subjection, but were the first to be attacked.[4] It is, therefore, highly probable that down to this period their dominion there, though equal in extent to that of their forefathers, did not reach far beyond the coast.

[1] See the proofs in Mannert. *Geog.* i. p. 224. [2] Scylax, p. 1. [3] Polyb. i. p. 22.
[4] Diodorus, ii. p. 510.

However this might be, they derived great and most important advantages from these colonies. Even their close connexion with the opulent city of Gades was in more than one way beneficial to them. In consequence of the rich silver mines which lay just in its neighbourhood, the price of silver must have been much lower here than in more distant countries where it was not to be found. Hence the Carthaginians opened a market for their own commodities in Spain, and extended themselves all over the country, if not as conquerors, at least as merchants. From here they drew the best of their mercenary troops; and the harbour of Gades served at the same time as a station for their vessels in their distant voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, along the shores of the ocean.

The mines of this country, and the rich treasures they yielded, were nevertheless the great points of attraction. These had already been opened and worked by their forefathers the Phœnicians. Here, then, the way was again ready paved for them; and they most probably attempted, in the infancy of their settlements, to turn these mines to account. Even during their Sicilian and Libyan wars, they were enabled by them, according to the express declaration of Diodorus,[1] to maintain the mighty armies which they at that time raised; and the mines which the Romans at a later period worked, had all been previously opened by the Carthaginians. This, however, does not render the fact less certain that the attempt to conquer the whole country, which was undertaken and prosecuted during the Roman wars, was the principal cause of the working of these mines being carried to its greatest extent; but seems rather, from the nature of things, to confirm it.

It appears, therefore, that the relations of Carthage with Spain, during the whole of her most flourishing period, were altogether of a peaceable nature. She enjoyed all the advantages which this rich country could bestow without risk or expense, and simply because she had sufficient moderation to prefer a quiet intercourse to the glitter of conquest. The silver mines, whether under her dominion or not, were equally beneficial to her; as by the profitable sale of her wares, she received the treasures they produced. The Spanish tribes were her friends and allies, and willingly served in her armies for a moderate pay. Carthage long enjoyed the fruits of this policy; her treasury was filled, and her argosies rode widely undisturbed across the seas. The pressure of circumstances, which time brought about, compelled her to change this policy; but this led to a series of misfortunes which gradually sapped the foundation of the republic, and caused her overthrow. This I shall have opportunities of showing as I proceed.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 360.

Respecting the manner of governing the provinces, we have some occasional hints; but nothing like detailed accounts. We glean from the whole, that they were always intrusted to a single person, who was usually called *general* (στρατηγὸς); though this appellation by no means designated merely a military character, and is much better translated by *governor* or *lieutenant*.[1] Such a *strategos*, or commander, was first in Carthage itself.[2] Another was placed over the Carthaginian territory in Libya;[3] and again others are named as having governed in Sicily and Sardinia.[4] It seems also to have been a custom, as might naturally be expected in a state founded by conquest, that the commander of the army should likewise be the governor. Nevertheless, in those provinces which were completely subjugated, and remained tranquil, we find mention of *boetharchs* instead of *strategoi*.[5] This appellation did not exclude military command; and we may therefore doubt whether the difference did not consist rather in the name than in the power of the officer. The authority of the governors in the provinces must have been very great, as with them principally originated the great oppressions, which made the oppressed upon such light occasions revolt.[6]

II. FOREIGN COLONIES.

The foregoing inquiries must already have shown how closely the conquests and colonies of Carthage were connected with each other; the former were generally consequences of the latter. The colonies of the Carthaginians stretched out far beyond their provinces; for even in places where they had no intention of making extensive conquests, as, for example, on the distant coasts of their own continent, they planted, without hesitation, separate settlements whenever their trade and navigation required it.

Colonies, understanding thereby secure ports and harbours

[1] Polyb. i. 179, in this place generally calls the governors στρατηγοί. [2] Ὁ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγός, thus Gisco, Polyb. i. 163. [3] Like Hanno, Polyb. i. 166. [4] Polyb. i. 172. [5] Like Bostarus in Sardinia, Polyb. i. 195; and Carthalo in Africa, Appian, *Pun.* 68. [6] Polyb. i. 179. Those governors were most esteemed who exacted the most taxes. Of course we must not understand this in a general sense; nor of all periods.

for vessels, and staple towns for merchandise, are indispensable to every seafaring and commercial nation, whenever their trade extends to remote or uncivilized countries, or perhaps to those whose inhabitants are nomades. In these places the merchant must at least have factories in which to deposit his wares in safety, and the inhabitants a place to which they may bring the produce of their industry, and dispose of it with certainty. Without this it is impossible that trade should be regularly and uninterruptedly carried on, as the time during which the ships are absent cannot otherwise be employed in collecting their lading; not to mention many other advantages belonging to such colonies which must be obvious to every one.

Carthage was under both the forementioned circumstances, and especially the latter. By far the greater part of her commerce was carried on with nations to whom she was greatly superior in civilization. The native tribes of Africa beyond her own dominions were all nomades; the inhabitants of Spain, Gaul, and Liguria, were but little better. It was not, therefore, a mere desire of aggrandizement, which led Carthage to plant colonies; it was necessary to her well being; it was her soundest policy. They were by no means in general intended as the groundwork for future conquest, although in some instances they certainly became so.

No other state of antiquity carried the colonial system to so great an extent as Carthage; and to no other did their colonies remain to the last of so much importance. The state itself was so greatly indebted to them, or was rather so founded upon them, that they were almost necessary to its very existence. Of one kind we have already spoken, namely, the inland; these were intended for agricultural purposes, and to improve and reform the native tribes: what follows relates only to their foreign possessions.

The usual, and probably the general, intention of these foreign settlements was to facilitate and secure to the parent state its intercourse with the countries in which they were planted. Their situation affords a proof of this, as they always fixed upon the coasts, or small islands near the shore. The cause, however, of their foundation, naturally gave rise to certain general principles, which were not only acted upon at their first establishment, but also in their subsequent treatment.

With the planting of their colonies the religious worship of the Carthaginians was closely connected. This arose from the

origin of their own city. They were indeed themselves a colony; and had brought the worship of their national god *Melcarth*, or Heracles, as the Greeks call him, with them; the god of the city and boundaries of Tyre, and consequently also of Carthage. In the same manner that he had obtained a sanctuary at Carthage, was his worship introduced into her foreign settlements; and thus he acquired the appellation of the colonial god.[1] The form of worship here observed, was the tie which bound the colonies to the mother state, as was the case with Carthage, otherwise completely independent, towards Tyre. The greater security of commerce certainly was not less the object. How could this in distant lands, probably among barbarous nations, be better carried on than under the protection of a sacred institution?

Upon the manner in which her colonies were first established and regulated, a considerable light is thrown by one of the most valuable documents that has descended to us from ancient Carthage. I mean the celebrated expedition of Hanno, who, in the most flourishing period of the republic, set sail, with a whole fleet, to plant a chain of settlements on the western coast of Africa, on the shores of the Atlantic ocean, in the present kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and at the same time to make a more distant voyage of discovery along the coasts.[2] He placed, after his return, as a memorial of this enterprise, an inscription in the temple of Cronos, one of the principal temples of Carthage; this was probably translated by a Greek traveller into his native language, and has fortunately descended to us.

From this account it is plain that the Carthaginians on distant coasts, where they wished to establish settlements, erected not merely a single town, but at once a chain of stations. The preparations, therefore, must necessarily have been on an extensive scale. The fleet of Hanno, consisting of sixty ships, did not contain less than 30,000 colonists, including men, women, and children. These he distributed into six towns, containing on an average five thousand inhabitants each. New Carthage, founded at a later period on the Spanish coast, was from the first a large city.[3] In both cases, however, peculiar

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 415. Ἡρακλῆς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποικοις. An important passage. This does not, however, exclude the establishment of other sanctuaries.

[2] See the translation of these in the Appendix, where also are stated the proofs of the following conjecture. If this Hanno was the son of Hamilcar who fell in Sicily, 480, (see the Appendix upon the genealogy of the ruling houses in Carthage,) then his expedition, as well as his brother Himilco's to the western coast of Iberia for the same object, may perhaps be placed about the year 450; which becomes the more probable, as about this time the Carthaginians were not engaged in any foreign wars that we know of.

[3] Polyb. i. p. 249.

circumstances contributed to the rather extraordinary magnitude of these establishments. New Carthage was intended to be the chief city of the republic in Spain; and it was requisite that the towns founded on the African coast should have the means of defending themselves against the nomad tribes, whom, however, at last they were unable to resist. Otherwise it would scarcely have agreed with the plan of the Carthaginians to found such large settlements at first. Their object did not require them; and if they had not been deterred from founding such by the expense, the difficulty of maintaining them would have been too great.

The colonists which Hanno carried out consisted, as we are expressly informed, of Liby-Phœnicians, and were not chosen from among the citizens of Carthage, but taken from the country inhabitants. Whether this was done that they might carry on agriculture in their new abode, is a point which history leaves doubtful; and it would be rash to judge from its being done on this occasion, that such was the general practice. It is highly probable that in other cases the emigrants were taken from Carthage or the allied cities.

The same motive which led to the foundation of these colonies, naturally made it the anxious care of the parent state to keep them in strict dependence. And in this respect Carthage showed herself superior to all the commercial powers of antiquity who planted colonies. Neither the original Phœnicians, nor the Greek states, were able to maintain their authority for so great a length of time. Their colonies either were or soon became independent; raised themselves often above the mother state; and not unfrequently wrested from her that trade which they ought properly to have protected. From such mortifications Carthage found means to secure herself: and principally by the great advantages she derived from her geographical situation, and her great power both by land and sea. She was placed nearly in the centre of her foreign settlements, and was therefore always nigh at hand in case of need. Her great military and naval force enabled her to maintain a preponderance which rendered it easy for her to keep a careful watch over her colonies, to hold them in subjection, and to repress every revolt in its infancy. None of them, the Sicilian not excepted, among which Panormus was the most considerable,[1] ever attained any great degree of power; much less were they

[1] Polyb. i. 97.

able to cope with Carthage, with whom, indeed, not one of them ever dared to enter the lists.

To what distance their colonies in general extended, cannot now be determined with certainty. Over the more remote, on the shores of the ocean, an obscurity seems to hover which we in vain endeavour to break through. Time, circumstances, and experience, seem, however, even here to have given rise to certain maxims which were never swerved from but in cases of necessity. Their navigation stretched much farther, both along the western coasts of Europe and Africa, than traces of their settlements are now to be found. And here, again, so far as we can judge, they seem willingly to have confined themselves within the rule, which forbade them to extend their colonies farther than they felt they had sufficient power to maintain the dominion of the sea, and thereby to insure themselves the undisturbed possession of their settlements, and the trade belonging to them. This accounts for the phenomenon, that in all their contentions with the Greeks and Etrurians, they scarcely ever lost one of their colonies.

The shores of the western Mediterranean was the principal seat of their settlements; though they were very unequally distributed. The coast of Africa, from the western limits of their proper territory to the Pillars of Hercules, was covered with them, and there they would scarcely have endured a rival. No nation even dared to make the attempt. The places there situated are mentioned, as has already been remarked, under the name of the Metagonitish cities, but seem for the most part to have been rather forts (φρούρια) than towns.

Their connexions and settlements on the southern coast of Spain have been already described.

The shores of Gaul were barred against them. They here came in contact with their hereditary enemies the Phœnicians, who had built Massilia. The inhabitants of that city ruled over a great part of the coast, and were as little inclined to suffer a rival foreign settlement to be made near them, as the Carthaginians were in Africa. Repeated forcible attempts were fruitless; the Massilians could defend themselves by land and sea;[1] and the Carthaginians were compelled to abandon their design of founding a settlement there. They must, however, have formed connexions at a very early period in the interior of the country, as they drew from thence a large

[1] See Justin, xliii. 5; and compare Campomanes *Antiguedad*, etc., ii. p. 23, 24.

portion of their mercenary troops.[1] In the time of the Roman wars, their allies in Celtica are expressly mentioned in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip.

On the shores of Liguria they were better received. Hired troops of this nation were generally found in their armies; they were, besides, united by a common hatred against the Massilians. We do not, however, find that they had any colonies there. The neighbourhood of the Massilians, who had covered a part of the Ligurian coast with their settlements, might have been sufficient to keep them at a distance.

But upon no country, perhaps, were the eyes of Carthage so constantly fixed as upon Italy Proper. Its situation, its fertility, the opulence of its inhabitants, all attracted her attention. Yet we find there no trace of any Carthaginian settlements. The coasts of the whole country were occupied by seafaring and trading nations,—Etrurians, Romans or Latins, and Greeks, all too well acquainted with their own interest to permit it. The Carthaginians seem, however, to have neglected no opportunity by which they could hope to effect their purpose; whence we may account for the many treaties and alliances by which their rivals endeavoured to prevent their approach. Those with Rome have in part been preserved by Polybius, and have already been several times mentioned. A single glance at them will be sufficient to show with what anxious care the Romans provided that their adversaries should build no fort in Latium, nor retain any town which they might previously have occupied. A number of similar treaties with the Etrurians are quoted by Aristotle.[2] It is unnecessary to mention the Greeks of Lower Italy. When, indeed, could Carthaginians and Greeks ever come to an agreement?

But, on the contrary, a clear and extensive field was open to them on the ocean-shores of Africa and Europe. Here there were no competitors to be feared; here there was no one even to limit their possessions: every establishment in these regions might in its turn become a point from which a still more distant commerce might be carried on, of which they could not themselves foresee the extent. An immeasurable ocean and a new world here offered themselves to their enlarging views and enterprising spirit.

The advantages which these held out were not lost upon the

[1] Polyb. i. p. 39. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 9. "The Carthaginians and Etrurians," says he, "have a great many treaties on their mutual rights and alliances."

Carthaginians, who, at a very early period, seized upon, and followed them up, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by their magnitude. However alluring the prospects, they seem never to have permitted their colonial system to extend to a larger circumference than their naval power would enable them to keep in subjection. But we are so insufficiently informed upon this matter, that we cannot safely pronounce any judgment upon their undertakings.

We know, however, with certainty, that their colonies were scattered along the western coasts of Africa and Spain, and were founded at the same period in both quarters of the globe. About the same time that Hanno was sent to the coast of Africa, Himilco, another commander, was sent to explore the western coast of Europe; and his narrative, as well as that of Hanno, was extant in ancient times.[1] It has not, indeed, like that of Hanno, been preserved to us, but very important extracts from it are found in the fragment of a poem come down to us, valuable for the information it gives us of the coasts in the time of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. I mean the *Ora Maritima* of Festus Avienus, in which Himilco is repeatedly quoted as authority,[2] together with the Greek geographers, who were very nearly, or quite contemporary with him. This poem confirms all that we have said in the section on the Phœnicians, as well concerning their settlements, as on the extent and signification of the name of Tartessus. It also becomes clear that the Carthaginians were their successors in this part of the world, and that to a great extent. Both Avienus and Scylax, who likewise made use of Himilco, agree with each other respecting the fact, that many Carthaginian settlements were founded beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[3] Even from the analogy of the voyage of Hanno, who formed a series of settlements on the western coast of Africa, we cannot conclude otherwise than that the commission of Himilco was of equal or similar extent.

When Scylax says, in the beginning of his Periplus, that from the Pillars of Hercules on the European coast, there lay many settlements of the Carthaginians, it certainly is to be

[1] Pliny, H. N. ii. 67. [2] Festi Avieni *Ora Maritima*, (different from his *Descriptio Orbis*,) v. 177, 412, etc. See the translation of the passages in the Appendix, vi.
[3] Scylax, p. 2. Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἐμπόρια πολλὰ Καρχηδονίων, καὶ πηλὸς καὶ πλημμυρίδες καὶ πελάγη. Festus Avienus correctly translates ἀπὸ by *ultra*, v. 375:

Ultra has columnas propter Europæ latus
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam.

understood that they lay *without* the Pillars, as the context informs us that morasses and shallows next follow, which agreed with the common notion of that people, who believed the ocean to be unnavigable, but did not apply to the Mediterranean. And besides, as Gades and the neighbouring Phœnician colonies lay without the Pillars, we may safely conclude that those parts were not unknown or unoccupied by the Carthaginians. Where their settlements were planted, and how far they stretched, we do not exactly know; but we may with certainty affirm that they reached as far as the river Anas (Guadiana) and to the Sacred Promontory (Cape St. Vincent).[1] That the Carthaginians formed establishments on the north coast of Spain, and in the British islands, is indeed proved by no express evidence; but that they visited these shores, especially the Scilly islands, for commercial purposes, will be placed beyond a doubt in the chapter on their navigation and maritime commerce.

The towns built by Hanno on the western coast of Africa, wherever we may separately place them, certainly did not extend beyond the boundaries of Fez and Morocco: the first of them, Thymiaterium, was only two days' sail from the end of the strait, or promontory of Spartel;[2] Scylax mentions it by name.[3] Next to that follows the promontory Soloe, Cape Blanc near Agimur, where was erected a sanctuary to Neptune, (probably a votive offering for their prosperous voyage,) which Scylax describes as a large altar, decorated with bas-reliefs, representing human figures, lions, and dolphins. A day and a half's farther sail to the south, probably in the vicinity of Saffy, along the sea-coast, five towns were built: their names were Caricum Teichos, Gytta, Acra, Melite, and Arambe. The last settlement to the south was founded on the small island Cerne, which must be sought for either near Mogador, or more probably in the bay of Santa Cruz. The name which it bore (but which the Greeks transferred to almost every distant southern island, in the same manner as they did Thule to every distant northern) was given it by Hanno himself. It was only five stadia (about two-thirds of a mile) in circumference, and lay in a bay close to the shore; where it afforded the Carthaginians a convenient emporium, both on account of its security from

[1] Festus Avienus, v. 205, 225. According to him the province of Tartessus extended as far as the Anas. The whole of this coast is full of Phœnician-Carthaginian remains and names of places. From the Anas to the Sacred Promontory dwelt the Cynetes, who are mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 49, as the most westerly people of Europe.

[2] The further illustration of what follows may be seen in the Appendix, on the Periplus of Hanno. [3] Scylax, p. 52, 53.

the attacks of the natives, and as it permitted the approach of the Carthaginian vessels, which were unable to reach the coast itself on account of its shallows.[1]

These colonies of Hanno seem, indeed, to have been the first planted in these regions. No traces are found in his narrative of any settlements having previously existed there; but the whole length of the coast is described as a new discovery, which he extended beyond the Senegal, as he pushed his discoveries much farther than he founded settlements. The ultimate fate of the latter is wrapt in obscurity; in the time of the Roman wars they had ceased to exist, and had probably fallen a prey to the nomad tribes.

But if, as we shall presently see, the navigation and intercourse with these regions were, at least for a considerable time, kept up, it will not be surprising that some of the western islands should become known to the Carthaginians. Such express evidence is preserved of this, that we cannot doubt of the fact in general, although some obscurity still rests as to particulars. The Phœnicians had, indeed, as Diodorus informs us,[2] discovered an island in the ocean, many days' sail to the west of Libya, the romantic description of which almost forces upon our remembrance some of the Fortunate Islands of the South Sea, which have lately been made known to us. All that Diodorus tells us of its being situated at a considerable distance in the ocean, of its nature, of its plentiful streams and rivers, of its productions, and especially of its great variety of trees, agrees with no other island so well as Madeira.[3] The general information spread abroad respecting it, made the Etrurians, then a formidable maritime power, desirous of possessing it. But the Carthaginians, treading in this respect, as

[1] Scylax, p. 54. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 345.

[3] Quite the contrary is the case with regard to the Canary Islands, to which we might at first apply it; and it agrees with them least of all in the number of streams, even navigable rivers, of which Diodorus speaks. These islands lack water; while in Madeira we reckon seven rivers, besides numerous brooks. It may be asked whether the Carthaginians were likewise acquainted with the Canary Islands. A passage in F. Avienus's *Description of the Coasts*, not only seems to point towards them, but I think I can trace therein a certain allusion to Teneriffe and its volcano. Beyond the Pillars, says he, v. 164, etc., lies an island,

—on ocean's bosom spread,
Where varying herbs in wild profusion grow.
Sacred to Saturn is the land esteemed;
And nature's power is there terrific seen;
For when by chance the mariner draws nigh
The coast, the ambient waters rage around,
The island shakes and starts among the waves
And deeply trembles—while the ocean lies
Calm in the distance, silent and unmoved.

Can an island in which a volcano rages be better pictured in words? Its being dedicated to Saturn shows plainly that it was occupied by the Carthaginians. We shall become acquainted with him, as we advance, as one of their principal deities.

well as others, in the footsteps of their forefathers, would not allow it. They guarded the island with their own peculiar jealousy. When, indeed, the settlements from Carthage began to be numerous, they not only prohibited the entrance of the Etrurians, but, according to another account,[1] exterminated even the ancient inhabitants. They set a higher value upon this island because, according to Diodorus, they regarded it as a place of refuge in case of need: that at the first appearance of decay in the mighty Carthage, this island might shelter its inhabitants, and a new Carthage rise here in the midst of the ocean. Unfortunate people! They foreboded the fall of their empire, whose frail support they felt shake beneath them: but their protecting genius drove from their imagination the lugubrious idea that they should be buried under its ruins.[2]

CHAP. III. *The government of Carthage.*

ARISTOTLE, who possessed so accurate a knowledge of the different constitutions of his age, mentions it as a merit in the Carthaginian government, that it had at that time undergone no very great change, either from the civil broils of its citizens, or the usurpation of tyrants.[3] He justly considers this as a proof of its judicious organization; and an inquiry into it would, on that score alone, deserve attention, even if the state with which it is connected did not, on so many other accounts, justly claim it. To give, indeed, what the historical inquirer would naturally wish for, an historical development of the Carthaginian government throughout all the periods of the republic, our want of information renders impossible. But few accounts have descended to us, and even these few we dare not make use of without mistrust. The foreign historians of this republic rarely extend their research into its internal affairs; and when they do, the form of the Roman government floats continually before their eyes; they compare silently, and often imagine that they find a similarity because they look for it. The names of the Roman magistrates are given to the Carthaginian, and, together with the name, its attributes; although the nature of things tells us that the corresponding situation of the magistrates among a commercial and a warlike people

[1] Aristot. *de Mirab.* cap. 85, *ed. Beckm.* Compare the passage with the corrections of Heyne. [2] Polyb. ii. 598. *Ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων.*
[3] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. See the translation of the chapter in the Appendix.

must be very different. The inquiry is thus rendered exceedingly difficult, and if we would at all succeed in our object, we must not number the authorities, but weigh them. The first place among the historians is due, without contradiction, to Polybius. He was best acquainted with the constitution, is accurate, and the most uniform in his expressions. His authority, where we can quote it, is in my opinion decisive, whether confirmed by the agreement of others or not. Diodorus and Appian are certainly inferior to him, yet not so much so as Livy and Justin. We make use of them only where Polybius fails us. Fortunately, however, historians in this part of our labour are not the only source of information. In addition to them we have Aristotle, who, in his treatise on politics, has devoted a whole chapter to the constitution of Carthage.[1] To him we are indebted for the most valuable, and at the same time the most faithful particulars; and the following remarks are for the most part founded upon his statements.

The Carthaginian state had, in common with Rome, Athens, Sparta, and the other most celebrated republics of antiquity, the general character of having a single city for its head. And although all parts of the empire did not stand in an equal relation towards the capital, they were, nevertheless, in some degree subordinate to it; and the citizens of Carthage formed the ruling body. However great, therefore, the dominions of this city might become, the government still remained municipal, and must as such be considered. But since the compass of our inquiry confines us to the burghers of this city, it becomes of so much the greater importance that we should form a clear conception not only of what is properly called their constitution, but also respecting their civil relations in general, the classes of the citizens, their sources of profit, etc. These taken together will enable us to estimate with tolerable accuracy the civilization of this people.

Carthage was from the beginning a trading city, and it was undoubtedly by trade that she raised herself to opulence and

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. How much better still should we have been informed if his lost treatise on governments had been preserved. That of Carthage was explained therein. In his Politics this was not his object, but only to show how far the Carthaginian constitution corresponded with the advance which man, according to his system, may make towards a good government. A complete and detailed explanation of it cannot therefore be here expected. The treatise of Theodorus Metochita belonging to the fourteenth century, *περὶ Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτείας*, was not published till after the third edition of this work, in his *Miscellanea philosophica et historica, Græce, Lips.* 1821; and reprinted and explained by Professor Kluge, at the end of his *Aristoteles de Politia Carthaginiensium.* It is, however, not so much an investigation as a characteristic of the Carthaginian government, mostly from known sources, yet not altogether without new matter.

power. It is, nevertheless, a mistaken notion to suppose the Carthaginians a mere nation of merchants; the foregoing observations have in some measure already shown in what esteem they held the cultivation of the soil as well as commerce. Nature did not lavish upon them her treasures in vain. The establishment of so many inland colonies, appropriated solely to agriculture, is at once a decided proof of the fact. They left not, however, this branch of industry to be carried on in the colonies alone, but followed it themselves. All accounts agree in praising the high state of cultivation found in the neighbourhood of Carthage. "The territory through which Agathocles led his army after their landing," says Diodorus,[1] "was covered with gardens and large plantations, every where intersected by canals, by which they were plentifully watered. A continual succession of landed estates was there seen, adorned with elegant buildings, which betrayed the opulence of their owners. These dwellings were furnished with every thing requisite for the enjoyment of man; the proprietors having accumulated immense stores during the long peace. The lands were planted with vines, with palms, and many other fruit trees. On one side were meadows filled with flocks and herds, and on the lower grounds ranged troops of brood mares. In short the whole prospect displayed the opulence of the inhabitants: the highest rank of Carthaginians had possessions here, and vied with one another in pomp and luxury." Fifty years later, when they were invaded by the Romans under Regulus, Polybius draws a similar picture of this district.[2] A number of elegant villas were upon that occasion destroyed, an immense booty obtained in cattle, and above 20,000 slaves carried off. And in general, says this writer in another place,[3] the Carthaginians drew their private income from their own landed property; the public revenue from the provinces. It is, moreover, a well-known fact, that the science of agriculture in its widest range, and in all its parts, was so well handled by them in their writings, that the Romans did not think them unworthy to be translated into their own language.[4]

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 411. [2] Polyb. i. p. 76. [3] Ibid. p. 177.

[4] Plin. xviii. 3. When the Romans, says he, took Carthage, they gave the libraries found there (consequently there were some) to the native princes; namely, to their allies in Numidia. And this throws a light upon the manner in which the works of the Carthaginian historians had come into the possession of King Hiempsal (see above, p. 1). The works of Mago alone, one of the kings or suffetes of Carthage, upon agriculture, in twenty-eight books, was translated into Latin by D. Silanus. The fragments of it preserved to us by Pliny are sufficient to show us that it treated in full detail upon all kinds of husbandry, agriculture, planting, breeding of cattle, etc. See a translation of them in the Appendix. It cannot then be doubted, even if the above mention of libraries fail to prove it, that there existed a Carthaginian literature; that it was supported by the great of Carthage; and that it was certainly not merely a poetical one, but rather a prosaic. A work so extensive as that of Mago could neither be the first nor the only one.

They in fact appear to have even attached more importance to agriculture than to commerce. In scarcely any part of the ancient world did the merchant hold the highest rank, and probably not in Carthage. It is plain from what has been already said, that families of the first rank were in possession of large estates, from whose produce they drew their income; while, on the contrary, there is not a single trace in the whole history of the republic of their being concerned in trade. Aristotle certainly informs us, that their magistrates were not prevented from engaging in trade;[1] but the expression is so vague that it may as well be understood of the produce of their lands and their mines, which in part belonged to private individuals, or with still greater probability of the usurious interest on loans. In whatever way, however, we may explain this passage, it is evident, from the whole tenor of their history, that commerce was not the usual occupation of the higher ranks of Carthaginians. It seems more probable that it was their common custom, as one of the following chapters, on their military system, will show, to devote themselves to a martial life; particularly as the military state is expressly distinguished from that of the merchant.[2]

The government of Carthage was the work of time and circumstances. An express legislation by which the rights and relations of the constitutional authorities were defined is no where mentioned. And if we consider this rightly, it will immediately appear that nothing was more firmly established or accurately determined in the Carthaginian constitution than in the Roman; consequently the government could not come to maturity at once. Probably, therefore, the constitution was perfected by degrees, chiefly by internal broils, of which some slight traces are found in the early history of the state; custom and usage was the sanction which made it legal. A monarchical government is usually given to Carthage at its foundation; this afterwards became changed, we know not how or when, into a republic. That this really happened is stated, though only incidentally, by Aristotle.[3] This opinion, however, only rests upon an uncertain tradition respecting a Queen Dido, who is generally supposed to have been a princess of unlimited au-

[1] Aristot. v. 12. Ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς χρηματίζεσθαι. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 450.

[3] Aristot. *Polit.* v. 12.

thority.[1] But, without doubt, Carthage adopted, after the custom of all the colonies of ancient times, the constitution of her parent state; and, notwithstanding she might thereby give herself what were called kings, yet, as will be seen under the head of Phœnicia, this government was by no means despotic.

However this may have been, all accounts agree that an aristocracy arose, which soon obtained that strength and solidity which form the striking feature of that kind of government, distinguished, however, by many institutions peculiar to itself.

During the flourishing period of the republic, and even as late as the Roman wars, it remained unshaken; two attempts to overthrow it passing over with little or no effect.[2] The foreign policy of Carthage was the counterpart of her domestic government. While the latter remained firmly established, the former remained equally secure. The constant prosecution of the same plans for many centuries, a willing limitation of her conquests, and a moderation even in the midst of fortune, are all characteristic features of a temperate aristocracy, and are incompatible with a democratic government. The prevailing projects remained as it were hereditary in the ruling families; and as these became changed by the wars with Rome, a reaction upon the internal relations of the state followed, as an almost unavoidable consequence, for they were too closely connected not to be mutually influenced by each other. The all-dissolving hand of time, and the corruption of the national character by avarice and immoderate wealth, helped also to effect this change; but it is probable that the careful and bustling activity of aristocratic policy would have found means to prop up the tottering fabric of the state, if the internal shocks had not been assisted by violence from without.

But what was the form of this aristocracy? Did it give Carthage an hereditary nobility? And if so, what were its rights and privileges? These are questions of very high importance, but which cannot be answered without great difficulty.

If we take hereditary nobility in the stricter sense of the word—that is, if we understand by it a number of families who, by their birth alone, had an exclusive right to the administration of government, such as was possessed by the patricians in the early days of Rome, and by the *nobili* in Venice

[1] That there was also another fable besides that of Dido, according to which Zorus and Carchedon were the founders, we learn from Appian, viii. 1.

[2] Aristot. and Polyb. ii. cc. The first attempt was made by a senator named Hanno, and another by Bomilcar; both of which failed. Justin, l. c.

—there remains no proof that such an hereditary nobility with hereditary rights existed in Carthage. But there are many degrees between so powerful an aristocracy as this and complete political equality; and although there may be no evidence of an hereditary nobility in Carthage similar to the one here described, yet it may, on the other side, be very easily proved that a perfect political equality was still further distant. From the want of a fixed constitution, with its fundamental laws reduced to writing, everything had here been effected by circumstances and relations to which time and place had given birth. In a rich commercial city wealth had naturally the greatest influence. As in Carthage the magisterial office conferred honour without revenue,[1] and as it nevertheless must have brought with it a great expense, it follows of course that it could only be administered by the opulent. Rich families, therefore, although they might have no hereditary claim, procured one by their wealth, which was not less valid while it lasted. Riches, however, were not always alone sufficient. "The magistrates of Carthage," says Aristotle, "were chosen on account of their property, their worth, and their popularity."[2] The latter was essential, as the elections in Carthage depended, in a great measure, on the people. Authority flowed from personal superiority of every description. Birth might assist in obtaining it, but could not give it alone. Even noble families, if they sunk into poverty, lost it. But of all qualifications, none would be so powerful in a conquering state as military renown; and even from the scanty remains of Carthaginian history which are left, we may gather sufficient evidence to prove that it was chiefly at the beginning of what may be called the Period of Conquest, that great and noble families raised themselves to such a pitch, as to excite the jealousy of the state.

It was not, therefore, so much a real hereditary nobility that composed the aristocracy of Carthage, as a number of *optimate families*.[3] The number of these families cannot now be ascertained with anything like certainty; it could not always have been the same; but it is evident that sometimes a single

[1] Aristot. l. c. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* v. 7; ii. p. 280, "Οπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἰς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν, καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ὡύτη ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἐστι. And ii. 2, Οὐ μόνον ἀριστίνδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. The ἀριστίνδην of Aristotle does not signify birth, but personal merit, of whatever sort it might be, which procured for its possessor general esteem.

[3] It bears the appellation of ἔνδοξοι, Polyb. i. 118; of ἐπιφανέστατοι, Diodorus, ii. 399; of *Nobiles*, Livius, xxii. 58, and such like.

family maintained for a long period so high a degree of authority, that the generals and principal magistrates were taken chiefly from it. The house of Mago, the first conquerors in Sicily and Sardinia, affords a striking example of this. From the genealogy of this house, so far as it can now be collected from the fragments which remain of ancient writers,[1] it is clear that for at least four generations (a full century, if not more) it gave generals to Carthage; and even the repeated misfortunes of some of its members did not take from it this privilege.

But however great the power and influence of such families might have been, it remains, nevertheless, certain that the government never became a pure aristocracy, but always contained a mixture of democracy, though that democracy was very limited. Both Polybius[2] and Aristotle[3] agree in placing the government of Carthage among the mixed forms, although the aristocratic element predominated. A closer inquiry into the rights of the people, the nature and power of the senate, concerning the magistrates and their business, as well as the formation of the courts of justice, will give us a deeper insight into the internal organization of the state, and perhaps as deep a one as the scarcity of materials will allow.

Aristotle and Polybius both mention the Spartan government as that which bore the greatest resemblance to the Carthaginian in most of its principal parts; the latter also compares it with that of Rome as it existed in his time, when as yet no demagogue had broken the power of the senate.[4] Although we must beware of following these comparisons too far in particulars, as the great difference in the manners and habits of the two nations will sufficiently teach us, they nevertheless serve, taken together, as the groundwork of many important inquiries; and by employing them we become immediately convinced that the power of the people in Carthage was more moderate than could otherwise have been supposed.

The rights which they possessed were exercised, as we learn from many examples, in their public assemblies; of the internal organization of which we, however, know nothing, as we are altogether ignorant of the way in which the people or citizens were divided and classed. Even respecting the extent of their rights we can only give probabilities. We only know for certain, that whatever was brought before the people was first deliberated upon in the senate; how otherwise could the aristocracy have maintained their authority. What, however, was brought before the people we cannot precisely determine. The principal question is, what part had the people in the election of magistrates? Many of these, kings and generals in particular, we know were elected; and so far as we can judge from single examples, the nomination was first made in the senate, and afterwards brought to the people for their confirmation.[1] Although the election, therefore, was not entirely in the hands of the people, they nevertheless acted a principal part in them. This important right kept the leading families in a continual dependence on the people, whose favours they could not do without. But in a state so rich as Carthage these elections would easily produce bribery; which, even in the time of Aristotle, was become so common, that he expressly says, the highest offices in Carthage were bought and sold.

Besides this, another right which was enjoyed by the people, as we can affirm with certainty on the testimony of Aristotle,[2] was that of deciding in all cases upon which the senate and kings could not agree: and when these were brought before them, they not only possessed the power of adopting or rejecting them, but also of deliberating upon them; as every one was at liberty to attack or defend them.[3] Lastly, we find many examples of state affairs of high importance, such as declarations of war and treaties of peace, being brought before the people for their sanction, after having been discussed by the senate,[4] although this does not seem to have been absolutely necessary.[5]

The highest political body of the republic, and upon which devolved the management of all affairs of state, was the senate; and there seems no doubt but that during the flourishing pe-

[1] See the Appendix. [2] Polyb. ii. p. 562. The government of Carthage seems also to have been originally well contrived with regard to those general forms that have been mentioned. For there were kings in this government, together with a senate, which was vested with aristocratical authority. The people likewise enjoyed the exercise of certain powers that were appropriated to them. In a word, the entire frame of the republic very much resembled those of Rome and Sparta. [3] Aristot. ii. 11. [4] Aristot. et Polyb. l. c.

[1] Hannibal was thus named general, Polyb. iii. 419. Another example of the nomination of the people, which does not however exclude the previous one by the senate, is found in Polyb. i. 206. So, on the contrary, we find the nomination of the senate did not exclude the confirmation by the people, Diodorus, ii. 399. The usual expression of Polybius is, *the Carthaginians elected*, which seems to be used intentionally as including both the senate and people.
[2] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. [3] Aristot. l. c. [4] Polyb. iii. 490, 493, and the principal passage in the speech of Scipio, 508, which leaves no room for doubt. Also Diodorus, i. p. 679. [5] Examples of the contrary are found in Polyb. i. p. 456. Diodorus, ii. p. 412. They are, however, rather specious than real, as from the mere silence of the people it cannot be concluded that they were not consulted. Might it not, also, during the period in which the power of the senate became absolute, as was the case in Rome, have become little more than a mere form?

riod of the republic, previous to the commencement of the wars with Rome, that assembly held in its own hand the whole power of the government. Respecting its internal organization the writers of antiquity are silent, and, as they had occasion so frequently to mention it, we may judge from their silence how little attention they paid to the study of the Carthaginian government. Indeed, whether the senate was merely a chosen body of the citizens, from time to time renewed; or a permanent assembly; whether it was in the power of every citizen to become a member of it, and how many enjoyed this privilege; and finally, by whom the senators were elected; are all questions of high importance, but which, for want of more information, can only very unsatisfactorily be answered.

That the senate of the republic was not periodically renewed from among the citizens, but a permanent assembly, admits of no doubt; otherwise it could not have acquired the solidity which secured it the government of the republic; and Polybius would have been as little able to compare it with the Roman senate as Aristotle with the Spartan. But whether it filled up its own body, or whether, as in Rome, the having filled certain offices opened the entrance to it, or whether new members were elected from the people, there unfortunately remain only very imperfect accounts. We are no better informed respecting the number of its members. Perhaps it was not legally fixed. There are, however, data from which we may conclude that they amounted to a considerable number, and probably, as in Rome, to several hundreds. We find numerous deputations of its members sent forth;[1] many others were absent with armies as commissioners; besides which, a considerable number was requisite for the preservation of its dignity and authority.

The name usually given to the senate by the Greek writers, and which they also applied to the Romans, was *gerusia*. This term is frequently used as synonymous with that given to the council of state (*σύγκλητος*);[2] and sometimes with the *synedrium*.[3] We learn, however, from more precise writers that those appellations were not synonymous; and this throws an important light upon the internal organization of the Carthaginian senate, which contained within itself a smaller and a larger council. The former, or more select council, was called

[1] In Polyb. i. p. 215, a deputation of thirty members to reconcile Hamilcar and Hanno. Again in Livy, xxx. 16.
[2] As for example in Diodorus, i. p. 679, and many others. [3] Polyb. i. p. 480.

gerusia, and the latter *synkletos*, and both these were sometimes included under the name of *synedrium*. Thus we find in two passages of Polybius, the *gerusia* and *synkletos* expressly distinguished from one another. In the army of Mago in Italy, two out of the *gerusia* and fifteen out of the council were taken prisoners.[1] When Rome obliged the Carthaginians to give up three hundred young men as hostages, they were partly to be taken from the sons of the *gerusia* and partly from those of the council.[2] Diodorus also makes a distinction between them in more than one passage.[3] It is therefore evident that a distinction must have existed; and from the proportion which the number of prisoners above mentioned bear to each other, it seems plain that the members of the council were more numerous than those of the senate, or *gerusia*. We may, therefore, consider the latter as composed of a selection, as its name implies, of the senior or most worthy members; for in it, as is shown by a great number of examples, the most important affairs were first debated. This is placed beyond a doubt by a passage of Livy:[4] "The Carthaginians were so dismayed at the capture of Syphax, that they refused to listen to any one who advised a continuance of hostilities, and sent thirty of their principal elders, as ambassadors, to solicit peace. With them," continues the historian, "the select council is held in the highest reverence, and enjoys a paramount control over the senate itself." The relation in which the *gerusia* stood to the larger council, may doubtless be drawn from this fact: they were not two completely separate assemblies, for the members of the *gerusia* belonged also to the larger council, and we have therefore very properly called it a select council. This is also confirmed by the manner in which they transacted business; for we learn from many examples, that state affairs were first laid before the *gerusia*, and after having been deliberated upon there, were brought before the larger assembly.

Respecting the origin of this select council, an account is preserved to us in Justin which gives us a deep insight into the Carthaginian government. "When the house of Mago," says he,[5] "became dangerous to a free state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators, who, upon the return

[1] Polyb. iii. p. 228. [2] Polyb. iv. p. 671. But in another place Polybius calls the senate *σύγκλητος*, see iii. p. 490. [3] Diodorus, ll. cc.
[4] Liv. xxx. 16. Oratores ad pacem petendam mittant triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos consilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. What Livy calls the *senatus* is therefore the larger council, the *σύγκλητος*; the *seniores*, on the contrary (the *gerusia*) the smaller. [5] Justin, xix. 2.

of generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they, being thereby kept in awe, should so bear themselves in their command in the war, as to have regard to the laws and judicature at home." From this passage it is clear that the *hundred* were selected from the more extensive assembly of the senate; and the number of its members is also determined. The subsequent history of Carthage sufficiently shows that it remained a permanent assembly, as does also the severity, and often cruelty, with which it treated unsuccessful commanders, who sometimes chose rather to lay violent hands upon themselves, than submit to its rigour.[1] This assembly was, from its first formation, a high court of judicature and state tribunal; and to it was confided the care of maintaining the existing government. An institution such as this is quite in the spirit of an aristocratical republic, in which a comprehensive system of police is the main support of the government; it is however too apt to degenerate into espionage and tyranny, as did the council of ten, and the state-inquisition connected with it, at Venice. The influence of individual members of an aristocracy, especially when invested with military command, soon excites the jealousy of the other rulers; such a tribunal[2] as this, therefore, is not so much raised against the people as against the aristocracy itself. It is likewise easy to comprehend how an institution like this would go beyond the purpose for which it was originally designed; and as a natural consequence, that the most important affairs of state would ere long be first transacted in it. This is corroborated by the testimony of Aristotle, who calls the council of the hundred the highest tribunal in the state. It is true that he does not expressly say that this council was the same as the *gerusia*, nor on the other hand does he contradict it; and it seems therefore rather to follow from the expression just recited that it was, as we cannot see in what sense a centumvirate like this could have stood superior to the *gerusia*. But the formidable power necessarily under the command of a state-tribunal of this kind, elevated as it is above all that is great and powerful, and, what is almost inseparable from it in whatever form it may appear, even though its primary institution may be merely to repress luxury, the erecting itself into a censorship of public morals,[3] render it frequently dangerous

[1] Diodorus, ii. 412. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

[3] The censorship of morals in Carthage was very rigid. A single magistrate was appointed to the office, whose power was so great that he even reprimanded and checked the general Hamilcar, as he interdicted him from following a suspicious connexion. Corn. Nepos, Amilcar, c. 3. If this magistrate was not a magistrate of the *gerusia*, he certainly stood in a close connexion with it.

to that liberty which it is its peculiar duty to protect. This was the course which affairs took in Carthage. During the flourishing periods of the republic, the council certainly answered the end for which it was designed: the prevention of domestic revolutions in the state. Only two attempts of this kind are known to us, both of which failed;[1] and the great and permanent solidity which is universally ascribed to the Carthaginian government, was in some measure owing to this institution. In the latter period of the republic, however, its power degenerated into oppressive despotism, as will be shown in the last chapter of this inquiry.

As regards the internal organization of this council, we have a little more information. Its members, according to Aristotle, discharged the duties of their office without fee or reward. They were elected; yet neither by the people nor the larger senate, but by the *pentarchies*, or councils of five. What these were it is difficult to discover. They are only mentioned by Aristotle; but then it is with the addition that they managed many and the most important affairs of government, and that they filled up their own number. There were therefore not one, but several *pentarchies;* each of them, as the name implies, composed of five members. Aristotle adds that the members of these continued in office for a very long time; as it was necessary that they should hold some office before they could be elected into a *pentarchy*, which still they retained after they ceased to belong to that body.[2] Such is the sum of our information, which, though thus limited, affords some idea of the general character of these bodies. They were committees to which various and indeed the most important branches of the government were intrusted. What these branches were cannot be affirmed with certainty; but it is highly probable that the administration of finance, etc. were among them. It is not, however, probable that the government of the provinces fell within the number of their duties.[3] From all that we know of the Carthaginian state, and from what we have already stated, it appears that these were always confided to individual governors; and never to a council.—Again, it is certain that the *pen-*

[1] The one already mentioned by Hanno, B. C. 340, which Aristotle knew of; and that by Bomilcar, Diodorus ii. 437, who did not die till 306, therefore after Aristotle's time.

[2] Aristot. l. c. [3] Kluge, *ad Aristotelem*, p. 120, etc. The reason which the author brings forward is the analogy of the ten men of Sparta; this, however, can have no great weight, as these were only military magistrates.

tarchies were closely connected with the *gerusia*, whose members they even elected. It seems indeed probable that they themselves were nothing more than committees chosen from the *gerusia;* for if all affairs of importance first came before that council, is it to be supposed that they would have transferred the management of them to any but members of their own body? This also best explains the statement of Aristotle, that the members of the *pentarchies* remained very long in office, and took part in the government; because they must previously have belonged either to the *gerusia*, or at least to the larger senate, and afterwards have again become members of the *gerusia.* Although many of the above statements rest only upon conjecture, they appear to be highly probable; not merely from their agreement with all the other written accounts, but because they also are most in unison with the aristocratic character of the government, which nearly approached to an *oligarchy.*

The duties of the Carthaginian senate, including both the larger and smaller body, seem, upon the whole, to have been of the same nature and extent as those of the Roman. There is no doubt that all business relating to foreign affairs were under its management. The official reports were delivered to it by the kings, who presided.[1] It received foreign ambassadors; it deliberated upon all matters of state; and its authority was then so great that it decided even upon war and peace: although, as a matter of form, the question was sometimes laid before the people.[2] Its power, therefore, seems to have been unlimited, so long as its decisions agreed with that of the *suffetes.* In this case it alone had the power of deciding whether the matter should be laid before the people.[3] It was only when these two branches of the government could not agree, that it was left for the people to determine.[4] The senate consequently held the greater part of the legislative power in its hands; nothing being brought before the people upon which it had not first deliberated; and the senate then determined whether or not it should be laid before the popular assembly. That to its care was confided the welfare and security of the city, and that it had the supreme direction of the public revenue, is probable

[1] Polybius, i. p. 456. [2] Polybius, i. p. 81, 456; iii. 498. Diodorus, i. p. 412, 450; ii. p. 574, 679.

[3] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11; Joh. v. Müller, *Univ. Hist.* vol. i. p. 105, is in error when he says that the pentarchy and the senate agreed on the questions which were to be submitted to the people. This is in direct opposition to the testimony of Aristotle, who speaks of the unanimity of the kings and the senate. [4] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

from what has been said of the *gerusia.* They belonged essentially to the character of the aristocracy.

Aristotle, in comparing the Carthaginian with the Spartan constitution, finds another similarity, viz. between the *public meals of the companies*[1] and the Phiditia. But that the *syssitia* or clubs at Carthage were very different from the public tables of Sparta, in which all the citizens, and even the kings, were obliged to share, is however evident. How, in one of the most populous commercial cities of the world, which even at its fall numbered 700,000 inhabitants, composed of every variety and mixture of ranks, could such a regulation exist? On the other hand, social unions among the ruling class (which might perhaps have had some political tendency) are completely in the spirit of an aristocratical republic; and in a city so rich as Carthage they would become connected, if not always, yet occasionally, with public banquets. Such assemblies I understand by the companies of Aristotle, and not a general division of the people. In free states political parties are naturally formed, and we know that there was no want of them in Carthage. The members of such parties required meetings unrestrained by ceremony or form, (perhaps like the Whig club in England,) where they might come to an understanding among themselves; and from modern history we know, that in such political clubs determinations are often formed beforehand, which afterwards are sanctioned in the legitimate assemblies. How far this was the case at Carthage we cannot say with certainty; but traces of it are plainly to be discovered in its history. Deliberations among the nobles without form, or in secret, are repeatedly mentioned by Polybius.[2] The evidence of Livy is still more to the purpose, in the passage where he states, that the plans and negotiations of Aristo, with the Barcine party, when sent to Carthage by the fugitive Hannibal, were debated first in societies and at banquets, and afterwards in the senate.[3] But we obtain most light upon this subject from a passage in the above-mentioned work of Theodorus Metochita. "The Carthaginians," says he, "transacted their state affairs by night; and in the evening and at night time held their meetings and societies." That this cannot be understood of the regular meetings of the senate and people, which certainly were held by day and not by night, may be shown by many examples. If they were held by night, it was

[1] Τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν. [2] Polyb. iii. p. 83; iv. 639. [3] Livy, xxxiv. 61

because the affairs required secrecy.[1] It can therefore only be understood of social meetings such as clubs or private societies; and which, in so hot a climate, might very naturally take place in the evening or night, and be connected with feasting; without our concluding therefrom that they were secret assemblies. These must not be confounded with the public entertainments which some of the nobles gave to the people.[2]

At the head of the senate and republic were the kings, as they are called by the Greek writers; the Romans usually compare them with their consuls; their proper name was *suffetes*.[3] All that we know positively respecting them is that they were elected, and elected from the principal families; that they had the highest place in the senate, before whom they laid the subjects to be discussed; and that, on the whole, they possessed a high degree of power and influence.[4] Thus far we learn expressly from Aristotle; all beyond is left to conjecture. As Aristotle compares them with the Spartan kings, and Polybius with the Roman consuls,[5] and both speak of them in the plural number, it certainly seems highly probable that there were always two reigning at the same time. That this was in fact the case we are not expressly informed by any contemporary writer,[6] and those of later date have here but little authority; we might, indeed, be led to adopt the contrary supposition because only one king is frequently spoken of;[7] though this is not conclusive that there was not also a second. The same uncertainty exists respecting the duration of their office. It has generally been believed from the analogy of the Roman consuls, that they were changed every year; but little dependence is to be placed on the testimony of Nepos,[8] upon which this opinion rests, as this writer is drawing a parallel between them and the Roman magistrates. On the other hand, there are strong reasons for supposing the contrary to be the case. Thus the name of kings, (βασιλεῖς,) by which the Greeks distinguished them, would indicate rather a ruler for

[1] As the secret audience which the senate were obliged to give the ambassadors of Perseus. Liv. xli. 27.

[2] On this point I cannot concur in the opinion of Kluge upon Aristot. p. 45, though I agree otherwise with his view of the Syssitia. The account of the banquet of Hanno, (Justin, xxi. 4,) intended for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the state, has nothing to do with our subject. It was altogether of a different kind.

[3] Liv. xxx. 7; Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat. Festus; Suffes, consul lingua Pœnorum. The Schophetim of the Hebrews.

[4] Aristot. l. c. [5] Polyb. ii. p. 562. [6] See Corn. Nep. Hannib. cap. 7.

[7] As in Polyb. i. p. 456, 478. [8] Corn. Nep. l. c.

life than one annually elected.[1] Besides, Aristotle, in comparing them with the Spartan kings, finds only *one* difference of importance between them; namely, that in Sparta the dignity was hereditary in two families, whilst in Carthage it depended upon election. Now had the Carthaginian kings been renewed yearly, would Aristotle have neglected to note so striking a difference? Would he, in short, have been justified in making the comparison at all? The same inference may be drawn from an expression of Polybius. "In Hannibal's army," says he, "was Hanno, the son of king Bomilcar."[2] Would he have thus distinguished him if his father had only been king for one year? The question, however, is decided, in my opinion, by a passage in the newly-discovered work of Cicero, *De Re Publica*.[3] In this he compares the kings of Carthage with those of Rome, and contrasts them with the magistrates who were afterwards annually elected. How could he have done this if he had not been assured that this dignity continued for life?

It is sometimes stated of particular kings of the Carthaginians, "that they ruled according to law."[4] Whether this expression refers to the legitimacy of their power or its restriction by law, or whether it denotes the king who administered affairs at home, as opposed to the one who acted as general abroad,[5] I dare not venture to decide.

Next to the rank of king, that of general was the highest in the republic. "In elections," says Aristotle,[6] "and especially in those of the highest offices, such as kings and generals, respect is paid to the two qualifications of rank and wealth." It appears, therefore, that its government in one particular had a great superiority over the Roman. It kept distinct the military and civil power. The dignity of king and general was not regularly united, though several examples show that these offices were not incompatible with each other. But then the king could not enjoy the latter without the command being expressly conferred upon him.[7] At the close of the campaign his powers expired; and previously to a new one, a fresh nomination was necessary.[8] There are also examples of generals being made kings during their command.[9] That other foreign

[1] Although the second archon in Athens bore the title of βασιλεὺς, (king,) it happened, as is well known, because he had under his care the *sacra* of the ancient kings, and so far he stood in their place. [2] Polyb. i. 478. [3] Cicero, *de Repub.* ii. 23. [4] Diodorus, i. p. 685; ii. p. 574, κατὰ νόμους βασιλέυων. [5] Kluge, *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 92.

[6] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. [7] Diod. i. p. 574. The elder Hannibal, ii. p. 14. Upon king Mago was conferred the command in Sicily. [8] Diod. ii. p. 412. [9] Diod. i. p. 685.

expeditions were also intrusted to the kings, is shown by the voyage of Hanno for the establishment of colonies on the western coast of Africa; who is expressly called king of the Carthaginians. At the same time we often meet with generals who were not kings; and Aristotle is therefore right in distinguishing them. Hannibal, in his treaty with Philip, calls himself general, and not king.[1] It would be superfluous to bring forward other examples.

The election of generals according to regular order first took place in the *gerusia*, and afterwards was brought before the senate and people.[2] If the army took upon themselves to nominate one of their commanders, it must only be considered an exception to the rule; and even in this case their nomination required the sanction of the senate and people. It was not unusual for several generals to be appointed when several armies were in the field.[3] The power of the Carthaginian generals does not appear to have been at all times the same. We have examples of unlimited authority being given them;[4] and probably even the title of general was conferred, as that of *imperator*, in the higher sense, among the Romans. At other times commissioners were delegated by the *gerusia* from their own body to attend the generals; and in their name, jointly with that of the generals, public affairs were transacted; though perhaps the power of the commander in military matters still remained unfettered.[5] But the high responsibility of the latter at their return made circumspection necessary; and therefore we often see them, before decisive undertakings, calling the other commanders to a council of war.[6]

The Roman writers speak of prætors and quæstors among the Carthaginians.[7] But only once, and that an extraordinary case, when Hannibal, after the war with Rome, was placed at the head of the state, do we hear of a prætor. It does not therefore seem to have been a regular office in the republic. The quæstor, in close connexion with the *gerusia*, had the management of all matters relating to the finances; but neither the duties of his office nor his proper title can be more accu-

[1] Corn. Nep. *Hannib.* 7, is the only one who says of Hannibal, he had become *rex* at twenty-two years of age. This, however, is evidently a blunder either of the writer or transcriber, and *rex* is put instead of *dux;* for we know that Hannibal at this age was created general. [2] Polyb. i. 413. [3] Polyb. i. 77. [4] Polyb. i. p. 156; Diod. ii. 575.

[5] This was the case in the army of Hannibal, as is shown by the treaty with Philip. Polyb. ii. p. 598. It is well known that the same was done by the French National Convention during the wars of the French Revolution.

[6] Hannibal called to a council his brother Mago and the rest of the officers. Polyb. i. p. 538.

[7] Livy, xxxiii. 46.

rately determined. Perhaps he was the chief of a pentarchy which conducted the affairs of the treasury.

Respecting the administration of justice in Carthage, our information is very scanty; we shall nevertheless be able to seize its general character. For this we are indebted to Aristotle, who, though he is so brief in his remarks on the Carthaginian constitution as to be almost unintelligible, yet, in another part of his work, he explains himself somewhat more fully. "In some states," he says,[1] "there is no body of citizens (δῆμος) and no popular assembly (ἐκκλησία), but only a senate (σύγκλητος), and lawsuits are decided solely by individuals (κατὰ μέρος), as is the case in Lacedemon, where civil suits (συμβολαῖα) are decided by the different ephors, criminal cases by the *gerusia*, and other magistrates perhaps determine other causes. It is just the same at Carthage, for there all lawsuits are decided by certain magistrates."[2] From these statements it will at once appear that there was no judiciary assembly of the people at Carthage, as at Rome and Athens. This must certainly have prevented many evils; as popular tribunals formed one of the most dangerous and injurious institutions possessed by the free states of antiquity. The foregoing arrangement too was quite in the spirit of aristocracy, with which popular tribunals are incompatible. It further appears from the passage quoted, that all lawsuits were decided in Carthage by magistrates and regular courts of justice. Respecting the constitution of these courts we have indeed little information, as Aristotle, our only authority, is here so very concise. He names expressly only one of these bodies, that of the *hundred and four*,[3] which we must be careful to distinguish from that

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1.

[2] [Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1. Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικὰς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ καρχηδόνα· πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. Compare ii. 9, καὶ (ἀριστοκρατικὸν) τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. The meaning of the latter of these passages (as to which the author expresses some doubt) is the same as of the former, viz. that at Carthage some one separate court (though doubtless sitting in distinct tribunals) decided all lawsuits, whether in the nature of civil causes, or cases of homicide, which in the ancient states were commonly left to be prosecuted by the kinsmen of the deceased; whereas at Sparta different species of lawsuits were distributed among different courts; cases of homicide being heard by the councillors, civil suits being apportioned in classes to particular ephors, cases of adoption and the marriage of heiresses belonging to the kings, etc. In Carthage every court had an universal jurisdiction: at Sparta the jurisdiction of each magistrate was limited to particular kinds of suits. The meaning of the former part of the passage translated in the text is, that in some states there is no large body of free citizens, (i. e. the commons are in the power either of a narrow hereditary oligarchy, or of the public magistrates,) nor is there a regular popular assembly, but the magistrates have the power of convening the people when they please, and lawsuits are decided not by the whole body of the people judging in rotation, (as at Athens,) but by a certain class or order of the community, κατὰ μέρος. See Arnold on Thucyd. ii. 37. *Note added to this translation.*]

[3] Aristot. ii. 11.

of *the hundred*, with which it is often confounded, although the difference is accurately marked. He compares it with the ephors of Sparta, and points out only this difference, that the latter were chosen from all classes of the people, while the hundred and four were selected from among the more powerful citizens. That this also was an aristocratic principle requires no proof; nor that the great dissimilarity in their number must have arisen from the great difference in the populousness of the two cities. From its being compared with the ephors, it is also plain that this board was a superior court for the decision of civil suits. As to its other powers, we can offer little more than conjecture. It is probable that this board contained several subdivisions or sections, to which the examination of certain classes of lawsuits was intrusted, and that the sentence was afterwards pronounced in full assembly (*in pleno*). Whether, however, to this *full assembly*, besides the *hundred and four*, all the remaining magistrates of Carthage belonged, admits of doubt.[1] Livy certainly says in one place, that the *suffetes* sat in judgment;[2] but I understand this as referring to the high tribunal of the hundred, or the *gerusia*, in which we know that they presided, and which took cognizance of treason, as did also the *gerusia* of Sparta, as we learn from the comparison of Aristotle, which is confirmed by history. That besides the board of the hundred and four, there were other courts of justice at Carthage not mentioned by Aristotle, can scarcely be doubted; but they are not known to us.

Such is the sum of our information respecting the constitution of Carthage during its flourishing period. The great rock upon which it split was the too powerful influence of wealth in procuring the highest offices of state, and, what was closely connected with it, the accumulation of many offices in one person.[3] The ties however by which the whole state was knit together were too strong for the effects of these evils to be immediately felt,—religion was one of the most important of them, and must not be left unnoticed.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the same as that of their forefathers the Phœnicians.[4] It appears, however, to

[1] Kluge, *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 168. [2] Livy, xxxiv. 61.
[3] Both are remarked by Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.
[4] See in particular the learned treatise of my friend: †Bishop D. Munter: *The Religion of the Carthaginians, the second and much improved edition, Copenhagen*, 1822, to which I refer for everything relating to religion, which does not come within the scope of the present work. But though we here speak of the religion of the southern nations, it must not be forgotten, that it here was always connected with fanaticism. How much this prevailed among the Carthaginians may be seen from the statement of Diodorus, i. p. 701, that three hundred men willingly devoted themselves to death as sacrifices.

have undergone many changes on the coast of Africa; as the Carthaginians were not at all averse to the introduction of foreign gods.[1] But that it continued substantially the same is proved by the great veneration paid by the Carthaginians to the Tyrian Hercules, to whom they sent yearly embassies and offerings, and by their adherence to ancient and sometimes cruel rites, though greatly softened by the spirit of the age.[2] The Greek and Roman writers commonly give the names of their own gods to those of the Carthaginians; and Hercules, Saturn, and Neptune were the first among them. The Carthaginian name of Hercules was *Melcart*, the tutelar deity of the city both in Carthage and Tyre; that of Saturn or Cronos, *Moloch* or *Bel*, already spoken of under the head of Babylon; but neither that of Poseidon or Neptune, nor that of Triton, both originally Libyan deities, are preserved. Besides these gods there was the goddess Astarte, frequently confounded with Aphrodite, or Venus, likewise of Phœnician origin. What objects or powers of nature were originally represented by these beings, and received the adoration of man, may be left to the learned in religious history to determine. The only question to be considered here is, whether, and how far, their religion was interwoven with the constitution and became a part of the government? Many passages show that this was the case to a considerable degree. There was, however, no distinct order of priests, or religious caste, in Carthage as there was in Egypt. Neither do we find traces of any particular sacerdotal functions being hereditary in certain families. Nor have we any information as to the degrees of dignity in the hierarchy. But the offices of the priesthood were filled by the highest persons in the state, and had outward marks of honour

[1] Thus the Carthaginians introduced the worship of Ceres from Sicily. Diodorus, i. p. 701. They sent ambassadors to the Delphic oracle, ii. p. 318.
[2] We know that the offering of human sacrifices was a native custom in Phœnicia and Carthage. According to Diodorus, ii. p. 415, it had gradually grown so much out of use, that only the children of slaves were clandestinely sacrificed; and it was only had recourse to in times of peculiar distress. The Romans, and other civilized nations of antiquity, practised it, and therefore it affords us no rule by which we can judge of their civilization. It is true that the number of human sacrifices was greater among the Carthaginians than among these nations; but what was it compared with the thousands destroyed by the Spanish Inquisition! and these not merely children, not merely offered in the times of pressing calamity, as among the Carthaginians, when man in his despair sought and hoped to find deliverance! No one I hope will consider this remark as an endeavour to defend the practice of sacrificing human beings. I only wish to show that it requires but a modification of the same idea, to bring back in different ages, and even among civilized nations, the same horrors. The further particulars upon this custom among the Carthaginians may be found collected by Munter, p. 17, etc. I place but little reliance upon later Roman writers with regard to what they relate of the more early periods. But as we read in Bowdich and others, that the custom of offering human sacrifices even now prevails in Africa to a fearful extent, must not its origin lie still deeper? May not this custom originally be in some way connected with the slave trade?

attached to them; so that some of the most important of them were not deemed unworthy the sons of their kings.[1] Among these was doubtless the priesthood of Melcart, with which the religious missions, or *Theoriæ*, to the temple of the national god at Tyre were connected.[2] Indeed the most important public affairs were so intermingled with religious ceremonies, that it seems probable that the magistrates were also priests, or at least might become so. The generals were obliged to offer sacrifices even during the time of battle.[3] Prophets accompanied the armies, without whose advice nothing could be undertaken.[4] Public monuments of the greatest enterprises were placed in the principal temples of Carthage;[5] and the foundation of sanctuaries[6] was also connected with the planting of their foreign settlements, where care was taken, as has been shown in its proper place, to introduce the religion and form of worship of the mother country.

Imperfect as this account of the Carthaginian constitution is, and must remain, it is nevertheless sufficient to show its general character. In a commercial state, depending upon a single city, little else could be expected than that the more opulent families would seize the government and form an aristocracy, of which the mainspring was the senate, which derived dignity from the splendour of its wealth and conquests, and which found its support in the mutual jealousy of its members, and the religion of the people. It was thus for a succession of centuries preserved unshaken, until after the first peace with Rome new circumstances and relations were introduced, which loosened the bands that had hitherto held the government together. How this change came to pass, and what were its consequences, will be explained in the last chapter of our inquiries respecting this republic.

CHAP. IV. *Public Revenue of Carthage.*

THE greatness and power of a conquering commercial state naturally depend in a great measure upon its finances. Of its

[1] See the account of Cartalo the son of Malchus, in Justin, lib. xvii. 7. When the worship of Ceres and Proserpine was introduced at Carthage, the principal men of the city were appointed as their priests. Diodorus, i. 171. [2] Justin, l. c.
[3] As Hamilcar did in Sicily. Diodorus, i. 699. And again, Herod. vii. 167.
[4] Diodorus, l. c. [5] Like the voyage of Hanno which was inscribed in the temple of Saturn; and also the monuments which Hamilcar, the son of Mago, erected in the colonies, and particularly in the capital. Herod. l. c. [6] As was the sanctuary of Neptune on the west coast of Africa by Hanno; and that of Hercules at New Carthage in Spain by Asdrubal.

most splendid undertakings many are altogether different from those of merely warlike nations; even its wars are carried on rather by its riches than its armies. What immense treasures Carthage must have expended in the foundation of her many colonies! And how much it must have cost her to maintain her numerous armies, almost entirely composed of mercenaries!

It would therefore be highly desirable to know whence these vast treasures flowed, the way in which they were managed, and how they were expended? But unfortunately upon these subjects we are left almost wholly in the dark. Scarcely one of the ancient writers has given us more than a few scattered hints respecting them.

Before, however, we discuss the revenue of a state, it is necessary to define accurately in what its wealth consisted, and what were its most important expenses. Gold and silver were certainly the standard of value at Carthage; money, probably of both metals, was also coined there.[1] That the possession of the rich mines which they obtained brought a considerable quantity of the precious metals into their country is certain; but their wealth consisted quite as much in the produce of their industry. It has already been shown how diligently agriculture was followed among them; and in countries so highly favoured labour must have been abundantly rewarded. Not less important was the produce of their manufacturers and artisans. Many and indeed the most important expenses of the state were of a kind that never require to be paid in the precious metals. The expenses of the government in Carthage were probably light. There, as well as in Rome, the offices of state were regarded as appointments of honour, and filled without pay. The chief expense of the nation was undoubtedly the maintenance of its fleets and armies; the latter, however, might be, and indeed, as will be shown, was effected in a great measure by payment in kind. Neither was their foreign trade

[1] Whether the Carthaginians stamped gold and silver coins is a question still doubtful. See Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vet.* iv. p. 136. We are not without coins with Punic inscriptions, some of which were coined in the Sicilian cities, Panormus for instance, under the dominion of Carthage. Yet it still remains uncertain whether any coins are extant issued by the city of Carthage herself. But that in Carthage a gold coinage was current is clear from Polybius, vol. i. p. 164, who mentions that the mercenaries should be paid with it. There is also the example of Hanno, who, after the loss of Agrigentum, was fined about six thousand pieces of gold. Diodorus, vol. ii. p. 503. But it is not probable, that a commercial city like Carthage, whose colonies coined money, should not have had any coinage herself. It may, however, be believed that the Carthaginians learned the art of coining from the Sicilian Greeks, who had brought it to the highest perfection. The Punic money extant was mostly coined in Sicilian cities. This in some degree explains, how the art might remain confined to these cities, without being exercised in the capital.

carried on entirely by means of gold and silver; but to a considerable extent, perhaps the greater part, by barter.

Up to the time of the great conquests made in Spain by Hamilcar Barca and his successors, the quantity of gold and silver, and also of coin at Carthage, was probably much less than might at first sight be supposed. These conquests were the means of increasing to a large amount the revenues and treasure of Carthage. The first peace with Rome, and the war with the mercenaries which followed, were both occasioned by want of money; a want which is never perceived after the conquests in Spain. Another circumstance also in the early history of Carthage clearly shows, if not the absolute, yet the relative want of a circulating medium composed of the precious metals.

Although the Carthaginians had in reality no paper money, or bank-notes, they had nevertheless a contrivance answering nearly the same purpose, and which existed also in some of the Greek commercial cities, as well as in some modern states,—namely, tokens. They are, indeed, in many places mentioned as a money of leather; but it is no where so clearly described as in the dialogue upon riches, attributed to Æschines the Socratic philosopher.[1] "We must look, however," says he, in the passage quoted, "to the sort of money. The Carthaginians make use of the following kind: in a small piece of leather a substance is wrapped of the size of a piece of four-drachmæ; but what this substance is no one knows except the maker. After this it is sealed and issued for circulation; and he who possesses the most of this is regarded as having the most money, and as being the wealthiest man. But if any one among us had ever so much, he would be no richer than if he possessed a quantity of pebbles." It follows from this description, that this money (which therefore by others is improperly called *leather-money*) was not, like the small coins, composed of copper or bronze, which would pass only for their intrinsic worth; but rather a representative of specie, upon which a fictitious value was bestowed in circulation, and which therefore out of Carthage was of no value. Another fact may be gathered from this description, namely, that it was only under the authority of the state that this money was stamped and issued. The seal was evidently a peculiar mark impressed by the state, and which probably showed at the same time its current value. Finally,

[1] See Æschines *Dialogi c. Fischeri*, p. 78, ed. 3, where the other passages of Plato, Aristides, etc. are collected.

it is clear from the same account that they had found means to prevent its being imitated, since the manner of preparing it remained a secret. The words, "what was contained within the leather was unknown to all except the maker," cannot reasonably be supposed to mean that they had not a general knowledge of what it was, but rather that they were ignorant of its exact material. If it were, as may be supposed, a composition of metals, their proportions remained a state secret. The great disadvantages arising from the forgery of representative money are too obvious not to call forth immediately the exercise of ingenuity as far as possible to prevent it.

The revenues of Carthage flowed from various sources, and were of various kinds; to gain, therefore, a complete knowledge of them, we must divide them into classes, and examine them in detail.

In a conquering state, with such extensive possessions, the tribute paid by dependent nations must necessarily have been a most important branch of the public revenue. They were not, however, in all parts the same; and in Africa itself the contributions paid by the cities were widely different from those of the country.[1] These towns were situated along the coast, and were mostly opulent places of trade; it is therefore natural to suppose that they paid their taxes either in money or in the precious metals. The territory of Carthage had its coast covered with a succession of towns whose number alone must have given them importance. But the largest contributions were drawn from the towns around the Lesser Syrtis, in the district of Emporia: a specimen of their value is shown in the quota of Little-Leptis,[2] that town alone paying a talent daily to the capital.[3] The amount of these taxes seem in general to have been fixed and certain; but in time of war they were so much increased, as easily to account for the disaffection of some of those towns towards Carthage.[4]

Very different was the tribute collected in the open country, and the settlements founded therein. The tribes which inhabited these regions were, as we have seen above, employed in husbandry, and, as was very natural, paid their tribute in the produce of their industry.[5] And this was also the case with the foreign provinces, especially Sardinia. Many passages prove that the tribute here was paid in kind;[6] and that a part

[1] This distinction is clearly pointed out by Polybius, vol. i. p. 179. [2] An important passage upon this will be found in Polyb. vol. iv. p. 547. [3] Livy, xxxiv. 62.
[4] An example of it is mentioned in Polyb. vol. i. p. 179. [5] Polyb. l. c.
[6] See the foregoing section upon Sardinia.

was stored up in the country for the use of the army, part sent to Carthage, where it was stowed in large magazines for the same purpose.[1] To what extent this tribute was levied in peaceable times is unknown, but examples are not wanting to prove that, in cases of need, they were raised sometimes even to half the produce.[2] Can we wonder then that the seeds of discontent should take root here; or that every insurrection and foreign invasion of the territory of Carthage should teem with so much danger to that republic?

Another principal source of the Carthaginian revenue seems to have been the customs, which were collected as well in the ports of the colonies as in those of the capital itself. In the commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome[3] still extant, the conditions under which foreigners could enter some of the Carthaginian ports are defined with great precision. We are informed by Aristotle, that in their treaties with the Etrurians, it was accurately stipulated what commodities might or might not be imported. That these duties were very heavy is proved by the contraband trade; which was very considerable between Cyrenaica and the commercial towns of Carthage.[4] Indeed, in the last period of the republic, the customs seem to have been the most important branch of the revenue. The thorough reformation of the finances which Hannibal effected at the conclusion of the second Roman war, when he was placed at the head of the government, consisted chiefly in his regulating the sea and land customs, which became so important, that without the imposition of any new tax upon individuals, they supplied all the wants of the state.[5]

A third, and perhaps in later times the most fruitful, source of the public revenue, was its mines. The Carthaginians inherited from their forefathers a propensity to seek for the precious metals; and as they succeeded them in the possession of the countries which contained them, it was natural that they should again work the mines which they there found already opened. Spain, the country in which they chiefly, if not exclusively abounded, is mentioned in our inquiries respecting the Phœnicians, and has already been spoken of in the present work. Its chain of mountains, stretching across the southern part of that kingdom, seems to have been particularly rich in metals; in gold and iron, but especially in silver. We learn

[1] Polyb. vol. i. p. 178. Appian, i. p. 435. [2] Polyb. vol. i. p. 179. [3] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 9. *Op.* ii. p. 261. [4] Strabo, p. 1193. [5] Livy, xxxiii. 47. Annibal postquam vectigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent, et in quas res erogarentur, animadvertit, etc. The words plainly show, that the vectigalia were the real customs.

also from Diodorus,[1] that the invention and ingenuity of man was brought to aid his industry in working the mines. That it was carried to a vast extent we may be assured from the statement of the same writer, that "all the mines which were known in his times were opened by the Carthaginians."[2] There must, however, have been a great difference in this respect in the period before and after the great accession of territory obtained by the victories of the family of Barca. The mines which they possessed in the infancy of their power, were probably limited to Bœtica, or the country near the Guadalquiver, the ancient colony of the Phœnicians; the mountains in the territory of Castulo, not far from Cordua, the present Sierra Morena, are celebrated for their riches;[3] but the conquests of Hamilcar Barca having been undertaken principally with a view to extend these establishments, we find, after his victories, that the richest mines lay in the neighbourhood of New Carthage, (Carthagena,) the new capital built by the Carthaginians in this European Peru. They were situated, according to the accounts of Polybius,[4] about three miles from the city, and were in his time, when the Romans had become masters of it, so considerable as to employ forty thousand slaves, and to give a daily produce estimated at twenty-five thousand drachmas.[5] A certain Aletes is said to have discovered them, and met with more gratitude from the Carthaginians than the discoverer of the mines of Potosi did from the Spaniards. A temple, next to those of Æsculapius and Vulcan, was erected to him in New Carthage, in which he was venerated as a demigod by a grateful posterity.[6]

Whom the Carthaginians employed to work these mines we are not told: whether they sent slaves there for that purpose, as the Romans did afterwards, or employed the natives who were themselves miners.[7] Probably, as the number of slaves among them was so great, they did both. Nor are we better informed to whom the mines belonged—whether to private individuals or to the state. The fact that the Carthaginians were enabled by them to pay their numerous armies and to carry on their great wars, renders it indeed probable that, to a certain degree, they were the property of the state. In oppo-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 359, etc. [2] Ibid. i. p. 360. [3] Polyb. vol. iii. p. 277. It is nevertheless remarkable, that Diodorus places the most ancient mines of Spain in the Pyrenees. Or is this only the general name for the mountains in that place?
[4] Polyb. vol. iii. p. 208. [5] About £2000. [6] Polyb. l. c.
[7] Diodorus, l. c. What Diodorus says of the slaves there who worked them, is not to be understood of the time previous to the Roman.

sition to this, however, we find examples of some of them being in the possession of the great families, who worked them for their own profit.[1]

The foregoing were the ordinary revenues of the state; but in pressing circumstances other means were resorted to. Thus we find the republic during her first war with Rome, endeavouring to procure a foreign loan; for which purpose an embassy was sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus, but failed in its object.[2] Privateering was another means which the Carthaginians sometimes had recourse to, and of which Aristotle gives us a remarkable example. "The Carthaginians having numerous mercenaries in their city, whose pay they were unable to discharge, devised the following measure: they gave notice that if any citizen or resident alien had, or wished to have, a licence to make reprisals on any foreign state or individual, he should register his name. In consequence of this, many persons having registered, they plundered with a fair pretext all ships sailing into the open sea, a time being appointed for giving an account of the prizes. A large sum of money having been thus collected, the soldiers were paid and dismissed, and a judicial inquiry was made respecting the prizes, after which a satisfaction was made from the public revenue to those who had been unjustly plundered."[3] A remarkable instance of the Carthaginian maritime law. Under the mask of reprisals a piracy was carried on, in which the state made itself the accuser, the judge, and the executioner. Might we not almost take this for the model of a prize court in modern Europe?

From this enumeration of the known sources of the revenues of Carthage, and from the little that we do know respecting this state, it may clearly be seen of how much we still remain ignorant! With regard to all that concerns the administration of the revenue, we are unfortunately left in the dark. From what we have said above of the gerusia, it appears to

[1] This is very certain so far as regards the Barcine family, from the use which they made of the Spanish treasures as bribes. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 6, remarks, that Hannibal derived a large income from one of his mines. [2] Appian, i. p. 92. They requested two thousand talents (about £400,000); Ptolemy refused it, but offered his mediation. He stood in a friendly relation with Rome as well as with Carthage, and a loan to either of the states would probably have been regarded as a breach of his neutrality. [3] Aristot. *Op.* vol. ii. p. 384. [In the passage of the Œconomics referred to, (ii. 2, 10,) the author has been deceived by the reading of the common editions Καρχηδόνιοι, instead of the right reading Καλχηδόνιοι, which Schneider has restored from the Leipsig manuscript. The words, which after the German have been rendered "into the open sea," evidently signify "into the Euxine sea," (εἰς τὸν Πόντον,) at the mouth of which Chalcedon was situated. The whole narration is therefore inapplicable. See Schneider's notes on the passage, and Gaisford on Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 12, 18. *Note added to this translation.*]

have had the general direction of the public revenue; we may also venture to regard it as more than probable that one of the pentarchies, with a magistrate at its head, whom the Romans called *quæstor*, formed a board for its immediate management. But how many questions still remain which we either cannot answer at all, or at best only by conjecture! Before whom did the managers lay their accounts? Who fixed the taxes; was it the people, or, as seems most probable, the senate? But it is better to confess our ignorance than to advance empty conjectures. Even the little that might be deduced from the passage of Livy already mentioned[1] would only perhaps lead us to false conclusions; since he only speaks of *abuses*, from which we cannot infer the state of things during the flourishing period of the republic.

CHAP. V. *Of the Navigation and Maritime Commerce of Carthage.*

THE situation of Carthage appears to have determined both the general course and extent of her commerce. It consisted of a land and sea trade. The following chapter will be dedicated to the former; the present will be devoted to the discussion of the latter.

The groundwork for our researches on this subject has already been laid in the accounts which we have given of the foreign possessions and settlements of the Carthaginians. If it be true, as we have shown it to be in treating of the Phœnicians, that it is the genius of all great maritime nations to make their colonies the principal seats of their trade, the same might naturally be expected to hold of the Carthaginians. The peculiarities, however, in the relations of Carthage with her colonies, which have already been developed, will explain some deviations from this general principle, which would otherwise seem extraordinary. Every individual who has discovered a profitable branch of industry, endeavours as much as possible to keep his discovery secret; it seems then natural that states, with so much greater means in their power, should have a similar feeling. That jealousy, therefore, which exists in trading communities, is not the effect of a refinement in general politics, but springs up with the first efforts of com-

[1] Livy, xxxiii. 45, 46.

merce; hence we may expect to find that the ancient states devised various plans for securing a monopoly of trade. By no other trading people of antiquity do we find this policy carried to a greater length than by the Carthaginians; no other, indeed, could maintain its colonies in such strict dependence; an advantage which enabled her to keep her trade so entirely to herself, and to preserve it for so long a time.

If we still possessed copies of that succession of alliances and treaties which Carthage concluded with foreign powers, we should be able still more distinctly to trace the principles of her commercial policy. From the fragments, however, which are left, we clearly see that she was too selfish to allow of foreign participation where it could be avoided, although she was at times sufficiently yielding to give up a part rather than risk the whole.

The city of Carthage was the capital and mistress of the state, and the people or citizens of Carthage the ruling body. The colonies, on the contrary, served merely as staples for trade, planted on foreign coasts. Hence the maxim naturally arose to make the capital the centre of commerce, and to prohibit its colonies from trading further than was consistent with the interest of the capital. This will at once show the motive which led Carthage to those jealous restrictions imposed upon her colonies; and will account for the remarkable fact, that no instance occurs of one of them ever becoming a great commercial city. Had the parent city allowed these the exercise of a free trade, it would have been impossible for her to have prevented their rise, or to have maintained her authority over them.

The harbours of the capital were open to the vessels and merchants of foreign nations, according to the treaties entered into respecting them; to all the remaining ports in the territory of the republic in Africa admission was either altogether forbidden, or rendered extremely difficult. To those places alone where a competition in trade could not be prevented, as in Sicily, was access permitted to foreigners; but in such cases only under very severe restrictions. Foreign trade was carried on under the inspection of the government; officers were appointed to superintend it, and the money due to the seller was guaranteed by the state.[1]

[1] Proofs of this remark are contained in the first two treaties with Rome, already often mentioned. From them it is evident that the gulf in which Carthage lay, as well as all the rich and fertile eastern coast belonging to it, was altogether prohibited to the Romans.

However selfish this policy may appear, it is not unexampled in modern times; but among the Carthaginians there existed special reasons for adopting it.

First, the greater part of their trade being carried on with barbarous nations, consisted in barter; and here competition is most to be dreaded. So long as the savage is kept in ignorance, he is ready to exchange his goods for the merest trifles, because he knows not their true value; but every rival opens his eyes by offering him double, nay, sometimes tenfold, for his commodities. To allow free trade to their colonies, and open their ports to foreigners, was, in other words, to destroy their own market.

Again, Africa and Sardinia were the granaries whence Carthage drew food for her numerous armies. The less, therefore, the other countries on the Mediterranean cultivated their lands, the greater must have been the disadvantage to the republic of a free trade, and of course a free exportation of corn.

We may then fairly conclude, that the policy of Carthage, however paltry and selfish it may seem in a general point of view, was imposed upon her by circumstances. I shall now take a survey of the principal branches of her maritime commerce; premising only a few remarks upon the manner in which it was carried on.

The Pœnulus of Plautus shows[1] how usual it was among the maritime nations of antiquity, when commerce by commission was yet in its infancy or altogether unknown, for the merchant not only to trade in his own vessels, but even to carry his wares from place to place. This seems to have been the case with the Carthaginians, and in some degree proves, that their ruling families could scarcely apply themselves to commerce. These voyages of the merchant rendered some arrangement necessary for his reception among strangers; and this led the Carthaginians to adopt a law or alliance of hospitality in use among the Greeks, as the form of that people was most current among the Greek cities. This was sometimes practised by individuals towards individuals, and sometimes by whole cities towards individuals. It was customary for men to exchange certain *tokens*, the production of which secured them the rights of hospitality; and it is in this manner that the Carthaginian merchant in Plautus shows his token of hospitality

[1] Act V. Sc. 2, v. 54, etc. The patriotism and national pride which Plautus, judging from the translation of Bellermans, attributes to the Carthaginian merchant should not pass unnoticed.

at Calydon in Ætolia.[1] This was also frequently the case in many other Greek cities of the mother-country, but more especially in the colonies.

Notwithstanding Carthage preserved a close correspondence with her parent state, and notwithstanding the intercourse which she maintained with Greece, with Egypt—especially in the time of the Ptolemies,—and with Cyrene, she seems never to have had much share in the commerce of the eastern part of the Mediterranean: the competition here was perhaps too great, or perhaps she had not a sufficient number of colonies in this quarter; though her trade with the parent state, so long as that maintained its splendour, could not have been inconsiderable. To counterbalance this, Carthage coveted the exclusive possession of the commerce of the western Mediterranean; and although the jealousy of many powerful rivals in Massilia, Italy, and Sicily, prevented her obtaining it, she nevertheless bent the whole force of her policy to preserve her station among them; and probably obtained more by this means than by outward force her decided superiority over them.

Sicily and Southern Italy were the first points to which her navigation was directed. Carthaginian merchants had settled in Syracuse, as well as in other Greek cities, whose harbours were always full of their ships.[2] These fertile countries found Carthage the best market for their commodities, especially for their oil and wine, both of which they produced of an excellent quality;[3] and this the rather because the Carthaginians could advantageously dispose of the wine in Cyrene, where they exchanged it for silphium, a contraband article.[4] Vineyards are mentioned as having been cultivated in some parts of ancient Africa,[5] and olives flourished, at least in the Carthaginian territory; they were not however sufficiently abundant to supply the great consumption, especially of the armies, though they might perhaps have sufficed for the wants of the capital. Had Carthage ever obtained the entire possession of Sicily, this trade alone would have indemnified her for all her expenses; the immense wealth which it gave to the towns of Sicily and Italy is sufficiently known.

[1] l. c. v. 85.
———Si ita est, tesseram
Conferre si vis hospitalem: eccam attuli.
The words of the Carthaginian merchant. The *tessera hospitalis* of Malta, still extant, does not bear upon our subject, as it was sent by the Greek city in this island, to a Greek in Syracuse. See the explanation in Bres, *Malta Antica*, p. 192, etc.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 678. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 606. [4] Strabo, p. 1193.
[5] Diodorus, l. xx. ii. p. 411. Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 55, ed. *Huds.*

That an active commerce existed between Carthage and the other nations of Italy, the Etrurians and Romans, is shown by the many commercial treaties contracted by them.[1] A great part of these related to the suppression of *piracy*, at that time carried on by all maritime nations, but particularly by the Romans and Etrurians. This not only increased the kidnapping of slaves, then in general use, but was so little thought of, that unless express treaties to the contrary had been made, it was not even regarded as an act of hostility. The Romans expressly engaged in their commercial treaties not to plunder on the coast of Carthage; and the Carthaginians engaged to spare the coast of Italy belonging to the Romans and Latins: they were not to retain the towns there not subject to the Romans, although they had taken and pillaged them; and prisoners captured could not be brought into Roman sea-ports for sale, as every free Roman had the privilege of reclaiming them as free persons.[2] So variously are modified the principles of national law in different ages.

The Etrurians appear to have been in general rather pirates than merchants. But when their maritime cities are mentioned, it is not so much the cities of Etruria Proper as their colonies in the south of Italy that are meant. Etruria Proper never possessed any known harbour except Populonum; all its great cities were in the interior, consequently, navigation could never have been its principal pursuit. This nation, however, had not only extended itself over the south of Italy, but also over the smaller islands in the Mediterranean. All their great expeditions, if we believe the express testimony of Polybius, were fitted out from their cities in Southern Italy;[3] and the little islands, especially those of Liparæ, served as stations for privateering squadrons.

The articles of commerce which the Carthaginians gave in exchange, were black slaves from the interior of Africa, who, from the earliest times, were highly esteemed in Italy and Greece,[4] precious stones, gold, and Carthaginian manufactures. The inhabitants of Italy bartered for these the product of their soil and industry, which have been already mentioned.

Malta, even in the times of Scylax, as well as the neighbouring islands of Gaulos and Lampedusa, was inhabited by Carthaginians,[5] and had, even thus early, risen to distinction by its

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. cap. 6. [2] Polyb. vol. i. p. 438. [3] Ibid. i. p. 260.
[4] Terent. *Eunuch.* i. 2. [5] Scylax, p. 50. Gaulos is the present Gozzo.

trade and manufactures. It was celebrated in antiquity for the beautiful cloths which it produced, equally distinguished for their fineness and their softness.[1] As the cotton-tree is a native of this island[2] it can scarcely be doubted that this was the material of which these fabrics were composed. They formed an important article in the trade with the African tribes.

Lipara and the adjoining islands were also soon brought under the Carthaginian yoke, and their produce also helped to enrich their conquerors. Its most valuable article of commerce was resin, which was exported to many parts: upon this and the well-frequented hot-baths the prosperity of these islands chiefly depended. Diodorus informs us that on one of the smaller islands the Carthaginians, during the war with Syracuse, exposed a number of mutinous mercenaries to perish with hunger.[3]

Corsica produced an abundance of wax and honey; its slaves were esteemed superior to all others.[4]

The small island of Æthalia, the present Elba, was very early celebrated for its inexhaustible stores of iron, whence the fable arose that the ores grew again.[5] It was refined upon the island in large furnaces, and in that state exported by the merchants, or manufactured into various implements.[6]

The Balearic Islands, Majorca and Minorca, although their inhabitants were perhaps not entirely dependent upon Carthage, were yet of great importance to her commerce. The uncivilized natives, probably taught by the example of the neighbouring countries, refused absolutely to permit either gold or silver among them; this, however, offered no obstacle to a profitable traffic being carried on by barter. Their indulgence in sensual pleasures made wine and female slaves always saleable among them; so that even the mercenary troops who served in the Carthaginian armies were ready at any time to exchange their pay for these articles.[7] Fruit and beasts of burden, especially mules, of which a very beautiful kind was bred here, were their native product. The neighbourhood of Spain, only one day's sail distant, made these islands the best station for carrying on a commerce with that country, and of course increased their value.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 339.

[2] Three sorts of cotton are now cultivated at Malta: that of Siam, that of the Antilles, and the native. They are manufactured on the island, especially at Gozzo. *Modern Picture of Malta*, vol. iii. p. 9. The old capital of Melita, the present *Città Vecchia*, is in the centre of the island. The woven goods of Carthage were in general very celebrated. Polemon, a Greek, wrote a separate treatise on the subject: περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πέπλων, Athen. xii. p. 541.

[3] Diodorus, l. c.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Aristot. *Mirab.* p. 194, ed. *Beckm.*

[6] Diodorus, i. p. 340.

[7] Diodorus, i. p. 343, 344. He estimates the number of inhabitants at thirty thousand. The demand for female slaves was such, that the price of a woman was three or four times greater than that of a man.

That Spain, so rich in natural productions, was always one of the most profitable places to which Carthaginian vessels traded, that its mines formed one of the principal sources of the Carthaginian revenue, and that the intercourse maintained with the tribes of Spain, as well Phœnician as native, was of great importance to the republic of Carthage, has already been shown. The inhabitants of this country had attained just that degree of civilization which made them acquainted with foreign commodities, and led them to covet their possession, without having taught them the art of manufacturing for themselves. The Carthaginians must therefore have found here a ready sale for their manufactures; especially as their connexions, proved by the number of Spanish troops in their pay, extended over all the peninsula. Besides this, Carthage seems to have carried on, across Spain, a trade with the ruder Gauls; and in this way because she had not a single colony on their coast, and the Massilians would scarcely permit their vessels, except under heavy restrictions, to enter their harbours. The early intercourse of Carthage with Gaul is proved by the great number of mercenary troops which she had from that country, who, in the very earliest period, fought in her armies; and likewise by her jealousy of Massilia, which she so much wished to destroy.

Their ancestors, the Phœnicians, had already opened the way for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and they continued and extended the trade begun by these navigators. Respecting the boundaries of the Phœnician and Carthaginian trade so much has been written, conjectured, and fabled, that not only the judicious historical inquirer, but even the boldest lover of hypothesis, could scarcely add anything new. If indeed all the geographical obscurities could be completely cleared up, it would still be impossible to separate the enterprises of the proper Phœnicians from those of the Carthaginians, beyond what a general determination of the time will allow; since neither of these nations were distinguished in ancient times by their proper names. This particularly applies to their navigation along the European coast; the accounts respecting their exertions in the west of Africa are much more accurately determined.

The republic had a number of colonies on the western coast of Spain, and maintained an intimate connexion with Gades.[1] This circumstance alone would show that their ships were wont to visit the western coast of Europe, even if the tin and amber trade, in which they took a part, did not prove it beyond contradiction. What I have to say on the subject is thrown together in the following remarks, in which I neither seek to contradict nor defend the opinions of others.

First, when we speak of tin we mean by it that metal, which among the Greeks was called *cassiteros*. That this metal was the same as our tin is a fact, which, according to the judgment of mineralogists, cannot indeed be denied, although it cannot be proved with scientific accuracy, as is also the case with many other productions of the ancient world, of which the classical writers have not given us technical definitions. When, however, we consider that the same countries which produced *cassiteros* produce tin, but no other metal of similar value or quality, and that the little said of it by ancient writers does not at all contradict the supposition of its identity with that metal, there seems every probability that it really was such. The further investigation, however, of this question, does not belong to my subject, and I willingly refer the reader to another writer who has examined it with all the accuracy which the scanty accounts will permit.[2]

Further, this metal, which I may now be permitted to call tin, was, according to the express evidence of antiquity, found in various countries of western Europe: first, in the north of Spain;[3] secondly, in Britain; and again, in the islands called from it *Cassiterides*, which, though all the circumstances mentioned by the ancients do not agree, can be no other than the Scilly Islands.[4] I am ignorant whether tin is still found there; but in former times they produced not only tin but also lead,[5] though they derived their name from the former, of which they were the principal market; for the tin which was raised in Britain was carried to the small islands lying off the Land's End, accessible to wagons at the time of ebb tide.[6] That such

[1] See above, chap. ii. p. 44.
[2] Beckmann's *History of Inventions*. It is here first shown, that the Latin *stannum* may be different from the κασσίτερος. The former is what in the German smelting houses is called *werk*, the latter is the *plumbum album* of the Romans. Pliny, xxxiv. 17, etc. The writer thinks it probable that *cassiteros* was tin, without attempting strictly to prove it. Some chemical inquiry upon ancient works of art, it is to be hoped, will lead us to certainty.
[3] Strabo, p. 219. [4] Mannert, vol. i. p. 412. [5] Strabo, 265.
[6] Diodorus, i. p. 347. He here mentions the island *Irtica;* probably now become a part of the mainland, or may it not perhaps be *Bresan?*

small islands were the usual emporiums and marts of the Carthaginians will be presently confirmed by another example.

Finally, with respect to the course of this trade, we are told by Strabo, that in early times it was carried on from Gades by the Phœnicians.[1] It seems therefore that the part which the Carthaginians at first took in it, was only that of carriers; though, from their usual manner of trade, and the extent of their navigation, it is probable that they sailed directly to the countries which produced this metal. Upon this particular, however, we can fortunately speak with certainty, as Avienus has preserved an account of it from Himilcon's voyage.[2] The *Æstrymnian* islands (as he calls the Cassiterides by their earliest, probably Phœnician, name) abound in tin and lead. Their numerous inhabitants are proud and ingenious, and devote themselves entirely to commerce, gliding over the sea in their frail canoes, formed not of wood but of hides. In two days' sail from them is the *sacred island*, inhabited by the nation of Hibernians; but the island of the Albiones is close at hand. The Tartessians were the first traders to the Æstrymnian islands, though the colonies and the people of Carthage about the Pillars of Hercules navigate these seas: the voyage, as Himilcon informs us, taking four months; he himself having attempted and proved it. This passage throws much light upon the extent and manner of this trade. It was principally the Tartessians, that is, the Phœnician colonists in Spain, and above all in Gades, who performed these voyages. Carthage, however, and her settlements also, took an active part, and Himilcon himself had stretched his course, whether for trade or discovery, to the same place. It is easy to account for its taking four months, as we learn from his own narrative that it was a coasting voyage, and that the progress of the vessel was often obstructed by sea weeds, no one daring to stretch out into the open main. The Cassiterides, or Scilly Islands, were certainly the object; but the intercourse with them comprised also the neighbouring Hibernia and Albion, the inhabitants of the Cassiterides frequenting those islands in their canoes. It is not, however, probable that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians failed to visit them. From what Strabo says, it may be inferred that an active commerce existed on the British coast, as he informs us that the manners of its native tribes were rendered milder

[1] Strabo, p. 265. By Phœnicians we must here understand, as is shown by the context, Carthaginians and Gaditani. [2] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 95—125 and 375, etc. See a translation in the Appendix.

by their long and frequent intercourse with strangers; from which statement it is probable that the Carthaginians had settlements on the British coast, without which a long stay there would have been scarcely possible. The commerce here, as well as in the Scilly Islands, was carried on by barter. Earthenware, salt, and iron tools, were the commodities with which the merchants supplied them:[1] the trade, however, till the time of the Romans, was kept by the Carthaginians as secret as possible; although they were not successful in keeping away all competitors. The way which the Phœnicians found out by sea the Massilians found out by land, along the shore as far as the British Channel; and conveyed this metal, so much in request, across Gaul to their own city on the mouth of the Rhone, a journey of thirty days.[2]

The geographical statements of the ancients thus far, are so precise, that I really see no well-grounded objection to the above remarks. The case, however, is widely different when we approach the amber trade (*electrum*). A detailed inquiry into this subject would require a distinct treatise, which will scarcely be expected here; and even that could only end in mere conjecture. Every circumstance respecting it was so mystified by fable, that the whole has become enveloped in an obscurity which was never completely penetrated, even at the time when the clearest information was obtained respecting the tin islands. This fact alone shows that the country in which amber abounded, was more remote than that which produced tin. It is, however, incorrect to confine this trade to a single place; as from the accounts of Pliny it plainly appears that amber was a native of many countries or islands (for the whole Scandinavian region was formerly thought to consist of islands) in the north of Europe.[3] I see no reason then, always bearing in mind that we are still confining ourselves to a coasting navigation, why that daring nation, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed from Tyre to Britain, might not also have reached the Samlandic coast, the native country of amber, as many traces, though certainly of a dubious nature, seem to attest. But let no one, whilst exploring this field, attempt to affix a determinate application to, and explain every obscure hint in the ancient writers. He who endeavours to elicit rigid historical truth out of fabulous geography, pursues a phantom which will always elude his grasp. The ancient river Eridanus

[1] Strabo, l. c. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 348. [3] Pliny, iv. 13. Compare Diod. i. p. 348.

was entirely fictitious, and existed only in the tradition of the vulgar, and the imagination of poets. I see not what can be gained whether we take it for the Rhine or the Raduna. Its name may signify either one or the other.

The navigation of Carthage on the western coast of Africa has already been proved in the account of the colonies founded there. We have only now to consider its course, and in what manner the Carthaginians turned these colonies to advantage.

The colonies of the republic known to us, reaching as far as the island of Cerne, were all planted on the coast of Morocco and Fez. A commercial intercourse with the neighbouring African tribes was the purpose for which they were all founded; but the great mart was the island of Cerne. The merchant vessels of Carthage here anchored to unlade their goods; tents were pitched upon the island; and light vessels conveyed their wares to the continent. The inhabitants of this part of the coast were a dark pastoral race, with long hair; remarkable for the beautiful symmetry of their figure; the tallest among them they elected as king. They delighted in finery, and were all expert riders and bowmen. The trade was carried on by barter. The Carthaginians brought various kinds of finery for the women, and harness for the horses, cups, large earthen vessels, wine, and Egyptian linen. They received in exchange elephants' teeth, and hides of tame and savage beasts. There is even a town of this people mentioned; from which we may conclude that at least a part of them had forsaken the nomad life.[1]

To these branches of commerce may be added, as we learn from another source, a profitable fishery.[2] The fish was salted and conveyed to Carthage, where it became so highly esteemed, that its exportation was prohibited.

Beyond this, said the Carthaginians, it was impossible to sail. The sea becomes so full of shallows, and so covered with floating weeds, that navigation is obstructed.[3] Can it however be believed, that the Carthaginians stopped short on this poor coast, and discovered not the way to the rich gold countries which are found about the Senegal? They could hardly in-

[1] Scylax, p. 54. Were these Taurics? Every particular agrees with them.
[2] The species of fish was called *thynnus*, in the present system *scomber thynnus*. See Aristot. *de Mirab.* cap. 148, with Beckmann's note.
[3] Scylax, l. c. These floating weeds, *fucus natans*, or *sargossa*, are still found, in the manner described by the ancients, about the Canary Islands; and among them there are usually a great number of fish. See Beckmann, as before cited.

deed be blamed if their jealousy had been successful in keeping this secret from the world: it has, however, been betrayed.

Even Hanno's voyage of discovery, as has been already shown, extended to the Senegal and Gambia. But it was a mere voyage of discovery. The rudeness of the inhabitants prevented him from entering into trade. But that deep inquirer, Herodotus, whose thirst of information led him to discover so much, discovered the secret of the gold trade.

"The Carthaginians state," says he,[1] "that they are wont to sail to a nation beyond the Pillars of Hercules on the Libyan coast. When they come there, they transport their wares on shore, where they leave them, and after kindling a fire go back to their ships. Upon this signal the natives come down to the sea, and placing gold against the wares, again retire. The Carthaginians then again approach, and see whether what they have left be sufficient. If it be, they take it and depart; should it, however, not be enough for their wares, they again go back to their ships and wait; and the other party bring more gold until the strangers are satisfied. But neither party deals unfairly by the other; for the one touches not the gold till the value of the wares be brought, nor the other the wares until the gold be taken away."

Herodotus has frequently been accused of credulity till successive centuries have established his authenticity, and such is the case here. We certainly knew not till now his perfect accuracy respecting this dumb trade; which is proved to be carried on in the gold countries about the Niger.

"The inhabitants of Morocco," says Hoest,[2] "send usually, once a year, a caravan to the frontiers of Guinea, namely, to Tombuctoo, where they exchange tobacco, salt, raw wool, woollen cloths, silk stuffs, and linen of all sorts, for gold dust, negroes, and ostrich feathers. This caravan is composed of some hundreds of camels, the greater part of which carry nothing but water, as on that side of Suz not a drop is to be found for twenty days' journey.[3] They report that the Moors enter not into the negro country, but only go to a certain place on the frontiers, where one of each party exhibits and exchanges

[1] Herod. iv. cap. 196.

[2] Hoest, p. 279. A mutual ignorance of the language of the other nation is the natural cause of a trade such as this. But a dumb trade, carried on merely by signs, is not very uncommon in the East, as we learn from the account of the great fairs in Arabia Felix.

[3] It is that most terrible of all the caravan routes, which passes over that most dreadful of all the African deserts, Zuenziga. The Carthaginians seem not to have ventured across it, but to have preferred the dangers of the sea.

the goods, without scarcely opening their lips." Captain Lyon, again, the latest traveller in this quarter, brings an account from the very heart of Africa in almost the very words of Herodotus. In Soudan, beyond the desert, in the countries abounding in gold, there dwells, as Lyon was told, an invisible nation, who are said to trade only by night. Those who come to traffic for their gold, lay their merchandise in heaps, and retire. In the morning they find a certain quantity of gold dust placed against every heap, which if they think sufficient, they leave the goods; if not, they let both remain until more of the precious ore is added.[1]

The slight variation in these circumstances may be accounted for from the places not being exactly the same; as the Carthaginians did not go by land, as the inhabitants of Morocco and Fez do, but by water. Can, however, proofs more conclusive be offered of the connexion of Carthage with those gold countries, her trade with which was perhaps much more important and profitable to her than might be inferred from the passage of Herodotus. To seek out and to keep secret the discovery of countries abundant in metal was also quite agreeable to the genius of Phœnician policy. The danger of rivals and the desire of concealment being always proportioned to the richness of the country.

The port of Gades must be regarded as the chief place, and as the new starting-point for all these distant voyages. Gades was adapted for the navigation of the ocean, whose boundless expanse seemed to dare the hardy adventurer to the discovery of what lay beyond. Whether Phœnician or Carthaginian ever reached that point, whether one of their ships was ever driven to America, are questions which curiosity has often asked, and which it has answered according to its own fancy. But he who fairly surveys the character of ancient navigation, which, however extended, was always confined to the coasts, will believe in no intentional voyage across the trackless ocean: should however a doubt still remain, we have the evidence of a Carthaginian mariner and adventurer;[2] that

> Beyond the pillars lies an open sea;
> It stretches far, as Himilcon has said;
> Yet no one saw it, or guided his ship thereto;

[1] *Narrative*, p. 149.

[2] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 380—384.

> Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
> Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
> Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta
> Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit.

but that they navigated the coasts to a very wide extent cannot, after the foregoing inquiries, be doubtful.

CHAP. VI. *The Land Trade of Carthage.*

THE navigation and maritime commerce of Carthage have hitherto alone occupied the attention of historians. But that this opulent republic carried on an extensive trade by land, and kept up an intercourse with the inner nations of Africa, seems not to have been suspected; and yet it would have been a remarkable phenomenon if the active spirit of speculation which prevailed in this commercial state, had in this point alone been blind to the advantages of its situation.

Here, however, we advance into a region over which every thing conspires to throw a veil of the deepest mystery. Africa, in its interior, is the least known of any quarter of the globe, and, perhaps, fortunately for its inhabitants, will long remain so. Of the great empires which it contains, we know scarcely even the names; and the numerous caravans which yearly traverse it have added little to our stock of information.

The caravan trade of Carthage seems, besides, to have been one of its state secrets. The jealous merchants were so silent, that it remained concealed even from the historians who wrote upon Carthage. We cannot, therefore, venture to hope for more than scanty and obscure information: indeed, we must have been satisfied with bare conjecture if Herodotus had not discovered and betrayed the secret. He alone conducts us across the deserts of Libya, from the Nile to the Niger, and thence to the dominions of Carthage. Before, however, we set out upon these journeys through the deserts, let me be allowed to premise a few remarks upon the internal trade of Africa in general, without which what follows could scarcely be understood.

The commerce of inner Africa is confined in a great measure to commodities either belonging to the first wants of life, or else to those upon which men place so much store, in consequence of their serving as the standard of value, that they readily bid defiance to the greatest dangers in order to obtain them. To the first belong dates, salt, and what from the constitution of society in the ancient world was one of its principal necessaries,—slaves. To the latter, gold in grains or dust.

The slave trade, over which true philosophy in the present day has gained her latest and most glorious victory, is as old in Africa as history reaches back. Among the ruling nations on the north coast, the Egyptians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, slavery was not only established, but they imported whole armies of slaves, proofs of which will presently be given, partly for home use, and partly, at least by the latter, to be shipped off to foreign markets. These wretched beings were chiefly drawn from the interior, where kidnapping was just as much carried on then as it is at present. Black male and female slaves were even an article of luxury, not only among the above-mentioned nations, but even in Greece and Italy; and as the allurement to this traffic was on this account so great, the unfortunate negro race had, even thus early, the wretched fate to be dragged into distant lands under the galling yoke of bondage.

Salt is another commodity of the trade of inner Africa; and perhaps, as it is the most indispensable, it may be deemed the most important. Salt-pits, it is true, are found on the northern coasts, but it is otherwise with the fertile and thickly-peopled districts beyond the great desert, about the Niger, and to the south of that river. These are entirely destitute of salt either in mines or springs,[1] while nature has established immense magazines of this useful mineral in the great barren waste. These are sometimes in salt-lakes, which, dried up by the summer heat, leave behind a vast quantity of salt, covering extensive patches of the earth; sometimes in large beds or layers, which frequently extend for many miles and rise in hills; and sometimes, where these are covered by the earth, pits and mines are formed both of white and coloured salt.[2] The swarthy race, therefore, dwelling about the Niger, are obliged either to fetch this commodity themselves in numerous caravans, or it is brought them by foreign merchants, who take gold-dust or other wares in exchange. A scarcity of salt often arises in Kashna and Tombuctoo, as a famine does in Europe. The price of salt at these times increases to such a pitch, that Leo Africanus saw an ass's load sold at Tombuctoo for eighty ducats.[3] Thus nature compels mankind to a mutual intercourse, by endowing even the desert with articles necessary for human existence.

[1] Leo, p. 260. Dapper, p. 320. *Proceedings*, etc. p. 237. [2] Hornemann, p. 10, 20, 82. Leo Afric. p. 224. Lyon, *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 205, 211. [3] Leo, p. 250.

A third great article in the interior trade of Africa is dates. The tree which bears this fruit is one of the family of palms, and is well known as the date-palm. The fruit, which contains one single large kernel, has a sweetish taste, and is mealy. As we are acquainted with the bread tree, and its great use in the South-Sea Islands, we are the better able to comprehend the value of the date-palm: what the former is for those islands the latter is for a great part of Africa. Its fruit serves the inhabitants in general for food; in the ancient world as well as in the modern, it underwent a preparation by which it might be preserved for some time; out of its sap is made a liquor whose intoxicating power supplies the place of wine; it serves also as food for cattle, and goats are fattened with its bruised kernels.[1]

Dates, however, are not to be found in every part of Africa. The same bountiful Nature which gives her treasures to the sandy wilderness, has planted the date-palm in the midst of those habitable regions, where the barrenness of the soil prevents the growth of corn. All those countries bordering on the north side of the great desert between 29 and 26° north latitude, which the Arabians comprise under the name of Biledulgerid, as well as many fertile patches in the great waste itself, are the native districts of the date tree. In other places they are found less plentifully, or not at all. Here, however, they are the necessary substitute for grain. Every year, in October, the great harvest begins, whose productiveness creates as much anxious attention as we feel a few months earlier for the corn harvest.[2]

From these districts this fruit is carried over the greater part of Africa, even as far as the Negro countries about the Niger, and the lands beyond that river. But above all to the inhabitants of the desert, where it is indispensable. These tribes form numerous caravans which journey to Biledulgerid, where they exchange the produce of their flocks for this necessary of life; while the agricultural Arab barters for it the superfluity of his corn.

The last great article of the inner trade of Africa is gold, and particularly gold dust, or rather gold grains. It is not, however, according to the common notion, collected in the

[1] Leo, p. 31, 235. According to more recent travellers, the palm wine is not made of the sap of the tree, but of its fruit. Rennel, *Expedition of Cyrus*, p. 120. Perhaps preparations of both exist.

[2] Leo, p. 31, who is also my authority for the following statements. His accounts are confirmed by the latest travellers, Hornemann, Lyon, etc. The date harvest, however, falls at very different times in different years. Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 39.

sandy desert. Gold is only found in Africa, as in all other places, in the bosom of mountains. From these it is sometimes dug, though we do not know that any artificial mine-works are made use of; sometimes it is washed down by the violence of the mountain torrents during the rainy season, and when these have passed away it is separated from the sand by a very simple process.[1]

In the north of Africa, on this side the desert, little or no gold is to be found. It is the countries beyond it, and especially the districts to the south of the Niger, upon which this perilous gift is bestowed. And although common report may have exaggerated the truth, the riches of the earth must here be immense.

The gold countries with which we are at present acquainted, and of which Bambuk is the most considerable, lie in the Kong mountains, a chain which stretches itself right across Africa. It appears highly probable that this chain abounds every where in gold; as we can see no reason why its riches should be limited to one small district. But even in these countries, as in Bambuk, no artificial means have been adopted for working the mines.[2] The inhabitants understand no method beyond the simple one of digging pits, which, without danger of falling in, cannot be carried lower than forty feet; and although the treasures of the soil begin to appear at this depth, the principal veins must certainly lie deeper. Nevertheless, the produce is considerable; and the quantity of this metal is so great among many of the inland negro nations, that the common utensils of their kings are made of it.[3] The early accounts respecting them, which it has been usual to regard as exaggerated, have been completely confirmed by the latest travellers in their description of the Ashantees, their capital, and the court of their monarch.

Gold dust, therefore, is the common payment which the Moorish merchants receive for their goods. This has always

[1] *Description de la Nigritie*, p. 140, 141.

[2] Respecting Bambuk, compare Golberry's *Fragments of a Voyage in Africa*, vol. i. chap. 10, 11, where also the attempts made, some time ago, in France, to procure these treasures, are described and examined.

[3] "A hundred miles inland from fort Mina is found a negro nation, the *Argentais*, among whom gold is so plentiful that the doors of the king's house are covered with it, and in the market the merest trifle is bought for gold." *Descrip. de la Nigr.* p. 142. These Argentais, from the place of their abode, could be no other than the *Ashantees*, (whose name is only mistaken,) with whom we are become better acquainted since Bowdich's *Mission*. His account completely confirms that of the French work just quoted. Compare the brilliant spectacle which the king and his court formed at his presentation; where the sight is almost overpowered by the splendour and quantity of the gold, of which not merely the ornaments but the greater part of the utensils were composed. Bowdich's *Mission to Ashantee*. Bowdich also expressly confirms the fact, that in the market of the capital, Kumassi, the usual payments are made in gold dust. p. 330.

been the loadstone which drew them from the north of Africa; —this alone inspired them with sufficient courage to brave the terrors of the desert;—and the great attraction of this metal accounts for the high antiquity of this commercial intercourse.

Nature having thus, by the distribution of her bounties, invited the nations of Africa to a mutual intercourse, has also, to a certain degree, prescribed the way by which it should be carried on. The great distance which the countries lie apart, the vast deserts and the hordes of robbers wandering about them, render travelling here altogether impracticable to single traders; it is only in numerous companies that these perils can be overcome; consequently the inner trade of Africa must always have been a caravan trade. But among the many consequences resulting from this particular mode of trading, there is one to which it necessarily leads. I mean that of rendering it the affair of whole nations to an extent beyond what could take place in European commerce. The nomad life, and the possession of the camel, an animal so particularly adapted for it, seem to have induced certain nations to devote themselves almost entirely to this trade, which they carry on partly on their own account, and partly as mere carriers. Great caravans are thus formed by them, in which whole tribes, or the greater portion of them, often take part. The civilization of these nations, and with them that of inner Africa in general, has therefore, in a great measure, depended upon this trade, the importance of which, in this respect, will be more clearly pointed out in the portion of this work devoted to the Ethiopians and Egyptians. Its great staples, and the routes by which it has been carried on, cannot, from the nature of the country, have been subject to many changes. It is reasonable to suppose that where the course of a trade lies through immense deserts, the commodities to be transported will naturally be collected in the countries on the borders, and the business connected with it will there centre and accumulate. This sufficiently accounts for the fact that particular districts in Africa, in spite of violent or gradual revolutions, have always remained places of commerce. The routes through the deserts are also unchangeably fixed by Nature. Had she not interposed in the midst of them fertile oases to refresh with their springs and their palms the wearied traveller, the difficulties of the way would have been insurmountable. How could a journey of several months have been performed when encumbered with

a necessary supply of water; and where could be found beasts of burden strong enough to support this tedious journey? Nature, however, has so dotted the sandy wastes with these islands, as at once to determine the resting-places of the traveller, and to point out the routes by which this intercourse of nations shall be carried on. However surprising, therefore, it may appear, it will no longer seem strange that the caravans of Africa are still seen moving along the very same route that they have been in the habit of following for more than two thousand years.

The information which Herodotus obtained, and transmitted to posterity, respecting the interior of Africa, shows both the great extent of its trade, even at that early period, and the nations by whom it was carried on. Herodotus collected the materials for this part of his history in Egypt, the only country of Africa that he is known to have visited. The circumstance of his computing the distances and days' journeys from thence, is a sufficient proof of this fact. That ancient country has in all ages been the rendezvous of the caravans from the western and southern nations; so that he could not here fail of opportunities of consulting those Ammonians, Carthaginians, Nasamonians, and other nations of Libya, whom he often quotes as authorities for his statements.[1] His general knowledge of Africa embraced the greater part of the northern division. He gives us an accurate enumeration of all the small tribes dwelling on the coast as far as the territory of Carthage.[2] To the western part, afterwards called Numidia, or Mauritania, his information did not extend; although he was acquainted by name with the promontory Soloës, on the western coast of Africa.[3] But his knowledge of the interior is most deserving of our admiration. It comprises not only whatever is most remarkable in the desert, the oases, and the tribes inhabiting them; but it extends to that mysterious stream beyond the desert flowing from east to west, which, under the name of the Joliba, has been again brought into notice in the present age. The account of the first discovery of this river is of too much importance to the commerce of inner Africa for any part of it to be omitted here.

"What I have hitherto related," says Herodotus,[4] who has just given a minute description of the course of the Nile above Egypt, "I have heard from men of Cyrene, who told me they

[1] Herod. ii. 28, 32; iv. 43, 173, 187, 195, 196. [2] Herod. iv. 168, sqq.
[3] Herod. iv. 43. [4] Herod. ii. 32.

had been to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and had a conversation with Etearchus, king of the Ammonians. Among other matters they fell into a discourse upon the Nile, and upon no one's knowing its sources. Whereupon Etearchus observed, that certain Nasamones had visited him, (these Nasamones are a Libyan race, dwelling on the [Greater] Syrtis, and a small territory to the east,) and that when he asked them if they had any thing to tell him respecting the desert, they gave him the following relation: 'that there had been among them some hardy youths, belonging to the most powerful families, who, having reached to man's estate, imagined various extravagant projects; and, among others, elected by lot five among them who were to visit the deserts of Libya, and endeavour to see more than any who had gone before them. The Nasamones went on to state, that the young men who were sent on this expedition by their comrades, having well provided themselves with water and provision, first traversed the inhabited country; after which they proceeded to the region of wild beasts, whence they marched across the desert, travelling westward; that after passing through a large sandy region, and travelling many days, they at last beheld some trees growing in a plain; that going up to them, they tasted of the fruits hanging on the branches; but while they were eating, some pigmies came up to them, smaller than men of middle stature, who seized and carried them off. That the Nasamones did not understand the language of these people, neither did they who were carrying them off understand that of the Nasamones. These people accordingly took them across some vast marshes, after passing which they came to a city, wherein all the inhabitants were of the same size as those who had seized them, and black in colour; near the city flowed a wide river, the stream of which run from west to east; and in that river were crocodiles.' So far accordingly I have reported the words of Etearchus, excepting that he said, according to the account of the Cyrenians, 'that the Nasamones had returned, and that the people to whom they reached were all enchanters.' The stream flowing by the city, Etearchus conjectured to be the Nile, which seems indeed the most probable."

The nation of the Nasamones, to which the adventurers who made this discovery belonged, was one of the tribes dwelling in the districts about the Syrtes, by whom, as has already been stated, the trade with inner Africa was chiefly carried on.

This enterprise, therefore, is not represented as an expedition into a land altogether unknown. "They had," says the historian, "already undertaken many hardy adventures. But they still wished to see if they could not go farther than any one had hitherto gone." It appears, moreover, evident, that although the number of real adventurers were only five, yet their attendants must have been more numerous, so as altogether to form a small caravan. In no other way is travelling possible in these regions. They are, besides, represented as being of the highest rank in their nation; and took, says the writer, a plentiful supply of water and food.

Their route lay through the inhabited and wild-beast districts of Africa, which brought them to the desert. Traversing this in a south-westerly direction,[1] they came, after many days' journey, to a cultivated land, inhabited by black men of diminutive stature, under the usual size,[2] who received them kindly, and became their guides. They conducted them through large marshy districts, to a city whose inhabitants were of the same form as their guides, and were much given to magic. Near this city was a large river, certainly flowing from west to east.

It is evident from this account, that the Nasamones reached the negro lands beyond the desert, and came to a negro people, who received them with that hospitality which still forms such an honourable distinction between these nations and their neighbours, the Moors. Their swarthy complexion, and their whole exterior, which so strongly mark them as altogether a different race of men from the northern Africans, clearly prove this. We know from Mungo Park, that a belief in magic and amulets generally prevails among the negro nations; and even the account of their diminutive stature is confirmed by a belief still prevalent in Africa. The sultan of Darfur's brother told Denon, the latest French traveller, that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo are a very small and gentle people,[3] living on the banks of a large river; and he was likely to be well acquaint-

[1] The expression πρὸς ζέφυρον, which Herodotus uses, means a westerly direction. But that it must be understood south-west here is evident, as otherwise they would not have entered at all into the interior of the great desert. Perhaps there is still something particular in the expression. The great caravan road into the interior, from the country of the Nasamones, lies, as we shall presently see, directly south. It seems, therefore, that they wished expressly to take another, namely, a more westerly direction, that so they might explore the great western desert of Africa. [2] Not dwarfs, the writer does not say so much.

[3] *Fort petits et doux.* Denon, *Voyage en Egypte*, i. p. 309. The addition that the river flows towards the west is a mistake. The small stature of the Ethiopians is noticed by Strabo, p. 1176. It probably gave rise to the fable of the pigmies.

ed with the fact, as there is a brisk intercourse between this nation and the inhabitants of that city, as they exchange with them the wares they receive from Egypt for gold dust and ivory. Mungo Park, as he approached the Joliba, found the inhabitants under their fruit trees,—butter trees. The whole description presents the picture of a genuine African country.

But the river flowing near their city in an easterly direction is certainly the most remarkable circumstance in the whole relation. Was it the Joliba? and were the Nasamones the first discoverers of it? And could a rumour of this mysterious stream, although its name still remained confined to the desert, have reached the ears of Herodotus, who noted it down, and he thus again becomes understood by modern discoveries?

Herodotus does not mention this river by name, but merely calls it a *large* stream. We know now that there is no other such stream in northern Africa running from west to east; the Joliba is often called the great stream.[1] It is the first that a traveller would come to after crossing the desert; and the direction which the Nasamones took must have brought them to it. Herodotus's further description of it confirms this conjecture. A swampy district must be passed over before reaching it; on its banks was a city; and in its waters are crocodiles. The Joliba flows through a deep valley formed by the elevation of the desert on the north, and the chain of the Kong mountains on the south. Like all other tropical rivers, it yearly overflows, and then covers the rich valley through which it holds its course with its waters. Hence it might form morasses and lakes, in which it is said to lose itself at Wangara. That the large towns of central Africa are built upon its banks is likewise certain; it was therefore natural to suppose that the Nasamones would be conducted to one of them. The fact that it contains crocodiles is also confirmed by Mungo Park, the modern discoverer of this river, who says they are frequently found in it, but are harmless.[2]

This account of Herodotus, in connexion with other still more precise information, which he collected respecting inner Africa, not only shows the existence of a commerce between its inhabitants, but likewise points out the nations by whom it was chiefly carried on. These were the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes; and even now the inhabitants of these districts chiefly form the caravans which traverse all Africa, as the

[1] Mungo Park, *Travels*, etc., p. 194. [2] Ibid. p. 219.

accounts of the latest travellers inform us.[1] However, this did not prevent the Carthaginians from taking an active part in it; indeed it was carried on principally for them, and on their account. Even the number of slaves[2] which they bought, partly for their own use, and partly for exportation, is a striking proof of their great share in this trade. These not only performed the laborious parts of agriculture, and of the public works, but also manned their fleets; and where could the Carthaginians so well procure them as from the very place whence the inhabitants of the coasts of Tripoli and Tunis for the most part procure them at the present moment? They likewise obtained the precious stones which bore the name of their city, from the countries lying in the interior:[3] and that they themselves took part in the journeys through the desert is proved by the fact of a certain Mago having three times journeyed across it with no other sustenance than dry meal.[4]

But the national intercourse of Africa can only be seen in its proper light by an acquaintance with the routes by which it was carried on. We now know, from some of the latest writers and travellers,[5] the routes of the principal caravans which yearly traverse Africa. We know that the northern half of this continent is crossed in its whole length and breadth: from Tripoli to the Niger, to Kashna and Bornou; and from Tombuctoo and Morocco to Cairo. Even the western Sahara, the most dreadful desert on the face of our globe, which swallows up nearly half the caravans, and for three hundred miles contains not a drop of water, has not proved a barrier to the courage of man stimulated by avarice.[6]

Just so was it in ancient times. What I have thus far said will serve as a preparation to my readers for a journey, in which, conducted by Herodotus, we shall now accompany an

[1] Hornemann, p. 78. [2] Appian, vol. i. p. 378. The reader need only be reminded of the history of their servile wars.

[3] Viz. through the Garamantes, beyond Fezzan. Strabo, p. 1192.

[4] Athen. p. 44. Meal mixed with water is one of the most common articles of food upon these journeys. Hornemann, p. 7.

[5] For our knowledge of the subject we are chiefly indebted to the compiler of *The Proceedings*, etc., with Bruce, Browne, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and the recent British travellers, Lyon, Denham, etc.

[6] A description of it may be seen in Leo, p. 28, who himself performed this journey; and a more modern account in Gray Jackson's *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809. From Fez to Tombuctoo is reckoned a fifty-four days' journey, exclusive of halting days. In the year 1806 a whole caravan from Tombuctoo to Tafilit, consisting of 2000 men and 1800 camels, perished for want of water. I cannot refrain from giving the following caravan legend from Leo. "In the midst of the desert are two marble monuments, to which tradition gives the following origin. A rich merchant met here a camel-driver, and begged him to sell him a cup of water. They agreed upon the price, 10,000 ducats. Now, however, the seller wanted it himself, and both perished of thirst."

African caravan; a journey of more than thirteen or fourteen hundred miles, through parched sandy plains and everlasting deserts. I insert here the whole of the remarkable passage of Herodotus, only rendered intelligible by recent discoveries, because every line is of importance. It is found in the fourth book of his history, chap. 181 to 185.

"The above tribes that have been mentioned are those of the Libyan nomades, (which Herodotus has just before enumerated,) dwelling on the sea-side. Above these, inland, lies Wild-beast Libya (Biledulgerid); above Wild-beast Libya is a sandy ridge stretching from Thebes of the Egyptians to the Pillars of Hercules; in this ridge, at the distance of about ten days' journey the one from the other, are seen on the hills masses of salt in large lumps; and at the summit of each hill a stream of cold and soft water gushes forth in the midst of the salt. About those springs dwell the last tribes towards the desert, and above Wild-beast Libya. First: ten days' journey from Thebes are the Ammonians, who have the temple of the Theban Jove; for at Thebes likewise, as I have before observed, the image of Jove is with a ram's head. They have another stream of spring water, which, early in the morning, is lukewarm; more cool in the middle of the forenoon; and when it is mid-day, becomes exceedingly cold; at which time, accordingly, they water their gardens: as the day wears, it loses its coolness till such time as the sun sets, when the water becomes lukewarm, and continues to increase in heat till midnight draws near, at which time it boils violently; when midnight is gone by, the water becomes cooler towards dawn. This spring is called the fountain of the Sun.—Next to the Ammonians, after ten days' journey along the ridge of sand, there is another hill of salt, like the Ammonian one, with a spring, and men dwelling around; the name of this country is Augila; and to this quarter the Nasamonians go to gather the dates. From the Augili, after another ten days' journey, there is another salt-hill, with water, and abundance of fruit-bearing palms, as on the other hills. In this quarter dwell a nation of men, who are called Garamantes, a very large tribe. These people throw mould upon the salt, and then sow their seeds. From these to the Lotophagi, by the shortest cut, is a thirty days' journey. Among the Garamantes are found the kine that graze backwards; they are obliged to graze in this manner, because they have horns bending forward, on account of

which they walk backwards as they graze; not being able to step forwards, as their horns would stick in the ground. These kine are, in no other respect, different from the rest of oxen, except in this and in the thickness and closeness of their skin. The Garamantes go in chase of the Ethiopian Troglodytæ in four-horse chariots; for the Troglodytæ are the swiftest on foot of all men that we have ever heard mentioned. The Troglodytæ eat serpents and efts, and such like crawling things. They use a language similar to none other, for they shriek like bats.

"At ten days' journey from the Garamantes is another salt-hill and water; around which dwells a nation who are called the Atarantes; these are the only men that we know of who have no proper names; for their name, as a body, is Atarantes, but there is no separate name given to individuals; they curse the sun when he is right over their heads, and use all kinds of injurious language, because he scorches and harasses both the country and its inhabitants.

"After these, at the distance of another ten days' journey is another salt-hill and spring; and men dwelling round. Adjoining this salt-hill is a mountain, the name of which is Atlas; it is steep, and round on every side; it is said to be so lofty, that it is not possible to see its top; for the clouds never disperse from about the summit, whether in summer or winter. This mountain, the natives say, is the pillar of heaven: and from it those people take their name; they are, in fact, called Atlantes. They are represented as eating nothing that has life, and as having no dreams. As far, therefore, as these Atlantes, I am enabled to give the names of the nations residing on the ridge, but not of any beyond them: although it extends as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and even beyond them.

"Every ten days' journey is found a salt mine, (ἁλὸς μέταλλον,) and a settlement of men. With all these people the houses are built of blocks of salt, for rain never falls in any of these parts of Libya; and, indeed, if it were to rain, the walls, being of salt, could not stand: the salt dug up there is both of a white and a purple colour. Higher up, beyond this ridge, towards the south and midland of Libya, the country is desert, without water, without beasts, without wood, and without dew."

Thus far Herodotus.—It is almost impossible not to see in this narrative the description of a caravan road, although none of his commentators has hitherto remarked it. I am convinced

that the greater part of my readers will assent without further proof, when they consider our former remarks on the trade of inner Africa, and the manner of travelling there. But to those who still require further proofs, I offer the following arguments.

In the first place: The route passes in its whole length across deserts which can only be travelled over by caravans, as in this manner only are they passable. It was by them alone that accounts could be brought to Egypt, where Herodotus collected them.

Again: The definitions of the route are all such as are usually given of caravan roads: the distances are measured by days' journeys; the resting-places mentioned are those in which fresh water is to be found.

Nor indeed does Herodotus conceal the sources whence he drew his information. He repeatedly appeals to the testimony of the Libyans, whom he met with in Egypt, and from whom he collected his accounts respecting the interior of Africa:[1] that is, from the very persons themselves who performed these caravan journeys, and who, without doubt, had at that time come to Egypt in company with some of these caravans.

And lastly: The route pointed out by Herodotus is the same, with very slight deviations, which may be easily accounted for, as that now in use; a striking proof to those who are acquainted with the little variation which takes place in these commercial roads.

Should it, nevertheless, be asked, how it happens that Herodotus no where mentions these caravans, I have no other answer to give than because he considered it as having nothing to do with his object, which was only to give geographical information. Moreover, to persons who have travelled much and seen much, many ideas and facts become so familiar, that they are apt to presuppose a knowledge of them in others.

Taking it for granted, then, that this is a description of a caravan road running through Africa, we have next to inquire into its nature and direction.

It is plain, that the account of Herodotus contains the description of the commercial road between Upper Egypt and Fezzan; likewise between Carthage and these countries, and probably still farther, even to the countries near the Niger. Its course is traced from Egypt by the desert of Thebais to the temple of Ammon; thence by part of the desert of Barca,

[1] Herod. iv. 173, 187.

and the deserts of the Harutsh mountains to Fezzan; and finally seems to be lost in the present kingdoms of Kashna and Bornou.

The first of these routes Herodotus describes from station to station; but notwithstanding the great certainty with which we can determine upon the whole, there yet remains some difficulties as to the distance of one or two of the stations from one another, which cannot be completely removed. They will, as the explanation of the separate stations almost immediately show, excite a suspicion that two of the intermediate places have been left out, although probably not by the carelessness of the writer, but rather by that of the travellers from whom he received his information. These persons endeavoured, as it seems, to give such a regularity to the whole journey, that exactly at the end of every ten days a resting-place should be found, with something remarkable belonging to it. But it is only by minute commentary on the words of Herodotus that these assertions can be proved; and this can be given the more easily, as one of the latest travellers in this part of Africa has minutely described the very same route which is here described by the father of history.[1]

The place from which we set out is Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt. This is the point from which Herodotus reckons all distances, as well here as in other parts of his work, relating to places and nations in inner Africa. A decided proof that he collected his information respecting Africa in Upper Egypt.

Thebes, in ancient Egypt, was therefore the rendezvous of caravans, just the same as the new capital, Cairo, is at present. This change has necessarily occasioned some variation in the direction of the road through the desert, which now runs a little more to the north, in order to reach the latter city.

The first station is the temple of Jupiter Ammon. And now becomes explained the intention of this great oracle, and the cause of its mysterious situation in the midst of a sandy waste, the terrors of which must have frightened the most hardy adventurer. The interests of these priests would have taught them that the single adventurers who might haply arrive at their temple, would not afford a sufficient compensation for the

[1] The journey of Hornemann, the only one who has hitherto travelled the *whole* of the way, only deviates a little from this route in consequence of his having started from the present capital, Cairo, instead of Thebes; and, therefore, as far as Ammonium, he diverged more to the north. The latest travellers, who went *part* of this route, Lyon, Caillaud, Edmonston, and Minutoli, will be mentioned in their proper place.

loss of the crowds of votaries whom the dangers of the desert deterred from such a journey. Now these difficulties vanish at once! The temple of Jupiter Ammon was not only a sanctuary but a resting-place for caravans; and its situation was equally convenient for those coming from the negro countries as from northern Africa to Egypt. How many valuable presents must here have been offered! now by the curious who came to consult the oracle; and now by the pious gratitude of the rich merchant, who had either just commenced a fearful expedition through the desert, or coming from Africa, here saw himself near the end of a fortunate and tedious journey!

The re-discovery of this place, in several respects so remarkable, has been the favourite undertaking of several modern travellers; and their labours have not been in vain. Two of the latest have succeeded in reaching it. The first traveller who discovered the ruins of the temple of Ammon was Mr. Browne, and his accounts have been both confirmed and extended by Hornemann.[1] Although accidents and the jealousy of the natives prevented both travellers from taking an accurate examination, they both agree in considering the present Siwah as the ancient Ammonium. The place accords in every respect with the ancient accounts, several of which also agree as to its situation.[2] The reports of the latest traveller, who has not only been able to inquire, but also to make drawings and models, have put an end to all uncertainty.

Ancient Ammonium is described not as a mere temple, but as a small state founded in common by the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and having its own chief or king.[3] Its origin and large population are shown by the number of catacombs and the remains of mummies with which the neighbouring hills abound.[4] The oasis itself is of moderate extent. The fertile soil, according to the survey of Minutoli, extends about ten miles in length, but is no where more than three in breadth.[5] The present Siwah, consisting of four or five towns, the chief of which is called Kebir, is governed by its own sheiks or chiefs. It is only lately that the present pasha of Egypt, who led an expedition against it, has forced it to pay tribute.[6] The castle of the ancient princes is still remaining. Its present

[1] See Browne's *Travels*, p. 23, etc., and Hornemann's *Journey*, p. 18.
[2] I here draw from the copious and accurate researches of Rennel, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 576. [3] Herod. ii. 32, 42. [4] Minutoli's *Journey*, p. 171. Their number is much greater than has been supposed. Many are painted and covered with hieroglyphics. They bear entirely an Egyptian character. [5] Minutoli, p. 88. [6] In the year 1820. Minutoli, p. 93.

name is Shargieh; and a description and drawing of it will be found in Minutoli.[1] From the entrance of the ancient temple, in a direct line, it is only three hundred and twenty paces distant; and its principal gate is exactly opposite.

The ruins of the ancient temple the inhabitants sometimes call *Birbé*, (temple,) but usually *Umebeda*.[2] They lie about three miles from Kebir; between the village of Shargieh and a mountain in which the stone quarries are still to be seen whence the building materials were taken. The remains of the temple itself consists of two parts; one, a sort of *pronaos*, or antechamber, and the other an inner chamber, the proper sanctuary. The back south wall is entirely gone; it is therefore impossible now to give the original dimensions of the temple. Large it never could have been, though evidently larger than it is at present.[3] The construction, as well as the whole form of the building, agrees completely with the ancient Egyptian. The walls are entirely composed of hewn stones. The whole temple within and without was covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; all of which, however, are not in an equally good state of preservation.[4] The interstices between the hieroglyphics on the walls and on the ceiling were painted; the green and blue colours are still bright. In every part of the sculpture traces of the worship of Ammon are to be found, similar to that of Thebes; even the procession with the sacred ark. The rest of the temple, according to the Egyptian custom, was surrounded by a wall, which separated the holy precinct from that which was less sacred. It was of considerable thickness and formed of freestone; it has now, however, almost entirely disappeared, though its direction may still be clearly traced. It is only in the corners that the largest of the stones have preserved unmoved their original situation, and show the extent of the whole enclosure. Its length amounts to seventy paces and its breadth to sixty-six, and the sides are pretty accurately placed according to the points of the compass.[5] Within this wall vestiges of a second are found, which render it probable that certain other partitions were formed, of which, however, nothing further can be determined.

[1] Minutoli, p. 165, 167. And the drawing, Tab. xi. fig. a. [2] Minutoli, p. 165, 167. What follows is also borrowed from him. See the annexed plan. [3] That the ancient temple of Ammon was only of a moderate size is shown by Professor Toelken, the publisher of Minutoli, from ancient authors. Minutoli, p. 169. See the ground plan and plates, vi.—x.
[4] Minutoli has favoured us with accurate copies of them; we are also indebted to his learned publisher for copious explanations of them, to which he has devoted the whole of the sixth chapter of his work, p. 100—162. [5] Minutoli, p. 166.

On the south of the temple, at the distance of a full quarter of an hour's walk, rises, in a delightful grove of dates, the fountain of the Sun, formerly sacred to Ammon. It forms a small pool[1] about thirty paces in length and twenty wide. It is said to be six fathoms deep; but it is so clear that the bottom is seen, from which bubbles continually arise like those of a boiling caldron. The temperature of the water varies, it is warmer at night than in the day, and about day-break is wont to smoke. It is probably a hot spring, the warmth of which is not observed during the heat of the day. A small brook, which runs from the pool, unites itself soon after to another spring, (Herodotus says that there are other wells of fresh water,) which likewise arises in the palm grove, and runs towards the ruin, near to which it forms a swamp, probably because its ancient outlets are stopped up. The early and high cultivation of the oasis is still shown by its rich produce of dates, pomegranates, and other fruits. The date is the most cultivated, and is obtained in vast quantities and of very fine flavour. In favourable seasons, say the inhabitants, the whole place is covered with this fruit; and the yearly produce amounts to from five to nine thousand camel loads of three hundred pounds each. The annual tribute is now also paid in dates.[2] There is no want of cattle, though the camel does not thrive here, which is probably owing to the dampness of the soil. The inhabitants, therefore, do not export the produce of their land themselves; it is fetched from them by strangers,[3] and their existence depends now, as it always has done, upon the passage of caravans. Near this oasis Nature has placed a large magazine of salt,[4] which rises in considerable masses above the ground; there are patches, above a mile long, so covered with this substance as to have the appearance of a field of snow; out of the midst of these, springs of fresh water sometimes gush forth. The salt is excellent, and was much valued in antiquity on account of its purity. Every year on the very same day, namely, that on which the great caravan departs for Mecca, the inhabitants begin their salt harvest. A chemical analysis of some of it, which has been brought to Europe, confirms its superior quality.[5]

Though from all these circumstances Siwah seems to be identified with the ancient Ammonium, yet a difficulty still

[1] Minutoli, p. 96, 164. [2] Ibid. p. 89. [3] Ibid. p. 90, 91. [4] Ibid. p. 174, 175. [5] By Professor John. Minutoli, p. 179. According to this it is a compound of gypsum, with from ten to twenty per cent. of rock salt.

remains; the distance of ten days' journey which Herodotus places between Thebes and Ammonium.[1] As the situation both of Thebes and Siwah is known with certainty, the distance between the two has been determined, and is computed at four hundred geographical miles. Now as a day's journey of a caravan can only be reckoned at sixteen, or, at the most, at twenty of these miles, it is clear that not ten but twenty days, or double the time stated, is required for this journey. Should it however be still supposed that Siwah is not the ancient Ammonium, and that the latter must be sought for nearer to Thebes,[2] nothing will be gained; as the distance of the following station in that case will not agree, which now, as we shall presently see, tallies exactly. Under these circumstances the conjecture almost forces itself upon us, that a station of ten days' journey has here been left out, by which every difficulty would at once be cleared up. This station too may, with great probability, be precisely determined; for the road from Thebes to Ammonium must necessarily lead towards the great oasis, *El Wah*, where Nature has formed a station fit for caravans. That the usual way to Ammonium passes through this is also clear from another passage of Herodotus,[3] where he likewise fixes its distance from Thebes at seven days' journey. The great oasis, with its formerly unknown monuments, is now rescued from obscurity, since Caillaud[4] and Edmonstone[5] have visited and described it. It is formed of two parts, an eastern and western, which are in fact two different oases, as a sandy tract of thirty hours lies between them. They are distinguished by the names of their principal towns; that of the eastern, or properly the great oasis, being *El Kargeh*, and of the western, *El Dakel*. In antiquity they seem both to have been taken for one oasis,[6] the western at least is never mentioned as a separate one, whilst traces of habitation, and even remains of a temple, near *El Amur*, are still found between the two. Both are rich in ancient monuments. In the east-

[1] Rennel, *Geography of Herod.* p. 577, gets over this difficulty by saying, that Herodotus only says to the territory of the Ammonians, and not to the temple of Ammon. But as the Ammonians, according to all the information we have, only occupied the district about the temple, or the oasis, of very moderate extent, I see not what can be gained by this fact.

[2] Belzoni thought that he had found it in the lesser oasis, first visited by him. *Narrative*, p. 408. An hypothesis which since Minutoli's journey requires no refutation. Belzoni was a bold and successful traveller, but no scholar.

[3] III. 26. Strabo, p. 1168, says the same.

[4] Caillaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*. *Paris*, 1813.

[5] A Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt, by Sir Archibald Edmonstone. *Lond.* 1823.

[6] Strabo, p. 1168, only speaks of three oases in Libya, the great, the lesser, and that of Ammon. It is therefore clear, that he considered what is called the westerly one as belonging to the great oasis. No other ancient writer has disjoined them.

ern is the great temple *El Kargeh*, for a ground plan and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud.[1] In the western is that of *El Hadjur*, besides some other smaller ones. The distance from Thebes specified by Herodotus, which is confirmed by Strabo, agrees exactly; it likewise shows that the former reckoned according to the days' journey of the caravans. There were two roads which led from Thebes to the oasis; one bearing to the north and something shorter, by Abydus, the other southerly by Latopolis.[2] By the first Caillaud reckoned it to be forty-two, and by the other fifty-two hours to the principal place, *El Kargeh*, which is without doubt the city oasis in Herodotus. The latter road appears to have been that mostly in use in antiquity, as from seven to eight hours seem to have been a usual day's journey for caravans;[3] so that if we add one day's journey for the length of the oasis—and greater accuracy cannot well in this case be expected—the distance from Thebes to Siwah will amount to twenty days' journey, or twice the number mentioned by Herodotus. The great oasis therefore lay in the midst of the way; it still continues a station for caravans, not only for those bound to Siwah, but also for those pursuing a more southerly direction and going to Soudan and Darfur.[4] And if in its temples the worship of Ammon was established, as we have every reason to conjecture it was, perhaps that may account for this station not being reckoned; or it might have been omitted because it was considered a part of Thebes, for the great journey through the desert commenced from this place; or, perhaps, because no strata of salt were found here as in the other stations.

But in whatever way this omission may have arisen, there can be no doubt as to the fact; and we may conclude that Siwah is the place where stood the temple of Ammon, at which our caravan is arrived, in order, after a short refreshment, to proceed on its journey through the desert.

Leaving then the lofty palms and the sacred groves of Jupiter Ammon, the last traces of vegetation and animated nature soon disappear. The southern desert of Barca opens its arid plains,[5] only interrupted by parched barren hills. For ten days this continues, till at length the date groves of Augila

[1] Caillaud, plate xv.—xviii.; and Edmonstone, plate vi., who also gives views of the other temple. [2] Caillaud, plate x. and p. 46. [3] Hornemann, p. 150.
[4] Caillaud, p. 50. Edmonstone, p. 126.
[5] Hornemann gives a description of the route, p. 36, etc.

appear, and the wearied caravan again lands on one of those fertile islands, which Nature has sprinkled with so sparing a hand over the sandy ocean of Africa.

Augila is a well-known name both in ancient and modern geography. It is at present the capital of a district which comprises two other villages.[1] Hornemann reached it from Siwah after nine long days' journey,[2] which, if we reckon them as ten common ones, confirms what Herodotus states to be the distance between the two stations. Augila owes nothing to its size, nor is there any thing remarkable about it; but it is principally known as being the great thoroughfare for caravans, which still touch at it in their route from western Africa to Cairo.[3] Even in the present day a portion of the inhabitants devote themselves to the caravan trade.[4] Besides this, Augila is a principal mart for dates, which have always been found here of an excellent quality and in great abundance.[5] Herodotus expressly remarks, that the Nasamones in the Regio-Syrtica annually made a journey to this place in order to purchase a supply of this fruit.[6] In like manner the Arabians of Bengasi now carry, yearly, their wheat and barley to the same regions for sale.[7]

All this is confirmed by the accounts which Minutoli collected from some Augilians who had fled to Siwah.[8] According to them Augila is ten days' journey from Siwah; and between three and four miles long, and two broad. It contains only two villages. The inhabitants carry on a trade with the caravans which pass through, and frequently take a part therein as camel drivers or merchants, as they possess many camels. Augila produces nearly double the quantity of dates that Siwah does. In this manner is the testimony of Herodotus again confirmed.

But who will now direct us to where the Garamantes dwell; whose territory, rich in springs of fresh water, becomes the next point of our journey? What direction shall we take without the fear of losing ourselves in the desert?

The name of Garamantes alone does not sufficiently indicate

[1] Mojabra and Meledila. Hornemann, p. 46.
[2] Hornemann, p. 46. The caravan travelled during two whole nights; men and beasts were quite exhausted. p. 45. The Arabian geographers estimate the distance at ten days' journey. p. 154. Herodotus's statement, therefore, is the one usually current in Africa.
[3] Leo, p. 246. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289. [4] Hornemann, p. 44. [5] Leo, l. c. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289. [6] Herod. iv. 182. [7] Hornemann, p. 48. See also p. 179.
[8] Minutoli, p. 172. Half the inhabitants had fled in order to escape the tribute which the government of Tripoli wished to impose upon them, and had set up their dwellings in the catacombs of Siwah.

their abode. It is one of the most comprehensive of ancient geography, and signifies a widely-extended people of inner Africa, from the Land of Dates to the Niger, and eastward as far as Ethiopia.[1] Herodotus is therefore perfectly right in calling them a very large nation. But it still remains to be determined where his Garamantes were situated, and the father of history has given us sufficient particulars to do it satisfactorily.

The Garamantes, he tells us, dwell towards the south, above the Psylli; and from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest route, is thirty days' journey.[2]

These two particulars point out with sufficient accuracy the country which we must make our next resting-place. The Psylli, according to the precise statement of Herodotus,[3] dwelt in the midst of the Syrtes' territory, about the present Mesurate, between the Lotophagi and the Nasamones: this latter nation took possession of their country, after they, or, what is more likely, only a part of them, had been destroyed in an expedition which they undertook to procure water. This particular specification of the route leads us to the present Fezzan, the ancient Phazania, the first inhabited country which is found southwards beyond that district; but the second statement, that it lies thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi, leaves us without the shadow of a doubt upon the subject. The seat of the Lotophagi, as we have shown above,[4] was to the west of the Psylli, extending from Tripolis to the Lesser Syrtis. Now, by taking the centre of their country and Zuila, the usual station of the caravans coming from Egypt, (not far from *Germa*, the capital of the ancient Phazania,) as the two probable extremes of the journey, we have at once the number of days' journey required, as will be very clearly shown presently, when it will be necessary to give a more accurate description of this route.

Upon Fezzan, the ancient country of the Garamantes, much light has been thrown within these last few years. Hornemann, indeed, resided there for half a year, but his Narrative does not extend to the southern part of the country, which he did not see till afterwards. This part, which is of most importance to us, was first visited and described by Captain Lyon. Fezzan is not to be regarded as a small oasis, but rather as a district of considerable magnitude, being in length about four hundred

[1] Cellar. *Geogr. Ant.* ii. p. 944. [2] Herod. iv. 174 and 183. [3] Ibid. iv. 173. [4] See above, p. 15.

miles from north to south, and from about two hundred to two hundred and fifty in breadth. The question then arises, where are we to seek for the station of which Herodotus speaks, and where are the features he describes to be found?

In this case we again find, that the station of the ancients was the same as that of the caravans arriving from Egypt and Soudan in the present day, namely, as we learn from Hornemann and Lyon, the city and territory of Zuila, not far from the eastern boundary of the country, and therefore the natural place to rest at. The latitude of Zuila is settled by Lyon (who took the sun's altitude) to be 26° 11′ 48″ north. The longitude, according to Rennel, is 16° 50′, Greenwich.[1] Not far from Zuila, near Trahan, springs of sweet water are met with, the only ones, as Lyon assures us, to be found in Fezzan;[2] in other parts it is only found at from twelve to twenty feet below the surface: and in the neighbourhood of Mafen there is a curious plain of salt earth extending above twenty miles from east to west.[3] Zuila lies at two good days' journey from Mourzouk, the present capital; and at scarcely one, according to Rennel's map, from Germa, the ancient one.[4] Thus every thing here agrees with the situation mentioned by Herodotus. The district of Zuila and Germa, moreover, was formerly the chief seat of the trade which has now moved to Mourzouk; and indeed so much so, that even yet the trade of Fezzan is called in central Africa the trade of Zuila.[5]

But a difficulty arises here in Herodotus's statement similar to the one already remarked between Thebes and Ammonium. The distance from Augila to Fezzan is too great for the journey to be performed in ten days. The caravan with which Hornemann travelled, notwithstanding their day's journeys must have surpassed the ordinary measure, took sixteen days in going to Temissa, the first village in Fezzan; and still one more before it reached Zuila. But the Arabian geographers reckon it twenty days' journey from Augila to Fezzan, which seems to correspond with the usual course of the caravans.[6] Here, then, the case is exactly the same as in the distance between Ammonium and Thebes; that is, it amounts to double what

[1] *Narrative*, p. 219. Rennel has placed it upon his map almost a degree farther to the north. [2] There are three of them; *Narrative*, p. 270. [3] *Narrative*, p. 257. It resembles the rough and irregular lava of Vesuvius. A poor path has with much difficulty been cut and worn through it. [4] Lyon places Germa much farther to the north-east on his map, but without any foundation. He did not visit it himself. Rennel, in his *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 615, has stated his reasons. [5] Hornemann, p. 69 [6] Hartmann, *Geogr. Edrisii*, p. 158. *Proceedings*, p. 197.

Herodotus states it at. As, however, there can exist no doubt respecting the position of the two extremes, Augila and Fezzan, recourse must again be had to the conjecture, by which alone the difficulty can be cleared up, that a station may be found between them; and this is rendered more probable, by the existence of Zala, a station which the Arabian geographers place midway between Augila and Zuila, at ten days' journey from each.[1] Hornemann reached the watered and fertile valley in which he reposed on the ninth day of his strained journey; but the course which the caravans pursue, lies through the southern part of the valley;[2] so that the town, or at least the place where it lay, for the name itself seems to be lost, was perhaps half a day's journey to the north.[3]

But whether this or some other solution may be adopted, the route which our caravan must follow, in neither case remains doubtful; we are certain respecting the object of the journey. Our progress hitherto has been almost entirely in a westerly direction, it now becomes, as we penetrate deeper into central Africa, more southerly, still, however, with a bearing towards the west.

With renewed courage and strength we now quit Augila. Its groves of palms are soon left behind, and the vault of heaven, and the plains of burning sand, are the only objects which the eye can reach.[4] No sound of animated nature, nor the rustle of a leaf, breaks the everlasting death-silence of the dreary waste. Suffocated birds point out the path of the fiery simoon, and perhaps only yesterday fell its victims; the heavens seem to glow, and volumes of sand, whirling upwards into spiral columns, are chased by the wind, like clouds of mist, athwart the dreadful desert.[5] And though the fruitful valley of Zala seem to promise a more smiling region to the weary traveller, hope is soon turned to disappointment: the most desolate of all wastes, the Harutsh mountains, still lies before him, and demands another ten days' journey ere these terrors

[1] Edrisi, l. c. Compare Rennel's map, Hornemann's route; upon which the situation of Zala and its distance from both stations is accurately given. [2] The fertile valley which he describes, p. 55, is undoubtedly the valley of Zala, though he has not named it.
[3] Not only Hornemann, but even Hadgee Abdallah, was ignorant of it. See *Proceedings*, p. 197. [4] Hornemann, p. 51.
[5] Those who would wish to see a more particular account of this dreadful phenomenon of the desert, may compare Bruce, iv. p. 584, and *Proceedings*, p. 195. Lyon gives us, from his own experience, the picture of a caravan surprised by a simoon. *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 85, 94, plate vii. The death-silence of the desert also appeared most dreadful to him. "Nothing can be more awful than the stillness which prevails. I have often walked so far from the caravans in the night as to be beyond the noise made by the camels or horses, and have experienced a sensation I am unable to describe, as I felt the wind blow past me, and heard the sound which my figure caused it to make, by arresting its progress." p. 347.

can be overcome.[1] Then the gigantic ostrich reappears, troops of playful antelopes disport before him, and announce the vicinity of more hospitable regions.[2]

Thus we reach Fezzan, or the country of the Garamantes, of whose inhabitants Herodotus has told us several remarkable particulars. They practise agriculture; he tells us they put soil upon the salt. The soil of Fezzan, according to Lyon, is in general sandy and barren. It is only by the help of manure that a forced produce is raised.[3] That salt, therefore, may answer the purpose equally well, must no doubt be admitted; and the great salt plain of Mafer proves that there is plenty of it. Nothing, therefore, hinders Herodotus's account from being taken in its most literal sense. Should this, however, be doubted, the Narrative of Lyon offers still another, and perhaps more probable, explanation: for Fezzan, according to him, is in some parts very abundant in white clay.[4] In order to render the soil more productive this is mixed with sand, as it is with marl in many parts of Europe. It is unnecessary to observe how easily ignorance or carelessness might confound this white clay with salt.

Respecting the kine with horns bending forward, I have in vain sought for some explanation in our writers on natural history. Fezzan contains, according to Lyon, three different species of the buffalo;[5] the *wadan*, an animal of the size of an ass, having very large horns; the *bogra el weish*, which is a red buffalo with large horns, and about the size of an ordinary cow; and the white buffalo, of a lighter make; but of horns bending forward he makes no mention. They were better known, however, in antiquity. Alexander of Myndus, a celebrated naturalist, has minutely described them in his works;[6] but I doubt, nevertheless, their having formed a distinct species. The neatherds of Africa frequently amuse themselves in giving an artificial form to the horns of their cattle by continually bending them.[7] This was probably the case here; and this, an early conjecture of mine, has been since confirmed by a monument. In the procession upon the great bas-relief of Kalabshe, for an accurate drawing of which we are indebted

[1] The desolate mountains, in which nature appears entirely lifeless, are divided into the black and white, and were first described by Hornemann. The black were known to the Romans by the name of *mons ater*. Pliny, v. 5. [2] *Proceedings*, l. c. Hornemann, p. 55. [3] *Narrative*, p. 271. [4] *Narrative*, p. 272. Even though it should be the grey, and not the completely white clay, the mistake might occur very easily.
[5] *Narrative*, p. 76. [6] Athen. p. 221. [7] Like the Caffres. Barrow, *Descript. of the Cape, etc.*, p. 130.

to Gau, among the presents brought to the king appear two yoke of steers, with horns, not of a natural, but evidently of an artificial shape:[1] one being bent straight forwards, the other backwards. Whether this was done in mere wantonness, or whether, like the Caffres, before elephants were tamed, they made use of them in war, and in that state found them more adapted to the purpose of attack, I cannot determine.[2] The extraordinary thickness and hardness of their hides, mentioned by Herodotus, is also noticed by modern travellers in their description of African cattle.[3]

The hunting of men, in which the Garamantes are said to have taken delight, scarcely requires an explanation. "They are wont," says Herodotus, "to hunt the Troglodyte Ethiopians in four-horsed chariots." These Ethiopians seem to have been a wild negro race, dwelling in caves in the neighbouring mountains, who were kidnapped by the Garamantes to be sold for slaves. And the latest accounts respecting Africa throw, even upon these statements of Herodotus, a really astonishing though melancholy light.[4]

The mountains, of whose inhabitants we are now speaking, belong to the Tibesti range, found at some days' journey to the south of Fezzan, in the deserts of Borgoo. These are in the present day inhabited by the Tibboos, most probably a branch of the ancient Libyan race. The Tibboo Raschadé, or Rock Tibboos, still dwell in caves. But the old inhabitants of this country, among whom the Tibboos have settled themselves by force, were negroes; and even at present the inhabitants of Bilma are mostly negroes, or of a black colour; and the historian, therefore, is fully justified in describing them as such.

The *hunting* of the human race is indeed so little out of use, that the sultan of Fezzan still carries it on annually, substituting, however, for four-horse chariots, a body of cavalry and infantry. While Captain Lyon was there, an expedition of this kind took place under the command of one of the sultan's sons, and the father wept tears of joy when he returned from the *Grazzie*, for so is this expedition called,[5] with one thousand eight hundred prisoners, composed of old and young men, women, and children. In this respect, then, Africa has always remained the same. Beside this, a trifling circumstance mentioned by Herodotus, respecting the language of these people,

[1] Gau, *Monuments of Nubia*, plate xv. [2] Marmol, *Afrique*, i. p. 52.
[3] Hornemann, p. 127. [4] *Narrative*, p. 281. [5] *Narrative*, p. 250, etc.

is confirmed in a manner we could hardly have expected. "They have no language like other men," says he, "but shriek like bats." "When the Augilians speak of these tribes," says Hornemann, "they say their language is similar to the whistling of birds."[1]

In another place, and upon another occasion, Herodotus says of these Garamantes, that they fly the society of men, and shun all intercourse with them: they are entirely without warlike weapons, and know not how to defend themselves.[2] It is plain that this can only be understood of a single tribe, who dwelt in some out of the way corner of the desert, lying at a distance from the route of the caravans. It is almost impossible to picture more briefly and accurately the timidity of these poor creatures, who take every stranger for a robber, than is here done by Herodotus. A similar picture, but drawn in still more lively colours, is given us by Leo of Africa, in his Narrative, of a company of merchants, who, missing their way, unexpectedly fell in with a horde of this description.[3] Should we seek for another in the present Fezzan, it may be found in what Captain Lyon states respecting the poor inhabitants of the village of Terboo.[4]

Thus have we traced with certainty the route which led from Upper Egypt to Fezzan, and identified it with that now in use. But in doing this we have almost forgotten Carthage. It is apparent, however, that these caravans were almost entirely composed of her subjects; Herodotus, moreover, has given us a hint, which at once leads us to turn back, and plainly points out the road *by which they journeyed from the territory of the republic to Fezzan.* I therefore claim the indulgence of the reader to say a few words on this, before I attempt to trace the two still more distant stations of the Atarantes and Atlantes.

When Herodotus mentions the Garamantes, he states that "from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest way, is thirty days' journey."[5] This remark contains sufficient information.

The seat of the Lotophagi has been ascertained to lie in the neighbourhood of the present Tripoli; between it and the Lesser Syrtis. A journey, therefore, southwards, into the interior to the Garamantes, would lead us, according to the latest

[1] Hornemann, p. 143. [2] Herod. iv. 174.
[3] Leo, p. 246. Hornemann's account of the poor inhabitants of the village of Ummesogeir, who, being peaceable and weak, chose rather to trust to the protection of their sanctuary than to take up arms, may serve as an example. Hornemann, p. 16.
[4] *Narrative*, p. 220. [Or the *Modern Traveller, Africa*, ii. p. 190.] [5] Herod. iv. 185.

English accounts, exactly along the same line of road by which the caravans now go from Tripoli to Fezzan, and from this city still farther into the negro countries. Hornemann performed this journey, though not with a caravan, and deviated from the usual direction. Thanks, however, to Captain Lyon, we have a complete description of the route.[1]

The usual route from Tripoli runs at first along the coast beyond Lebida, the ancient Leptis Magna, not far from Mesurata. From this point it turns directly towards the south. Great Leptis, therefore, was the staple town for the caravan trade; its extensive remains still bear witness of its ancient splendour.[2] It is here that persons arriving from the interior catch a first glimpse of the sea; and those who journey towards central Africa take their leave of it, as it is no farther visible. The first place on the road is Bonjem, on the northern boundary of Fezzan, 30½° N. Lat.; the next is Sockna, 29° 5′; farther on is Sebha, 27° 2′; and next is Mourzouk, or Zuila, the distance being the same to each. The road lies partly through the desert; but travellers never provide water for more than five days, as there are several fertile districts on the way. This route, therefore, seems appointed by nature, for on both sides, to the east and west, are uninterrupted wastes. It was also the ancient route. Should any one question it, the exact agreement of the time stated by Herodotus, with that of Captain Lyon, will convince him. He departed from Mourzouk the 10th of February, with rather a small caravan, consisting of loaded camels and slaves, which were joined by others on the way. His day's journeys were, therefore, of the usual length of the caravans. On the 17th of March he came in sight of the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, in the country of the ancient Lotophagi. His journey therefore took up thirty-six days, six of which he halted at Sockna, and which being deducted from the whole amount leave thirty, exactly the number stated by Herodotus.[3]

We have therefore now shown that the route from the country of the Lotophagi, and likewise from Carthage, to Fezzan in the interior of Africa, was a common and well-known

[1] *Narrative*, chap. viii. ix. p. 290—334.
[2] The remains of the walls, pillars, etc., are in the gigantic style. *Narrative*, p. 337.
[3] Hornemann performed the whole of the journey from Mourzouk to Tripoli in fifty-one days. His statement, however, cannot be taken as a rule; as he himself remarks that he journeyed very leisurely; and the number of halting days, which he has not mentioned, are included. Hornemann, p. 119. His way led by Wadan, which was situate some distance to the left of Lyon's route.

route, respecting which, and that from Upper Egypt to the same place, no doubt can remain. The routes, however, described by Herodotus, do not end in the country of the Garamantes, though they meet there. He carries us still twenty days' journey farther, to the seat of the Atarantes, and finally to the Atlantes, where, as he himself confesses, his knowledge ends. Thus far we have been able to follow him, conducted by modern travellers who have trod exactly in his footsteps. Now, however, these guides gradually, though not altogether, leave us. The Narrative of Lyon, in connexion with that of the latest adventurers, which has already found its way to Europe,[1] will direct us a little farther on the road. The reader, however, will be aware, that probability is all that can be now expected. I hope, however, to render this more than empty conjecture.

Recent discoveries have changed, in one important feature, the geography of the interior of Africa. They show that the great empire of Bornou, which is placed in our maps to the south-west of Fezzan, lies almost directly south. Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, and Lari, the boundary city, together with Angornou, the most considerable town of the Bornou empire, according to these accounts, lie almost exactly under the same meridian.[2] These accounts, resting upon accurate information, and not upon hearsay statements, throw a light upon the direction in which were situated the series of tribes enumerated by Herodotus.

Herodotus has no further determined this direction than by saying that it stretches along the border of the great desert. Probably he thought it enough to say it here run along to the west, without stating anything particular respecting it. That it did not, however, continue full west, but swerved to the south, the previous inquiry and Herodotus's statement respecting the abode of the Garamantes, have already shown. It will not therefore be straining the meaning of his words to give it a more southerly direction. By taking this course it also runs along the border of the desert, which is here occasionally relieved by fertile patches; while, on the contrary, a full westerly direction from Fezzan would lead into the midst of the great desert, which he himself held to be impenetrable and inaccessible.

[1] See above, p. xxxi. [Heeren adds in this note that he made use of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny's Narratives, as given in the *Quarterly Review*, *Dec.* 1823; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1824, *etc.* It scarcely needs be mentioned that the full Narrative of their Travels and Researches has been since published.]
[2] *N. Annales*, p. 137.

Without attempting, however, to bias the judgment of the reader, or to pass that for more than probable which is still doubtful, let me be yet allowed to explain the reasons which induce me to believe that those two tribes must be sought for in a direction south of the Garamantes.

The country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan, has always been a principal seat of the trade of inner Africa and the negro countries. This appears from the statements of the Arabian geographers, and from those of the latest travellers.[1] It is here that the caravans assemble which go to Bornou, and to the southern countries, comprised under the name of Soudan, or Nigritia. It is not, however, a country rich in natural productions; but is merely, from its position, the great mart of the trade carried on between the countries on both sides of the desert.

Surely, then, when we find this place mentioned in antiquity as the point where the commercial roads from Egypt and from the Carthaginian territory joined, without, however, ending here, we must admit that the conjecture thereby obtains great force, that it was at that time what it has been since; and that the continuation of the route would run towards the south. This opinion will acquire additional force if we remember the permanency, of which we have already spoken, of the commercial intercourse in this quarter of the world.

To this it may be added, that the articles of commerce obtained here, show that such an intercourse existed. The slaves and precious stones obtained by the Carthaginians from the country of the Garamantes, necessarily presuppose an intercourse with the most distant countries where both these articles were to be procured.

Let us see, then, who these Atarantes are, to whom a new journey of ten days would bring us, and where they are to be found. What direction must the caravans now take, so as not to miss them? Since we have determined to follow the great road towards Bornou and Soudan, we discover them in the territory of Tegerry, the most southern place reached by Captain Lyon.

Tegerry is the frontier town of Fezzan towards the south, in 24° 4′ N. Lat. According to Lyon it is the usual halting place for the caravans which come through the desert from

[1] Hornemann, p. 186.

Bornou, and frequently of those which come from Soudan.[1] The inhabitants sell, at a high price, the necessaries of life to the half-famished merchants. Dates are the only things to be had cheap and of any quantity. The cultivation of the date-palm, however, ends here. On the south of the city the desert immediately begins. The springs contain brackish water; salt cannot, therefore, be wanted, although this is not expressly remarked. The exact distance from Zuila, as marked on Captain Lyon's chart, is one hundred and sixty miles; which, according to the usual course of the caravans, certainly amounts to no more than eight days' journey.[2] I must leave my readers to choose whether they will take the day's journey at something shorter, or include the last two in the following station, which, as we shall presently see, amounts to something more than ten days' journey.

Although Tegerry belongs to Fezzan, yet it is here, according to Captain Lyon, that the Arabian language ends and the Bornou begins. And it is certainly a very extraordinary fact, that here, likewise, a report handed down to us by Herodotus, should be confirmed by a late account of Bornou, written too by a traveller who knew nothing of his history, and who lived almost two thousand years after him.[3]

"The Atarantes," says Herodotus, "have among them no proper names for individuals, and are the only people of this sort." This is certainly a most extraordinary fact, as not one of our modern travellers has met with anything of a similar kind, even among the rudest nations. Notwithstanding this, Leo of Africa relates exactly the same thing of the inhabitants of Bornou, to the south of Fezzan; and gives us at the same time a clew to this difficult question. "A merchant," says he, "who came from the empire of Bornou, and had lived for a considerable period among its people, informed me that there were no proper names whatever among them. All are called after their height, thickness, or some other accidental quality, and have, therefore, merely nicknames." How far this account may be worthy of credit, is a matter of no importance;

[1] *Narrative*, p. 240, 241. [2] This is the time it took Capt. Lyon, (*Narrative*, p. 219—238,) although he did not travel with a laden caravan, for which ten days would scarcely seem too much. A difference of one or two days' journey in ten almost always happens to single travellers from accidental causes. [3] Leo, p. 255. He also says of this same people, p. 247, that they invoke, with great vehemence, the rising sun. Does this explain Herodotus's account of the imprecations which they utter against it? It must, besides, be particularly remarked, that Leo had not read Herodotus. He knew nothing but Arabic, and a little Italian, which he only learned in his old age. But if he had read it, it would not have lessened the force of his evidence.

it proves in either case the existence of a tradition in Africa which confirms the fact mentioned by Herodotus respecting his Atarantes, in the time of Leo; and certainly, respecting a people who dwelt within the boundaries of the very extensive empire of Bornou. We also find another example in the Narrative of Captain Lyon[1] which further confirms it: a black wife of Mukni, sultan of Fezzan, who came from that country, was named Zaitoon, (olive-tree,) probably from her shape.

We have now only to fix the last station mentioned by Herodotus; that of the Atlantes, which closes his account of the Libyan tribes. At this point Captain Lyon leaves us as an eye-witness; nevertheless the information he collected, in connexion with the narrative of later British travellers, throws a light upon the statement of Herodotus which is truly surprising. The route holds the same direction; and is a continuation of the great commercial road to Bornou. It leads to Bilma, the principal seat of the Tibboos; just midway between Mourzouk and Lari, the frontier town of Bornou, we find the Atlantes of Herodotus. The distance from Tegerry is stated by Captain Lyon to be eighteen days' journey, but only of eight hours each;[2] others reckon it no more than seventeen,[3] which, according to the usual manner of reckoning, amount to somewhere about twelve or thirteen days' journey. Greater accuracy than this can scarcely be expected. If, however, we add the two day's journeys which are over, to the distance from Zuila to Tegerry, we have exactly the number of twenty days' journey, which, to agree with Herodotus, is required from the Garamantes to the Atlantes; and there only remains the discrepancy, that the intervening station of the Atarantes does not lie exactly in the midst.

The Atlantes, according to Herodotus, dwelt on a very high mountain, steep and round on every side. It is so lofty that the inhabitants call it the pillar of heaven; a salt-hill lies in its neighbourhood.[4] The district of Bilma, we are told by Lyon, is very mountainous, having large rocky tracts of perfectly black stone.[5] Some of these rocks are so high and steep that their tops are scarcely visible; or, as the Arabians express it in their figurative language, "you cannot see their top without losing your cap." According to the latest travellers, it is upon these rocks that are situated, in order that they may be secure

[1] *Narrative*, p. 59. [2] Ibid. p. 244. [3] Ibid. p. 265.
[4] See p. 97. [5] *Narrative*, p. 266.

from the attacks of the Tauriks, the four towns of the Tibboos, of which Bilma is the most important.[1] How well does Herodotus's description apply to this neighbourhood! Another circumstance is still to be noticed. Bilma is the great salt mart for the negro countries: thirty thousand camel loads are yearly carried from its salt-lakes by the Tauriks to Soudan.[2] Nature herself prescribes this commerce, as no salt is to be found farther south.[3] Does not this offer us a very natural reason, why Herodotus's information respecting these tribes should end here? It was the great market where the tribes exchanged their commodities with one another. A similar circumstance occurs in the steppes of central Asia, among the Argippæi.[4]

The reader is still at liberty to adopt or reject the observations I have here made; but before taking leave of the narrative of Herodotus, let us cast a glance at the last wonder he mentions relating to inner Africa.[5] "Ten days' journey into the great desert is a salt mine (ἁλὸς μέταλλον). The inhabitants there build their huts with blocks of salt, because no rain of any kind ever falls there. The salt which they dig is partly white and partly coloured; beyond these places a completely barren desert follows."

The same account is given almost verbatim in Leo Africanus's description of the large salt mines of Tegaza, in the heart of the desert, where he himself was detained for three days. According to his account[6] they are situated on the south-east border of the desert of Zanhaga,[7] and are about twenty days' journey from Tombuctoo. They were worked by people sent there for that purpose, who dwell in miserable huts about the entrance of the mines. Their food is brought them; and they not unfrequently perish of hunger, or become blind

[1] *N. Annales des Voyages*, p. 137. They are named Kiskbi, Asehanuma, Dirki, and Bilma. [2] *N. Annales*, l. c.
[3] *Proceedings*, p. 252, 253. "The merchants of Kashna and Agades," it is here said, "go every year in numerous caravans to Bilma, to fetch salt, which they cannot procure at a shorter distance." The reader who will take the trouble to compare this now settled question with the former editions of this work, will find that the results are the same: only the proofs—thanks to extended discoveries—are new. [4] See Researches on Asia.
[5] Herod. iv. 185. The connexion of the passage in Herodotus shows plainly that this is neither the continuation of his description of the caravan route, nor a repetition of what he had said before; but only the account of a remarkable particular of which he had been informed. He therefore says: ten days' journey *into* the desert, not on the borders, as he himself thought the others. The preciseness of Herodotus in his choice of expressions is one of his greatest merits. He always says exactly what he should. How carefully he has here distinguished by the expressions ἁλὸς μέταλλον these *salt mines* from the *salt hills*.
[6] Leo, p. 224, 946. [7] *Zanhaga*, according to Leo, is the name of the western part of the desert between Morocco and Tombuctoo, it joins the often-mentioned desert of Zuenziga. The sandy region is here the broadest and the most dangerous to travellers

by the fiery heat. From these mines of white and coloured salt it is that the negro countries on the Niger, belonging to the empire of Tombuctoo, are supplied with this necessary article. Large caravans of merchants travel there to procure it.

Let the reader judge for himself how far these two accounts agree; the statement of neither writer is sufficiently precise to enable us to determine exactly the situation of the salt mines spoken of. Whether, however, they are the same or different, (for many such may perhaps be found in this vast desert,) they at least convince us how well Herodotus was acquainted with everything remarkable in the desert, and how true his statements are. Short-sighted critics have often calumniated his manes; but the silence of the desert remains, in awful grandeur, an eternal witness of his credibility!

The regions of antiquity, which distance has so long mystified, and which have been buried, as it were, in a night of centuries, again begin to dawn. It is time, however, that we should draw to a close; let us, therefore, first collect, as well as we can, into general views, the great variety of circumstances which have come before us.

Respecting the commercial intercourse in general of the nations of interior Africa, no doubt can now remain; the vestiges that are left prove how active it must once have been. It has been shown that the places and districts which were its principal seats in antiquity have continued so to the present day. But how inferior its actual state, compared with what it was formerly, is amply proved by the monuments which still remain. What is the present Siwah opposed to ancient Ammonium; what even Cairo itself opposed to the royal Thebes? And yet it was the commerce of which we have been speaking, knit perhaps by certain religious ties, (now transplanted to Mecca,) to which they were indebted for their magnificence and splendour. If we may, or rather if we must, measure the trade of those days by this standard, how much greater and more important must it have been then! when the north coast of Africa, instead of being overrun by barbarians, was occupied by mighty civilized nations; by nations in whom commerce, if not the only, was at least the ruling passion.

Further: the principal articles of commerce were then the same as they are now; salt, dates, slaves, and gold. The caravans had a profitable motive for passing through districts

where salt was plentiful. Here they could load their camels free of expense with this commodity, which in the negro countries met with a sure and ready sale for slaves and gold dust. Respecting the traffic in the human species, its extent, and its arrangements, we have seen, as well in the interior of Africa as in Carthage and its foreign possessions, so many examples that further observations are quite unnecessary. I shall only add this single remark, that the slave trade of Africa at that time, as well as now, was mainly directed to females, who in the Balearian islands were sold for three times as much as the men.[1] Gold dust was always an article much sought for in the negro countries; and how well the Carthaginians understood the trade in this precious metal, has been already shown in the narrative of Herodotus given above. In addition to these commodities, there was in antiquity the equally important one of precious stones; particularly of that species called calcedonius, and which derived its name from Carthage.[2] The Carthaginians obtained them, as I have already shown, from the country of the Garamantes, whither they could only be brought from the mountainous districts of central Africa.[3] The calcedonius, or, as it is also called, the carbuncle, holds the first rank among the onyxes; it was made use of for drinking and other vessels; and from the extravagance shown in this respect, we may form some idea of the extent of this trade.

Again: the nations by whom this commerce was chiefly carried on, were the inhabitants of the districts between the two Syrtes; and particularly the Nasamones.[4] The expeditions and hardy journeys of discovery made by this people, are celebrated upon more than one occasion by Herodotus; they indeed imparted to him this information. These tribes and their neighbours still carry on an active trade. The bold inhabitants of Fezzan venture from the borders of the negro lands to the centre of India.[5]

The Carthaginians, then, by having these tribes under their dominion, held the caravan trade in their own hands; and the

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 344. That the caravans still continue to export more female than male slaves, is evident from the statements of Lyon, Burkhardt, and others.

[2] Καρχηδόνιος λίθος.

[3] Plin. xxxvii. 7. It is known that among the cut stones of antiquity there are many of whose native country we are entirely ignorant. Might not many of these be from central Africa? A remark, which I heard from a learned naturalist, that almost all these unknown stones are of Roman, and not of Greek workmanship, perhaps confirms this conjecture. A better acquaintance with the inner regions of Africa can alone render it certain.

[4] But that they did not all remain merely carriers, but took also a part in the trade, scarcely requires a proof. They became, in consequence, a very rich people, though they still continued nomades. Scylax, p. 49.

[5] *Proceedings*, p. 192.

otherwise barren districts of the Syrtes became, on that account, one of their most important possessions; and the acquisition of which tradition continued to celebrate, as having been procured by the voluntary sacrifice of the ambassadors.[1] The Emporia, or cities of Byzacium, on the borders of this territory, were, by their situation, the natural staple places of this trade, of the possession of which Carthage had truly reason to be jealous, and therefore remained completely silent respecting all that concerned it. The commercial intercourse with inner Africa was also the more easily hid from the world, because Carthage itself was not the place to which the caravans resorted; they were formed in districts scarcely known, and the towns nearest to the borders of the desert were the great staples for their wares.

CHAP. VII. *War Forces.*

ALTHOUGH the history of the Carthaginian wars does not come within the scope of the present work, yet the information respecting this republic would be incomplete, without some notice of its fleet and armies. After a glance at these, we shall be better able to judge of the might of Carthage; and neither the history of her aggrandizement or her fall could be well understood without it.

Carthage was powerful by sea and by land, limiting, in both cases, the force of this expression to the sense in which it may be used with regard to the states of that period, when the ocean had not yet been brought under the dominion of man; nor large standing armies, even in times of peace, kept in pay.

The idea, however, of maritime dominion must naturally have presented itself to the Carthaginians,[2] as soon as they obtained possession of foreign colonies, to which their fleets alone could carry them, and with which the maintenance of a continual and peaceful intercourse was highly necessary, even if the security of their own dominions had not depended upon it. The extent of their navy, and their whole maritime system, was formed to answer this particular purpose.

The operations of their navy were principally confined to the Mediterranean, or rather to its western half, and, perhaps, a small portion of the ocean lying just without the Pillars of

[1] See above, p. 18. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 134, 412.

Hercules. In this part lay the islands which the Carthaginians had partially or completely conquered; the coasts were here covered with their colonies; and we may therefrom form some idea of their maritime forces, which naturally arose with the necessity of maintaining these in subjection, and consequently of preserving a free communication with them, besides securing a passage over for their troops, and of defending their settlements from the approach of foreign enemies. To effect all this it required no more than an uninterrupted navigation of the seas, and secure stations for their fleets. When engagements took place in the open sea, naval tactics were not much wanted; distant voyages of warlike squadrons were at this period wholly unnecessary, and therefore unknown.

But even this dominion of the sea, limited as it was, had to be won from powerful rivals, and was not obtained without many struggles. They had the Etrurians in Italy, the Greeks in Syracuse and Massilia to contend with; and when at last they might have flattered themselves with having wrested the prize from these, the most formidable of all their rivals started up in Rome, where it was soon felt, that without the dominion of the sea, it was impossible to humble the pride of Carthage. There is no doubt but it was a continual jealousy of these powers which gradually developed the strength of the republic; and a due consideration of the long series of victories and defeats, even for centuries, which it cost it to maintain its preponderance, will give us the best means of estimating the powerful resources which it must have possessed.

Upon the nature and strength of the Carthaginian navy we are better informed than upon most other matters relating to that republic. Writers had so frequent occasion to speak of it, that they could not well avoid leaving us many particulars respecting it.

The principal harbour of the republic for its ships of war, was in the capital itself.[1] This had a double harbour, an outward and an inner one, so arranged that vessels were obliged to sail through the first to arrive at the other. An entrance, seventy feet wide, which might be barred with a chain, led to the outer, appropriated solely to merchant vessels, which could here safely ride at anchor. On one side of this a broad bank, or quay, ran along, upon which the merchandise was unladen,

[1] For the following particulars we are indebted to Appian, i. p. 435—438, and 482. Other Carthaginian cities, however, had harbours and docks for vessels of war, as Hippo, for example. Appian, i. p. 459.

and delivered to purchasers; and a gate opened from it into the city, without passing through the inner harbour. This latter was separated from the outward one by a double wall, and was destined to receive only vessels of war. In its centre arose a lofty island from which the open sea could be plainly seen. The station of the commander of the fleet was upon this isle, where signals were made, and watches kept, and from which could be seen all that was going forward at sea without those at sea being able to look into the interior of the harbour. The island as well as the harbour was strongly fortified, and surrounded with high banks, along which the docks, or depôts for the war-galleys, two hundred and twenty in number, were situated. Above these, in an equal number of divisions, were the magazines, containing everything necessary for the outfit of the ships.[1] At the entrance of each dock stood two Ionic columns, which, as they were ranged round the island and harbour, gave the whole the appearance of a magnificent portico.

The war-ships of the Carthaginians, previous to the time of the Roman wars, seem to have been triremes; of which the history of their wars with Syracuse gives several proofs.[2] But the custom of building larger vessels, which had been much followed since the time of Alexander the Great, particularly by Demetrius the town-taker, seems also to have been adopted by the Carthaginians; and even in their first war with Rome their fleets consisted of quinqueremes;[3] a vessel indeed with seven banks of oars is mentioned, though only as one captured from their enemies.[4]

The navigation of the Carthaginians was under the protection of their gods, of whom the sea-deities, their Poseidon, Triton, and the Cabiri, formed a separate class.[5] Images of these deities were placed upon the stern of their ships, (especially of their ships of war,) some of which bore, if we may rely upon the evidence of a poet, their names.[6]

[1] Without doubt, therefore, every ship had its storehouse, as they also have in our modern harbours. It seems likely that these magazines were of wood; for under Dionysius I. a report was spread that they were burnt, whereupon he built a vain hope that their fleet had suffered the same fate. Diodorus, ii. p. 60. [2] As, for example, in Diodorus, ii. p. 9, and in other places where he speaks of the Carthaginian fleets. There seems, in general, no doubt but that the Carthaginians, in their naval architecture, followed the Grecian school, especially that of Syracuse. Necessity must have led them to it. [3] This is clear from Polybius, i. p. 158, 159. [4] Polyb. i. p. 58. It was built by Pyrrhus.

[5] Munter, *Religion of the Carthaginians*, p. 97, etc. [6] Silius Italicus, lib. xiv. In the description of the sea-fight and the burning of the fleet; especially v. 572.

Uritur undivagus Python, et corniger Ammon,
Et quæ Sidonios vultus portabat Elissæ;
Et Triton captivus, et ardua rupibus Ætne, etc.

It certainly is not improbable that this was the case.

The usual number of their ships of war, or galleys, seems almost determined by the arrangement of the harbour, which agrees very well with what other information we have as to the strength of their fleets.[1] The number of vessels of war mentioned in the Syracusan war, by creditable writers, varies from a hundred and fifty to two hundred. It was greater in the first war with Rome, when their maritime force in general seems to have attained its highest pitch. In the fatal naval engagement by which Regulus opened for himself a way to Africa, the Carthaginian fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty galleys with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and that of the Romans of three hundred and thirty galleys with one hundred and forty thousand men.[2]

The navy of Carthage was manned partly by fighting men (ἐπιβάται) and partly by rowers; so that a quinquereme contained one hundred and twenty of the former and three hundred of the latter.[3] The number of rowers contributed in a great measure to that velocity in their movements, for which the Carthaginian vessels are expressly stated to have been distinguished.[4] These rowers were composed of slaves bought by the state for this particular purpose,[5] and who, as they required practice, formed without doubt a standing body, that was in part, or altogether, kept up in time of peace. The quickness with which they manned their squadrons would otherwise be inexplicable.

The commanders of their fleet were distinguished from those of their land forces, to whom they were subordinate in those undertakings in which they acted in concert.[6] At other times they received their orders from the senate, which were not unfrequently sealed, and could not be broken open till the bearer arrived at a certain destination.[7] The victories of their fleets were celebrated by public rejoicings, and their defeat by public

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 685, 691; ii. 134. Though the same writer in two other passages (vol. i. p. 419, 606) mentions various greater numbers, yet they are evidently exaggerated, for which we are indebted to Ephorus. It remains to say that transports were always distinguished from vessels of war among the Carthaginians.

[2] Polyb. i. p. 66. The description of this engagement gives the best idea of the naval tactics of that period. The wedge-shaped formed fleet of the Romans broke through that of the Carthaginians, who had taken a position with the view of outflanking them. Above fifty ships were sunk in the battle, and sixty-four boarded and captured by the Romans. Above thirty thousand men perished. According to these statements, are not our greatest sea battles mere skirmishes compared with those of that time? [3] Polyb. l. c.

[4] As superior to the Syracusans, Diodorus, ii. p. 409, and to the Romans, Polyb. i. p. 130.

[5] According to Appian, i. p. 315, Asdrubal bought, during the second war with Rome, five thousand slaves at one time as rowers. Another proof of the extent of the Carthaginian slave trade. What market of Africa could now supply so many at one time?

[6] Polyb. i. p. 223. Hamilcar had his son-in-law, Asdrubal, in this manner under him.

[7] Diodorus, i. p. 685; cf. Polyæn. v. x. 2.

mourning. In the latter case the walls of the city were hung with black, and the fore part of the vessels were spread over with skins.[1]

The situation of the republic, and the whole course of its affairs, must naturally have led the Carthaginians to consider their navy as their main strength. This accounts for their paying so much attention to it, and its obtaining a degree of perfection, to which, as Polybius expressly remarks, their land forces would bear no comparison.[2] The many wars, however, in which the republic was engaged, and the maintenance of its large possessions, obliged it to keep large armies almost continually in the field. Here again, however, Carthage had regulations and designs peculiar to herself. Here we again recognise the policy of a commercial state, which chose rather to pay others to fight her battles, than to engage in them herself; and made even this policy the foundation of a commerce with distant nations.

It is evident, that in a state like Carthage not more than a small proportion of the citizens could devote themselves to the profession of arms; it is also clear that this more especially comprised the higher classes and nobles of the republic.[3] This explains Polybius's remark, that the land forces of the Carthaginians were neglected, with the exception of the cavalry;[4] the expense of which, as it made the service costly, endeared it in the eyes of these classes;[5] to whom it was further enhanced by the outward marks of dignity, the rings, which belonged to it. One of these was allowed to be worn for every campaign which had been made.[6] In the large Carthaginian armies we always find the number of proper Carthaginians small in proportion to the whole.[7] They formed, either altogether or in part, a separate corps, dignified with the title of the *sacred legion*, which seems to have been a sort of body guard of the general, not less distinguished by its valour than by its splendour, which was equally conspicuous in the equipments and drinking-vessels of its members.[8]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 422; ii. p. 399, 412. The meaning in the last custom is doubtful. Were they not perhaps black sheep skins? [2] Polyb. ii. p. 564. [3] See Diodorus, ii. p. 144, 399, 414. [4] Polyb. ii. p. 565. [5] But that in times of necessity the others also armed themselves will easily be understood. In one case of this sort the city of Carthage furnished forty thousand foot and one thousand horse. Diodorus, ii. p. 413, 450.
[6] Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 2. Does not this explain why Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, sent the rings of the Roman knights that were slain to Carthage, with the remark, that only knights durst wear them among the Romans? Livy, xxiii. 12. [7] In an army of seventy thousand men there were only two thousand five hundred. Diodorus, ii. p. 143, 414.
[8] Diodorus, l. c. It seems, however, from this passage, that this *sacred legion* did not consist of cavalry, but heavy-armed infantry.

The great armies which Carthage brought into the field, consisted, then, almost entirely of foreigners, whom they hired. Conquering commercial states, at all times, fall, to a certain degree, into some such custom, which is only changed in form by temporary circumstances. What, indeed, are the subsidies granted in the present day, but a modification of the same system? Scarcely any state, however, carried it so far as the Carthaginian: almost half Africa and Europe were in the pay of that rich republic.

A Carthaginian army, therefore, would have been a more interesting spectacle for one who desired to study the human species than for any information it afforded respecting military tactics. It was an assemblage of the most opposite races of the human species, from the most dissimilar parts of the globe. Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Phœnici-Africans formed the centre; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed as it were a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army.

The Carthaginians formed their armies designedly, as Polybius remarks,[1] of these various nations, that the difference in their languages might prevent them plotting conspiracies and tumults.

In respect to the mixed and heterogeneous mass of which it was composed, the army of Carthage bore a resemblance to that of the Persians. The latter united in itself the nations of the east, as did the former the tribes of the west. At one time only were these two states allied,—in the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and the enterprise of the Carthaginians against Sicily. Had circumstances permitted these two armies, at that time, to unite, what a remarkable exhibition they would have presented, —a muster of nearly all the varieties of the human species at that time known!

But even the Carthaginian army alone, when fully assembled, offers a considerable variety; and it comes exactly within the scope of my plan to examine, in detail, this interesting spectacle.

The number of Carthaginian citizens in their armies was

[1] Polyb. i. p. 167.

not, as has been already said, very considerable, although the corps itself was the most splendid of the whole. Their African subjects, which are always mentioned by Polybius under the name of Libyans,[1] constituted the sinews of their armies. They served both on horse and foot; and composed as well a part of the heavy cavalry as of the heavy-armed infantry.[2] Their weapons consisted of long lances, which Hannibal after the battle of Thrasymene exchanged for Roman arms.[3]

Next to these stood bodies of Spanish and Gallic or Celtic troops. Spanish soldiers were among the best disciplined of the Carthaginian armies, and generally served as heavy-armed infantry. Their uniform consisted of white linen vests bordered with red; and a large sword, with which they could either cut or thrust, was their principal weapon.[4]

Tribes of Gauls fought at an early period in the armies of Carthage. I can discover no where the least hint respecting what part of Gaul they were hired from; but I conjecture, from that lying nearest the Mediterranean. It seems, however, that the rudest and most savage tribes were chosen. They went entirely naked except a girdle, and fought with a sword only adapted for striking.[5]

Italy also supplied the Carthaginians with soldiers of several tribes. Ligurians appeared in their armies at the commencement of the wars with Rome,[6] and the Campanians even in those of Syracuse;[7] Greeks also were in their pay, but probably not before the Roman wars.[8]

The Balearic slingers were a kind of light troops peculiar to the Carthaginian army. They usually formed a corps of about a thousand men; and their powerful hurl had nearly the effect of our small muskets. Their stones dashed to pieces buckler and armour, and in a battle against the Syracusans they gained the victory for the Carthaginians.[9]

But the main strength of the Carthaginian armies consisted

[1] Polyb. i. p. 161, 196, 458, etc.; iii. p. 359. [2] Ibid. i. 647.
[3] Ibid. i. p. 584. [4] The most accurate account of the arms and clothing of the various troops will be found in Polybius, i. p. 648.
[5] They cast away their clothes in battle, Polyb. i. p. 287. The same writer also mentions them (i. p. 39) as in the Carthaginian pay before the time of the Roman wars.
[6] Polyb. i. p. 39. Compare Herodotus's list (vii. 165) of the nations of which Hamilcar's army was composed at the invasion of Sicily, B. C. 480, there were Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Lygians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, together, three hundred thousand men. We likewise learn, from the same passage, that the death of this Hamilcar was regarded as a sacrifice, that he was worshipped as a hero with offerings, and that monuments were erected to him in all their colonial cities, (πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων,) Herod. vii. 167.
[7] Diodorus, i. 605.
[8] Polyb. i. p. 82. Perhaps the Sicilian wars against Pyrrhus, which had a great influence upon the military affairs in general of Carthage, gave them the first idea of so doing.
[9] Diodorus, ii. p. 399, 401; cf. Polyb. i. 647.

in general of their light cavalry, of which they found an abundant supply in the nomad races on both sides of their territory. These hordes have always possessed, and do even now, an excellent breed of horses. They are in a manner born horsemen, being accustomed from their youth to exercise themselves and their fleet steeds in skirmishes and battles. All these tribes, from the neighbouring Massyli to the more distant Maurusii, who dwelt on the western ocean, in the present Fez and Morocco, were wont to fight in the Carthaginian armies, and to remain in Carthaginian pay:[1] from the east of their state, as far as Cyrene, the Carthaginians also drew levies, both in Africa and Europe, which were managed by senators deputed for that purpose.[2] Bands of these Numidian horsemen fought on small horses without saddles. A halter of twisted rushes served them for bridle, and even for that they scarcely had occasion, so well were their steeds disciplined. The skin of a lion or tiger served both for their dress and their nightly couch, and when they fought on foot a piece of elephant's hide was their shield. Their onset was rendered dreadful by the fleetness and cunning of their horses. Flight was no disgrace to soldiers who only fled to prepare for a new attack.[3] They were to the Carthaginians what the Cossacks are to the Russians. The heavy cavalry (*equi frænati*) consisted, in addition to the Carthaginians themselves, of Libyan, Spanish, and afterwards of Gallic horsemen. All these are often mentioned by Polybius.[4]

The Carthaginian military establishment partook of all the advantages and disadvantages to which great armies, composed of light troops, are generally subject. Among the former were, security from sudden attacks, facility of movement, capability of making forced marches and devastating routes, with the consequent impossibility of retreat; among the latter, want of discipline, pestilential disorders, difficulty of transporting horses and elephants by sea,[5] and almost certain defeat in regular

[1] Polyb. i. p. 458. This author enumerates four different tribes of these nomades from the territory of Carthage to the ocean: the Massyli, the Massæsyli, the Makkæi, (upon whose name critics disagree,) and the Maurusii, the most distant of them. All these tribes had their princes, chiefs, or kings, (just as writers choose to call them,) whom the Carthaginians always had for allies, and whose friendship they endeavoured by every means to preserve, especially by marriages with Carthaginian ladies of rank. Besides the example of Syphax, there is another in Polyb. i. p. 193. When an army was to be raised, Carthage sent senators to these chiefs to make contracts with them respecting the troops to be taken into pay. The tribes then followed their leaders. Diodorus, i. p. 581.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 635. An important passage, which gives us a clear notion of these extensive levies. What great preparations must have been necessary to raise such an army!
[3] Strabo, p. 1184. Appian, i. p. 317. [4] As for example, i. p. 532, 647.
[5] The remark will generally be found true, that the Carthaginians, wherever it was pos-

engagements against well-disciplined troops. It required the power and genius of a Hannibal to tame these savage hordes, and to discipline them into an army capable of defeating even the legions of Rome!

The way in which the Carthaginians collected their armies, sufficiently accounts for their being so numerous, although we have reasonable grounds to mistrust the large round numbers frequently specified. Even the reduced statements of Timæus,[1] make the amount of their armies much greater in the Syracusan than in the Roman wars, when the numbers could be more exactly ascertained.[2] That the republic, however, with her numerous resources, could easily raise an army of a hundred thousand men, requires no further proof.

Carthage only required armies of this magnitude in time of war; there is, however, no doubt but that a certain force was kept embodied during peace.[3] The numerous garrisons of the provinces were mostly composed of mercenaries,[4] as was also that of the capital.[5] The triple walls of the city contained both quarters for the troops and magazines for military stores. Each of these, on the inner side, had a double row of vaulted chambers. The lower ones contained stalls for three hundred elephants, and repositories for their food. In the upper were formed stables for four thousand horses, together with the necessary storehouses; and quarters for twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry.[6] These troops were under the command of a particular governor of the city.[7]

These accounts naturally lead us to reflections, which enable us to estimate fairly the real strength of the republic.

sible, preferred marching their troops by land, to transporting them by sea. Hamilcar went by land as far as the Straits on his expedition to Spain, (Polyb. i. p. 222,) Hannibal went by land to Italy. They do not seem to have found out the method of transporting elephants by sea previous to the Roman wars (Diodorus, ii. p. 502); at least we have no example of it in the earlier wars with Syracuse. They most probably learnt the use of elephants in warfare from Pyrrhus, and adopted them because Africa supplied them with these animals. The hunting of them must have been carried on upon a large scale, as even their first generals were sent out for that purpose, as Asdrubal, Giscor's son. Appian, i. p. 314. In the earlier times they made use of war-chariots instead. It is uncertain whether they imported this invention from Phœnicia;—we know from the wars of Joshua that they were not unknown there;—or whether they adopted them from the African tribes, with whom they were native, as among the Garamantes and the Zaueces. Herod. iv. 183, 193. The contagious disease in their armies deserves a separate inquiry. Was it really the plague? I doubt. See Diodorus, i. p. 697.

[1] See above, p. 2.

[2] According to the accurate statements of Hannibal, copied by Polybius from the monuments which he left behind at Lacinium, his army did not amount upon its arrival in Italy (where it certainly was soon reinforced by Gauls) to above twenty-six thousand men; and the African troops left behind in Spain, under his brother Asdrubal, to thirteen thousand four hundred. Polyb. i. p. 459, 511.

[3] Diodorus, ii. p. 457, gives a clear proof that such troops were kept always in pay.

[4] As in Sardinia. Polyb. i. p. 195, 203.

[5] Compare the accounts of the garrison which Hannibal placed here, Polyb. i. p. 459.

[6] Appian, i. p. 436.

[7] Polyb. i. 163, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγός.

Armies of hired troops can at no time completely supply the place of native warriors fighting for their home and their country. The moral excitement is wanting. The overpowering genius of a great man, joined to long exercise, as was the case in the two wars with Rome, may make such an army for some time formidable, but such a leader cannot always be found. In the war carried on against the ruler of Syracuse, mercenaries were mostly opposed to mercenaries, and here the balance was equally poised; in the wars against Rome they had to contend with Romans, and Carthage could not fail in the end to be subdued.

On the other hand, this system was so far of advantage to the republic, that foreign defeats caused but little harm: it was only the head of the hydra, which grew again as often as it was cut off. What did it matter to Carthage, whether a hundred thousand barbarians, more or less, remained in the world, so long as she had the power to replace them, and the money to pay them with?[1] To cut off these supplies was to paralyse the sinews of the state; and Roman policy did not fail to turn its attention to this point. Scipio forbade them to enlist troops in Europe;[2] and Massinissa improved the nomades of Africa into agriculturists.[3]

Finally, it will be easily seen that this system of war was closely connected with their commercial policy. National intercourse and national alliances could not be better promoted than in this way. By this a number of distant nations learned to know one another as comrades in arms; and all considered themselves as allies of Carthage, for whose interest they fought. How easy must the Carthaginian merchants have found access to these nations, when they every where found friends and old acquaintance? This must also have paved the way to the extension of their dominion. It is only by this that we can account for the otherwise inconceivably rapid conquest of Spain, which Carthage, after the first Roman war, completed in a few years, and which, nevertheless, occupied Rome afterwards for above a century.

Upon the whole, however, this system could afford the republic but little internal security. The impossibility of calling an army like this together in a short time, must have made

[1] How light the Carthaginians made of these troops is shown by two striking examples. A band of them, which had begun to mutiny, was left upon one of the Liparian islands to famish. Diodorus, i. p. 339. And Himilco left a whole army of them to shift for themselves; when he merely bought the retreat of the Carthaginians. Diodorus, i. p. 700.

[2] Appian, i. p. 370.

[3] Appian, i. p. 452; Strabo, p. 1190.

every sudden attack dreadful. Their enemies soon found this out; and repeated examples have shown that their fleets were not always sufficient to repel invasion. As often as this happened, a struggle for life or death must have ensued; and although they might easily make good the loss of a foreign defeat, yet, in every war upon their own ground, their ALL rested upon the cast of a die.

CHAP. VIII. *Decline and Fall.*

To portray the causes of the decline and fall of mighty states, necessarily requires long and profound meditation. Where does history instruct us, if not here? These inquiries, however, certainly possess a much higher interest when applied to the history of free states, than when applied to monarchies: for though in the latter the talents and characters of the rulers are more accurately determined, both the prosperity and decline of the former must be traced to the operation of more deeply-seated causes. But among all the republics of the ancient world, there is, perhaps, no one which unites in itself so much to make a detail of the causes of its fall interesting to every age, as that of Carthage. It does not, however, seem that any one has yet thrown that light upon it, which, from the foregoing accounts, might reasonably be expected. The decay of Carthage has been supposed sufficiently accounted for by the increasing preponderance of Rome; and if any one has cast a glance into the interior of the republic, it is only to speak of a faction headed by Hanno, which endeavoured to oppose the family of Barca from the hereditary hate they bore it, in consequence of its having formerly prevented supplies from being sent to Hannibal in Italy. Every reader[1] must feel how unsatisfactory such remarks are; let me, then, venture to hope that the following discussion will lead to a more intelligible and accurate, though somewhat different view.

We have already pointed out, in the inquiry on the government of Carthage, the epoch from which we must date its internal decay: namely, the first peace with Rome.[1] The seeds of the evils, however, must have been sown much earlier, as two abuses in particular had already taken deep root; namely, the sale of the highest places, which also presupposes bribery at elections, and the accumulation of several high offices in the same person.[2] Nevertheless, the history of Rome, as well as that of some modern states, teaches us, that the sale of the higher offices is not quite so quick, and so necessarily an absolute evil, as might at the first glance be supposed.[3] It is commonly known how the parliamentary votes are managed in England; and formerly in France the sale of almost every place was lawful. How far such arrangements are likely to become pernicious, will depend in general upon the morals and patriotic feeling of the nation. In an aristocratic free government, like Carthage, it is perhaps the least hurtful; because the rich, who outbid their competitors for places of honour, must, from their having the greatest stake in the country, have the most interest in maintaining the constitution and internal tranquillity: experience has at least sufficiently confirmed this with regard to Carthage. Enough of the history of that republic is known to make it certain, that, up to the time of the war with Rome, the spirit of the constitution, taken altogether, had not degenerated. This is sufficiently proved by the evidence of Aristotle[4] down to the time he flourished. The two attempts, which had been made by two very powerful men, to subvert the government, had both been frustrated, without further consequences.[5] The dominion of the senate continued undisturbed; and, what of itself is a decisive proof, we hear nothing, down to this time, of factions in the republic.

During, however, the first war with Rome, the seeds of corruption were sown; and the man who sowed them was Hamilcar Barca. Thus it was the fate of the republic, that the very house which became the support of the tottering fabric of the state, should be the same which first undermined its foundation.

It is generally known how gloriously this wonderful man opened his career, when only a youth, in the first war with Rome. Even at that time he appeared, by maintaining himself during six years in Sicily, as one of those superior geniuses,

[1] The cause of all these incorrect views may doubtless be attributed to Livy's having been considered the chief authority. I think, however, that I have shown how careless he was of every thing respecting the internal state of Carthage; and I am not the least afraid that any reader, who has a proper sense of criticism, will contradict me upon this head. Polybius, in this respect, certainly ranks far above him; but in the period which is here decisive, namely, from the end of the mercenary to the beginning of the second Roman war, he is so unpardonably short, (his narrative, i. p. 222, does not fill a single octavo page,) that he can scarcely be quoted as an authority. The basis of my opinion, on the contrary, are the statements in the fragments of Diodorus, especially the twenty-fifth book, *Op.* ii. p. 510, 511, and 567; and Appian, i. 105—110.

[1] See above, p. 66. B. C. 241. [2] Aristot. ii. p. 280.
[3] I need scarcely mention that this is no unconditional defence of such abuses. On the contrary, I am perfectly convinced that they must necessarily become dangerous in the end, if not so at first. [4] Aristot. *Op.* ii. p. 251. [5] See above, p. 50.

who, leaving the footsteps of their predecessors, form new systems of their own. Unconquered, and indignant, he at last signed that treaty which for ever deprived the republic of its bulwark, Sicily.[1]

Immediately after this peace, Africa itself became unexpectedly the theatre of a contention of a still more formidable nature, in which Hamilcar acted a principal part. Immediately after the close of the war the republic wished to disband the mercenaries, whom they could now do without; and they had the imprudence to admit an army of thirty thousand men into Africa, at a time when the treasury was so exhausted that it was altogether unable to satisfy their demands. A mutiny was the consequence, which gave rise to a contest that soon assumed all the horrors of a formal civil war, as the rebels were soon joined by many or most of the Carthaginian subjects, among whom they found a couple of the most daring and enterprising leaders. It was not till after a struggle for life and death, and which lasted for four years, that the republic was able to gain the upper hand.[2] Notwithstanding the fortunate termination of this war, it must always be regarded as having laid the foundation for the future calamities of Carthage. During its continuance it gave rise to a private feud between two great men, which was followed by greater consequences than perhaps either of them expected; Hanno, surnamed the Great,[3] and Hamilcar Barca. Hanno, before this war, had been governor of one of the African provinces, and had there lately had an opportunity of extending the dominions of the republic by the conquest of the great city of Hecatompylus and its territory.[4] Upon the breaking out of the African war, he was at first appointed general, but so greatly did he disappoint the expectations which had been formed of him, that he brought the republic to the brink of ruin.[5] The blame of this war had been hitherto thrown by the magistrates upon Hamilcar Barca, from his having made such large promises to the mercenaries in Sicily; notwithstanding this, they now saw it necessary to have recourse to him, and accordingly appointed him commander with Hanno.

[1] Polyb. i. p. 406. [2] Polybius gives the particulars of it in his first book.
[3] Appian, i. p. 106. He is the same whose party afterwards appears as the party in opposition to that of Hannibal. It seems from Appian, i. 348, that he was still alive at the close of the second Roman war, and therefore must have reached a great age. This also accounts for his party having attained so much strength.
[4] Polyb. i. p. 180, 181. Diodorus, ii. p. 565. He is here called a man fond of fame and extravagant enterprises. [5] Polyb. i. p. 182, 184, 204.

His glorious deeds, however, excited, in a short time, so much the jealousy of his colleague, that the senate soon became sensible, that the command must be left with one alone; and that it might give no offence, it left the choice to the army, who decided in favour of Hamilcar. In consequence of this, Hanno, for the present, was dismissed; but when Fortune again turned her back upon the Carthaginians—when Utica and Hippo had declared for the rebels, and one of the Carthaginian generals had been defeated and taken prisoner—they found it impossible to do without him. A particular deputation, therefore, consisting of thirty of its members, was sent by the senate to promote a reconciliation between those two powerful men,[1] and this being for the moment effected, a successful termination of the war was the happy consequence.

But the spirit of faction, once raised, did not again die. The enemies of Hamilcar, who not only threw upon him the blame of the war, but also the loss of Sardinia, occasioned by it, attacked him formally, by commencing an impeachment. In this danger Hamilcar sought the support of the people. He gained one of the firmest and most popular among them—his future son-in-law, Asdrubal; he flattered the lower orders, and assembled round him a band of depraved and seditious men.[2] While he was in this manner forming for himself a party among the people, it happened that he was not only acquitted, but obtained moreover a command in Africa, (where about this time some commotions had broken out among the Numidians,) at first conjointly with Hanno, but afterwards, on the restoration of tranquillity and recall of Hanno, he remained sole general.[3]

The appearance of the first general of the republic on the stage as a leader of the people, must necessarily have given a violent shock to the whole fabric of government. The authority of the senate, hitherto unimpaired, and through it the whole existing aristocracy, received a blow which made it totter, and from which it never completely recovered. Hamilcar was, or threatened to become, the Marius of Carthage.

In this manner there became formed an aristocratic and a democratic party in the republic: the former that of the sen-

[1] Polyb. p. 215. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 567. An important passage.
[3] Appian, i. p. 105. The passage of Appian leaves it still undetermined whether Hamilcar's impeachment during the war of the mercenaries happened before he obtained the command, B. C. 216, or two years later, at its close. By comparing the passages of Diodorus, the latter seems to me most probable, though I am uncertain. With regard to the fact itself, the difference is of little consequence.

ate and *optimates*, or higher families, the latter that of the people. It was by the latter that the house of Barca[1] was at first raised. Perhaps, however, this schism might not have been without remedy, or at least might not have produced the effects it did, if it had not given birth to a new project, the final consequences of which to the republic it was impossible to foresee.

This project was the conquest of Spain; and if history had not named Hamilcar as the first mover of it, his situation, at the time it originated, would have pointed the finger of conjecture towards him. There is, however, no contemporary circumstance where so little uncertainty prevails. Indeed, according to the clearest evidence, he undertook the expedition into Spain without the permission of the senate, and was only exculpated by its fortunate results.[2] From this time the conquest of Spain became the hereditary project of his family, and was the true foundation of its greatness.

It is easy to trace how the situation of Hamilcar's affairs, at that time, might have directed his attention to this enterprise. He had the twofold character of general and demagogue to support at the same time; and he must have soon discovered that great treasures, as well as glorious deeds, would be required to maintain his place at the head of his party. To the republic itself this important aggrandization must at the first glance have appeared highly desirable—perhaps even necessary. With its previous political state it could not be satisfied. A new maritime power, not having trade but conquest for its object, had established itself in the Mediterranean, and displaced theirs. Their dominion over the islands was overthrown; Sicily and Sardinia, their best provinces, were lost. Where could they hope to find a better compensation for all these than in Spain, a country in which they had already formed many connexions by their trade and their levies? If it be, moreover, true,—and as we have the express testimony of several writers, it scarcely admits of a doubt,—that Hamilcar already believed he here saw the means of triumphantly renewing the struggle with Rome, then we see how his private interest coincided with that of the republic.

[1] I use this name because Roman writers have used it before me, although it is improper. The name of Barca (*fulmen*) was the personal surname of Hamilcar, and not that of a family, which were not at all in use in Carthage; but surnames, derived from particular attributes, or even from the resemblance to certain animals, were there very common. This also shows that there was no proper family nobility at Carthage, which without family names cannot easily take root. [2] The greatest proof of this is a passage in Appian, i. p. 229. "Hamilcar," he says, "being accused by his enemies for his bad management of the first war with Rome, contrived to procure a command against the nomades in Africa, before answering for his former conduct. In this war, by his good fortune, by booty, and gifts, he so won over the army, that he led it by way of Gades into Spain, without leave of the Carthaginians, whence he sent great treasures to Carthage, in order to gain the people. Thus he drew the Carthaginians on by his conquests and glory to desire the possession of all Spain."

Notwithstanding all this, it is evident that the prosecution of this project shook the entire fabric of the republic to its foundation. Spain was the richest country of the then known world. How great must the power of that house have become which made this ancient Peru in a manner its province! What interest might it not obtain whenever it chose to cause its treasures to flow to Carthage! Could there be much difficulty for it even to mount above the rabble and form itself a party in the senate itself, and in this manner to rule the republic, while it undermined the constitution without formally overthrowing it? And what would have been able to hinder these generals from effectually overthrowing it, as soon as they had formed for themselves there,—as Cæsar did in Gaul,—an army entirely dependent upon them.

That these apprehensions were by no means groundless, history proves by the clearest evidence. As long as the Barcas ruled in Spain, so long did they rule the distant Carthage. During the nine years that Hamilcar had the command there, he found means, either by negociations or force, to subjugate nearly the whole country. By its treasures he supported his influence; partly by enriching the state-treasury; but mostly by purchasing the affections of the army, and keeping alive the spirit of his faction.[1] While thus the silver of Spain continued to flow towards Carthage, nothing less could be expected than that the possession of this country would be of the highest consequence in the eyes of the people. Hamilcar did not live to see the execution of his final project; but when he died, and his son-in-law Asdrubal succeeded him,[2] the formidable power of the Barcine faction began to exhibit itself in an alarming manner. Asdrubal continued the faithful follower of his father-in-law's system in letting the wealth of Spain flow towards Carthage;[3] but his plans in Spain were much more extensive. He built a new capital with regal splendour,[4] which received the name of New Carthage; the richest silver mines were opened in its neighbourhood.

He subdued the Spaniards rather by kindness than by force;

[1] Appian, i. p. 106. [2] B. C. 228; ten years from the commencement of the second war with Rome. [3] Appian, i. p. 106. [4] Diodorus, ii. p. 511; cf. Polyb. iii. p. 206. Strabo, p. 220. The present Carthagena.

he married the daughter of one of their kings. And being by all the Spaniards acknowledged as their general-in-chief, he endeavoured, according to the account of a contemporary writer,[1] to lay the foundation of an independent dominion in Spain, having previously made an unsuccessful attempt to cause a revolution in Carthage itself. After having governed Spain for eight years, he fell under the stroke of an assassin; and Hannibal, whom he had himself formed, was named as his successor, first by the army and afterwards by the senate. The opposite faction in Carthage, however, having found means to gain over the people, were desirous of bringing those persons to an account whom the bribes of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had so much enriched;[2] upon which Hannibal, in order to maintain himself and his party, commenced with more haste the war against Rome, upon which he had already resolved.

It is only from a due consideration of all these circumstances that we can judge of the rise and progress of the Barcine faction, and of the changes which it produced. At its origin it espoused the cause of the people; but the wealth of Spain was sufficient to corrupt even many of the great, and with them a strong party in the senate, where, at the commencement of the second war with Rome, the Barcas evidently had a decided preponderance. The more, however, the partisans of that house were enriched, the more easy it was for envy to stir up the people for a time against it, till the heroic valour of Hannibal again put them to silence.

This flexible disposition of the party is precisely the most striking proof of the truth of the narrative; for it is one of the grossest mistakes into which history can fall, to consider political parties, especially in republics, as constant and unchanging bodies; though there is no more difficult task for the historian than to trace out their variations.

From all this the truth and meaning of Polybius's remark, that the Carthaginian government had degenerated before the commencement of the second war with Rome, by an increase of the power of the people, will be set in a just light.[3] The senate at that time appears indeed as the ruling body; but the

[1] Namely, of Fabius, in Polyb. i. p. 403. Fabius, as Polybius states it, says Asdrubal went to Carthage after he had obtained the command in Spain, in order to effect a revolution which should place him at the head of the state. The leading men, however, saw his intention, and united together to prevent it; whereupon he returned to Spain, and there, without troubling himself about the senate, made himself sole master. The account of Fabius is perhaps exaggerated, though there can be little doubt but it contains much that is true, notwithstanding the severe, but to me very unsatisfactory, criticism of Polybius, which in fact does not refer to this point but to another. We at least see by it what confidence was placed in Asdrubal. [2] Appian, i. p. 109. [3] Polyb. ii. p. 563, 564.

senate itself was ruled by a faction, which relied upon its great favour with the people, though another party was always opposed to it, of which Hannibal the Great, till the end of the second war, seems to have been the leader.

But the views and transactions of these two parties require a further development as often as we change the point of view in which we consider them, since no other motive was given to the opponents of the Barcas, but mere envy at their greatness.

According to the statements of all writers, the renewing of the struggle with Rome was the sole act and favourite project of the Barcas; and was connected in the closest manner with their other enterprise—the conquest of Spain, which they prosecuted with so much good fortune. Hence it was that the expedition came to be undertaken from this country, whence they drew their chief supplies, and led by a general who had been trained to arms in this same country. Its great results are generally known. The glorious days of Thrasymene and Cannæ seem to have surpassed the boldest hopes that could have been formed at Carthage.

The natural fruits of these victories would have been a peace with Rome upon fair and moderate terms, which would have restored to the republic its lost possessions in Sicily and Sardinia. And in the eyes of such patriots of Carthage as did not desire a war of extermination, this wish appeared the more excusable, as the republic, with all its efforts, could expect to obtain no immediate advantage beyond it. Every victory, however, instead of leading to peace, seems to have driven it to a greater distance. The more the fame of the Barcas was exalted by the war, the less did they wish for its conclusion; and this is fully proved by the fact, that in the whole course of the war, previous to Scipio's invasion of Africa, there is not a single word said about any negotiations whatever.[1]

How far this line of policy might be true or false, whether it was possible for Carthage and Rome to exist together or not, it is now unnecessary to discuss. But to those who would not regard the aggrandizement of the Barcas as the object of the war, the reflection will spontaneously arise, that the opposite party, from the manner in which they viewed affairs, might also be right, and might not act altogether from dishonourable motives, although they desired peace.[2]

[1] Polyb. iii. p. 502.

[2] There will be found no closer resemblance to the struggle of these two parties in Carthage, than that of the Whigs and Tories during the war of the Spanish succession in

That it is in this way that the contest between these two parties must be viewed, namely, one as clamorous for peace, the other desirous above all things to continue the war, is clear from what is said by Livy.[1] A detailed history of this party-contention cannot be given for want of information. Nevertheless we see that towards the end of the war, the party at that time for peace, and which indeed Hannibal joined on his return to Africa, gained the upper hand in the senate; while a democratic party made use of, on the contrary, all the influence it possessed, to frustrate the pending negotiations.[2]

But whatever change might have taken place in the character of these parties within themselves, it is at least certain that the Barcine faction maintained a preponderance in the senate during the last years of the war; the usual opinion, therefore, that the opposition of Hanno crippled the progress of Hannibal by his having sufficient influence to prevent his being supported in Italy, requires at least a good deal of confirmation to make it consistent.

Reinforcements and supplies directly from Africa did not at all enter into the immediate plan of the Carthaginian general. It was more particularly one of his great ideas, from the commencement of the war to the time he left Italy, that these should be supplied from another quarter, namely from Spain; and the whole history of the war is taken in a wrong point of view if this be not duly considered.

The reasons why he expected to draw what assistance he should require from thence, may be detailed in a few words. Spain was the principal seat of the power and the resources of his house;[3] but, above all, it was the field in which his troops were trained to arms. As the war with Rome had

England. Were not the latter justified in wishing for peace, although Marlborough, at the head of the Whigs, was against it? This comparison might be carried still further, and could not fail to be instructive if it were in place here. Perhaps there is not in history a finer parallel than might be drawn between Hannibal and Marlborough, if a Plutarch could be found to do it justice. Their both contending for ten years upon a foreign soil without being subdued would alone be sufficient to justify the comparison. But much more striking similarities are found in their general circumstances; in their bold enterprises; in the formation of their heterogeneous armies; in their murderous battles, planned for annihilation; in their comprehensive political activity; in their dominion over the men by whom they were surrounded; in their unfortunate fates; and, indeed, even in their perhaps unique weakness, for both were unable to withstand the influence of gold. The proper and authentic key to Hannibal's character is found in Polybius, iii. p. 144, as the writer obtained it from the mouth of Massinissa, at one time the friend and fellow-warrior of the great Carthaginian.

[1] See the discourse of Hanno, Liv. xxiii. 12. [2] Appian. i. p. 345.

[3] Some estimate may be formed of the immense income which the Barca family drew from Spain, from what Pliny relates of the produce of the mine Bebulo, (so named from its discoverer,) situate near New Carthage, and belonging to Hannibal. Plin. xxxiii. 6. "Ex quibus Bebulo puteus appellatur hodieque, qui ccc pondo Hannibali subministravit in dies." That is, three hundred Roman pounds of silver, making about one hundred thousand pounds a year.

never relaxed here, armies were here formed that were already accustomed to stand before the legions; consequently they must have been infinitely superior to the raw, newly-raised levies from Africa.

Hence, therefore, the great design of the Carthaginian general, (to effect which he unceasingly laboured from the commencement of the war,) that his brother Asdrubal should reinforce him with a second army from Spain, whose place should be supplied by a body of troops from Africa, in order still to maintain a preponderance there against Rome.[1]

The truth of this remark appears evident, as well from the history of the war, as from the continual preponderance of the Barcas in the Carthaginian senate. The order to march towards Italy was sent to Asdrubal from Carthage, immediately after the account had been received of the great victory of Cannæ, and a new army to act in Spain was sent there under the command of Hamilco.[2] The Romans, however, were aware of this design, and it was therefore the task of the two Scipios in Spain to hinder its execution. They did this at first by the victory near the Ebro,[3] whereupon Mago, the other brother of Hannibal, was sent into Spain by the Carthaginians even in the very same year, B. C. 215, with a strong reinforcement.[4] But the double victory of the Scipios near Illiturgi, purchased them a continuance of the superiority.[5] The Carthaginians, nevertheless, sent over a third army, under the command of Asdrubal the son of Gisco;[6] while, just about the same time, another must have been sent, together with a fleet, to the assistance of the besieged Syracuse.[7] The treble victory of Munda, however, B. C. 214, enabled Scipio to maintain his ground.[8] After these bold and active operations, the struggle rather slumbered here for two years,[9] when the Romans fell into the trap the Carthaginians had set for them, and the two Scipios were slain[10] (212). The victory gained by Marcius over the Carthaginians, and the still more important entrance

[1] Doctor Becker, of Razeburg, to whom we are indebted for a learned treatise, introductory to a history of the second Punic war, differs from me in this and some other points. I confess that his arguments do not convince me. I think it, however, best to leave the matter to the reader's judgment, as the question here is not of the events themselves, but of the opinion formed respecting them; and here, perhaps, difference of opinion may be the most instructive. Concerning the main object in the eyes of the Carthaginians, the importance of the Spanish war, (although perhaps originally begun without their consent,) and the preservation of that country, which I believe to have been first brought to light in this work, there is no difference of opinion between us. [2] Liv. xxiii. 27, 28. In the year 216. They feared the execution of this plan from the first victory of Hannibal. Polyb. i. p. 608.

[3] Liv. xxiii. 29. [4] Ibid. xxiii. 32. [5] Ibid. xxiii. 49. [6] Ibid. xxiv. 41.

[7] Ibid. xxiv. 35. [8] Ibid. xxiv. 42. [9] Ibid. xxv. 32. [10] Ibid. xxv. 35, 36.

of the younger Scipio into Spain in the next year, still delayed the execution of the plan; but as the Carthaginians founded their only hopes of success upon its completion, they prosecuted it with the more zeal for these hinderances,[1] and made the greatest preparations to reinforce the army of Spain. The victory of Scipio, and all his efforts, could not prevent its accomplishment;[2] Asdrubal crossed the Pyrenees and Alps with a numerous army; and had he not lost his life in Umbria, the fame of the deified Scipio might have been placed in a critical situation.

Probably, from the course of this war, we may in some degree account for that decline of the maritime forces of the republic during it, which even ancient writers have considered as one of the main causes of its fall,[3] and which no where appears more evident than in Scipio's crossing over to Africa without a fleet being sent out to oppose him. In the prosecution of their design the Barcas had but little occasion for a navy, it had held therefore only a secondary place; and the powerful exertions which the land service cost, perhaps rendered it impossible to maintain the other upon an equal footing.

However this may have been, what we have above said will sufficiently answer the question how this party-spirit first arose. And it is, properly, upon *this* question that the fall of every republic usually depends. A nation united in itself is unconquerable; but the most mighty people become an easy prey to their enemies when the spirit of faction prevails over patriotism.

How violent this spirit must have been, during the second struggle with Rome, is plainly shown by the deep degeneration of the government at its close. The relation of Livy, notwithstanding the Roman colouring he has given to it, leaves no doubt on this head.[1] According to him, a powerful body of the republic, which he calls the ordèr of knights, had usurped a tyrannical authority, and exercised a despotic power over the goods and persons of the citizens.[2] Its members held their places for life, and as they appointed the ministers of the treasury, they had that in their interest. From what we know of the Carthaginian constitution, this order of knights was most probably the council of the hundred, which in this stormy period found the best opportunity of founding a reign of terrors,—the fruit usually brought forth by the riot of faction. When Hannibal became head of the commonwealth, he annihilated these abuses by a twofold reform; as he made the offices of the centumvirate annual instead of for life, and regulated the management of the treasury. But even these reforms nourished the spirit of faction, as Hannibal thereby made all those his enemies who had fed upon the public; and

[1] Liv. xxvii. 5. [2] An obscurity hovers over this point of history, both in Polybius and Livy, which cannot but surprise every attentive reader. It must be allowed that Scipio committed one of the greatest military faults in permitting this expedition of Asdrubal if it were in his power to prevent it. Although he gained, according to Polybius, iii. p. 280, a victory over Asdrubal, he did not consider it prudent to follow him to the Pyrenees, whither he had fled with the remains of his army, and Asdrubal appears a few months later, and after a rapid harassing march, with fifty-six thousand men in Italy. Is not this enough to awaken some suspicion respecting this victory? Can we help suspecting that the writer desired to touch upon this subject as lightly as possible, which he knew would not be agreeable to the family of Scipio? He certainly states, as a reason for Scipio's not following him, that he feared the two other Carthaginian generals; but does this free him from the reproach of having suffered himself to be outreached by Asdrubal? But even in the account of Livy, the fact bears a somewhat different appearance. He mentions, it is true, the victory of Scipio near Bæcula (xxvii. 18, 19); but he states at the same time, that Asdrubal had made preparations before the battle to march towards the Pyrenees; and that Scipio, although he was advised to follow him, thought it sufficient to occupy the mountain passes with a body of troops (xxvii. 20). Appian, however, (i. p. 135,) places these events in a much clearer light. According to his account, Scipio, before the said battle, was in a very perilous situation. The battle, the issue of which long remained doubtful, but finally decided for Scipio, helped him out of this (Polybius, therefore, certainly might, without being false to history, ascribe the victory to Scipio). But Asdrubal had, before this, caused numerous levies to be raised on the northern coasts; and, deceiving Scipio, he suddenly turned thitherward, and, with the troops there assembled, crossed the Pyrenees. To none of the generals of that period has less justice been done than to Asdrubal. A fair character of him may be found in Diodorus, ii. p. 569; where he is said to be, without dispute, the first general after his brother Hannibal. He is ranked, moreover, next to him as well as Mago, Hannibal's younger brother, by Polybius, iii. p. 138. History rarely exhibits a similar race of heroes! They are mighty men. They rank too high to be obscured by centuries. [3] Appian, i. p. 310.

[1] Liv. xxxiii. 46.

[2] *Ordo judicum.* In explaining this passage of Livy, much, in consequence of his making use of Roman appellations, must be left to conjecture. I therefore beg that my view of it may be taken in this light. Two things are certain. First: the *ordo judicum* was a high state and police tribunal. Secondly: Hannibal was at the head of it (prætor *eorum* scil. judicum factus). I take it, therefore, to be the *centumvirate*, or *gerusia*, (see above, p. 55,) which arose out of the anarchy, and usurped a tyrannical power. In the *gerusia* the suffetes enjoyed the presidency. The expression *prætor*, therefore, stands here either for suffes, or we must suppose it to mean an extraordinary magistrate, a sort of dictator, yet not of the warrior kind, which, under the extraordinary circumstances of the period, would not be surprising. At all events, Hannibal stood as chief magistrate at the head of the republic. As such he cited the *quæstor* before him, who could be no other than the first minister of finance. He did not, however, obey him, as he was certain, after his quæstorship, to be brought into the *ordo judicum*, the *centumvirate*. According to Aristotle, (see above, p. 58,) when they left the *pentarchies*, they became members of the centumvirate. It seems, therefore, highly probable that the quæstor was chief of the pentarchy, which directed the affairs of the treasury. This agrees with what we learn from Aristotle, (see above, p. 58,) that when persons left the pentarchies they entered into the gerusia. Hannibal's reform consisted of two objects. First, in making the duration of the office of the members of the centumvirate yearly instead of for life, which broke the oligarchic power of this assembly; and secondly, by reforming the abuses of the treasury; partly by rigidly enforcing the payment of the arrears, and partly by restoring to the state that which belonged to it. This interpretation seems to me to agree best, not only with the words of Livy, but also with all we know of the Carthaginian government in the better days of the republic. The identity of the gerusia and centumvirate as a high state tribunal, is also, according to my judgment, confirmed by a passage in Livy, xxxiv. 61. "When," says he, "the suffetes were seated, in order to administer justice, (*ad jus dicendum*,) the note of Aristo (the private agent, who had fled, of Hannibal) was found posted up in their seats, stating that his commission was not to private persons, but *ad seniores*, (*ita senatum vocant*,)" therefore, to the gerusia, of which the suffetes, in order to administer justice, were the presidents. For where, except in that assembly, could the note mentioned be more properly fixed up?

the stipulations of the last peace with Rome were not suffered to die away.

In the decline of free states every misfortune becomes doubled, as it scarcely ever fails to re-animate the fury of parties. Mortified pride seeks for revenge; and the guilt of unsuccessful war, and humiliating peace, is hurled from one party to the other. Their mutual hate is thus not only increased, but becomes greater than their hate to the most haughty foe; and thus becomes explained the melancholy, though in history constantly recurring phenomenon, that it becomes easy to the latter, in such states, to form itself a party, which enables it to accomplish its designs.

This melancholy phenomenon showed itself at Carthage, in its fullest extent, after the second peace with Rome. A Roman party, first formed by the opponents of Hannibal, performed the office of continual spies for that republic.[1] The expulsion of that great man, who in the afflictions of his country showed himself above all party-spirit, was their work, and is the best proof of their strength and their blindness. Who was to fill up the void caused by his absence?

But the last peace with Rome contained, by the relation in which it placed Massinissa with Carthage, a condition, which seems not less to have contributed to the internal disorder. In him the republic clearly saw a neighbour and overseer, who, by the help of the Romans, sought to aggrandize himself at its expense, and who at last snatched away the best portion of its territory, the rich district of Emporia.[2] He also found means to buy himself a party in Carthage, which at last became so daring, that they were driven from the city,[3] and thereby gave occasion to that unfortunate war which led to the fall of Carthage.

There certainly stood opposed to these factions, as might be expected, a party of patriots,[4] who, by bringing to remembrance the happy days of the time gone by, strove to recall them. It seems never, however, to have found a leader worthy of that rank;[5] and plain traces show, that it suffered itself to be provoked by its opponents into a precipitate and incautious

[1] Liv. xxxiii. 47. [2] Polyb. iv. p. 547.

[3] Appian, i. p. 394. No other writer has so accurately described the outrages which Carthage had to endure from Massinissa.

[4] These three factions are distinguished and described by Appian, i. p. 390. The immense population of the city, which, even in its latest periods, is estimated at seven hundred thousand, must have made the contention of these factions dreadful.

[5] Compare Polybius's portraiture of the last Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, iv. p. 701.

line of conduct, which was rather hurtful than conducive to the good cause.[1]

This violence of factions, the accurate detail of which must be left to a proper history of Carthage, continued with little interruption from Hannibal's exile to the overthrow of the republic. The life of Massinissa seemed as if it would never close; and his pretensions increased with his years. In the Roman senate a party was formed, principally by the offended purity and hateful passions of the elder Cato, whose watchword was the annihilation of Carthage, which led to the speedy renewal of hostilities.

The last struggle of the unfortunate republic requires no commentary. It was the struggle of a giant in despair, who, certain of destruction, would not fall ingloriously. How many and what causes had long been working together to render this fall at last unavoidable, it has been the object of the foregoing work to develop; and the close of this great tragedy confirms the observation, that Rome trusted to itself and its sword—Carthage to its gold and its mercenaries. The greatness of Rome was founded upon a rock; that of Carthage upon sand and gold-dust.

ETHIOPIANS.

CHAP. I. *Geographical Survey of the Ethiopian Nations.*

ETHIOPIA, THE MOST DISTANT REGION OF THE EARTH, WHOSE INHABITANTS ARE THE TALLEST, MOST BEAUTIFUL, AND LONG-LIVED OF THE HUMAN RACE. HEROD. III. 114.

UNTIL we can obtain fuller and better information respecting the nations of inner Africa, there must necessarily remain several wide gaps in the history of our race, whose number and greatness it will perhaps be impossible to estimate correctly until these shall have been filled up. This observation may be applied indifferently to the moral and physical state of man. Africa, from its situation, naturally contains the greatest variety of the human race, in a physical point of view; and it may be fair to conjecture, from that very circumstance, that the moral differences are equally numerous.

[1] Compare what Livy says of Gisco, the son of Hamilcar. *Epitom.* l. xlviii.

He who wishes to examine the influences of climate on nature, and particularly on the outward figure and colour of man, will find Africa the only quarter of the world which offers him an unbroken chain from almost the highest to the lowest grade of physical organization. Neither Europe nor Asia contain continents which reach to the equator; in America various causes concur to weaken the influence of climate;[1] besides which European policy has taken so much pains since its discovery, to exterminate and corrupt the aboriginal tribes, particularly the better and more cultivated, that the philosopher is deprived of the materials most worthy of, and which would best repay, his attention. Australasia, and the newly-discovered islands of the South Sea, are only so many links of a chain every where torn asunder. Africa, on the contrary, forms of itself one immense whole; one continent, which, arising under the temperate zone, stretches, without losing much of its width, across the line, and finally tapers off almost to a point, in the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere. This vast tract is every where sown with nations, which, like the various kinds of corn before the introduction of husbandry, have sprung up in various shapes, under the fostering hand of nature alone, and are ripening towards civilization.

The inhabitants of the northern coast differ but little in colour and form from the Europeans; but the difference gradually becomes more striking; as we approach the equator, the colour darkens, the hair becomes more woolly, the profile undergoes a remarkable change, and man at last becomes altogether a negro. Beyond the equator, the figure and swarthy colour of this unhappy race are again lost in successive gradations. The Caffres and Hottentots seem to have, from what we know of them, much of the negro nature, without however being completely negroes.[2]

All the innumerable varieties of form therefore found in the human species, and every shade of colour from the white to the negro, are exhibited before us on the vast scene of Africa, and certainly there only in an uninterrupted series. How different then will this important branch of natural history appear, when the labours of capable travellers shall have given us, by their drawings, descriptions, and researches, such an accurate and scientific detail of these variations, as shall enable

[1] Zimmermann, *Geographical History of Mankind*, i. p. 78.
[2] Blumenbach's *Natural History*, i. p. 56.

us to form a true idea of these successive and gradual changes, of which, up to the present time, taking into our account even the latest discoveries, we know scarcely anything more, than that they justify us in drawing the above general inferences.

The additions likely to be made from these sources to our knowledge of the great families of mankind, both in a moral and psychological point of view, are perhaps yet more considerable. But we still require better information of what man *is*, and may become, in those regions. For which shall we take as our standard? Not, I hope, those unfortunate beings who, torn from their country, their friends, and from all those associations which affect the heart of a negro, groan beyond the ocean under the tyranny of the European, whose lash would soon suppress every development of mind, which, in spite of his cruelty, might show itself.—Or shall we take it from the report of travellers? Our circle of information has certainly been enlarged by them during the last ten years, and adventurers have pressed forward from the north, from the west, and from the south, yet the most persevering of them have been unable to reach Tombuctoo, or any other large inland town where the civilization of these nations has reached a higher point; or if they have reached it, we still lack anything like accurate information respecting it.[1] What, however, we have learned from Leo Africanus, and from Mungo Park and his successors, justly excites our admiration, though it is far from satisfying our curiosity. What a picture of rising cultivation did Park catch a glance of in the neighbourhood of Seego, on the banks of the Joliba! The great question respecting the rise and first formation of states, which hitherto has been little more than an object of speculation, seems here likely to become historically answered. Religion, legislation, national law, all appear here in their infancy, but still in a great variety of changing shapes, and show in as many ways

[1] The latest known travellers, Denham and Clapperton, starting from the north coast, have penetrated as far as 10° N. lat.; from the Cape on the south the missionaries have pushed into the neighbourhood of the southern tropic, into the country of the Bitschuances; where the advance of a mighty nomad people, the Mantatis, from the heart of Africa in the year 1823, will probably prevent the farther progress of discovery for a long period. The particulars of this may be seen in the *South African Journal*, No. I., for January 1824, published at the Cape. The war with the Ashantees has also interrupted the progress from the west. No European has yet seen the sources of the Joliba.

[Since the publication of the original German of this work, our unfortunate countryman, Major Laing, and the French adventurer, Caillié, have penetrated to Tombuctoo; but the cruel murder and robbery of the former, and the limited talents of the latter, render the additions made to our stock of information much less interesting than might have been expected. They, with the recent discovery of the flux of the Joliba into the sea, are noticed in Appendix, ix. *Translator.*]

their influence upon these still uncultivated people.[1] The great machinery, such as general emigrations, vast conquests, either by rude or civilized nations, suddenly-arising and far-spreading systems of religion, which have at one time accelerated, and at others abruptly retarded, the progress of civilization in other quarters of the globe, seem to have had much less effect in the interior of Africa. The propagation of the Mahometan religion, which has penetrated as far as the countries on the Niger, is perhaps the only external shock that these nations have received, and this, though it certainly has had some effect, has produced no rapid or remarkable consequences. All here is left to itself, and moves along in the slow, but certain course of nature.

Except the Egyptians, there is no aboriginal people of Africa with so many claims upon our attention as the Ethiopians; from the remotest times to the present, one of the most celebrated and yet most mysterious of nations. In the earliest traditions of nearly all the more civilized nations of antiquity, the name of this distant people is found. The annals of the Egyptian priests were full of them; the nations of inner Asia, on the Euphrates and Tigris, have interwoven the fictions of the Ethiopian with their own traditions of the conquests and wars of their heroes; and, at a period equally remote, they glimmer in Greek mythology. When the Greeks scarcely knew Italy and Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated in the verses of their poets; "they are the remotest nation, the most just of men; the favourites of the gods. The lofty inhabitants of Olympus journey to them, and take part in their feasts; their sacrifices are the most agreeable of all that mortals can offer them."[2] And when the faint gleam of tradition and fable gives way to the clear light of history, the lustre of the Ethiopians is not diminished. They still continue the object of curiosity and admiration; and the pen of cautious, clear-sighted historians often places them in the highest rank of knowledge and civilization.

To what shall we attribute this early renown of one of the most distant nations of the earth? How did the fame of its name penetrate the terrible desert which surrounds it, and,

[1] Those, for example, who would learn the origin of republics, or would wish to see the growth of *mysteries* and *secret tribunals*, may consult Golberry's account of the institution of the Purrah among the Foulahs. [The author here alludes to the *Fehmgerichte*, an institution peculiar to Westphalia, and made use of by Sir Walter Scott in Anne of Geierstein.]

[2] See all the passages where Homer speaks of the Ethiopians, for example, *Odyss.* i. v. 23, etc.

even still, forms an almost insuperable bar to all who would approach it? To suppose all the above particulars the mere offspring of the poet's imagination, will scarcely be allowed by any at all acquainted with the nature of early traditions. But if they were more than this, if the reports respecting this people were founded in truth, then the above questions become of the greatest importance to ancient history, and have the stronger claim to our attention; as no one yet, within the circle of my knowledge, has at all satisfactorily answered them.

A great many nations, different and distant from one another, are comprised under the name of Ethiopian. It would be taking a distorted view of the subject to consider them as one nation, or even as one race. The study of the natural history of man was but little cultivated in antiquity; nations were distinguished according to the most remarkable difference in their appearance, namely, their colour; and thus all those who were strikingly distinguished from Europeans by a very dark, or completely black skin, received the general appellation of Ethiopians.

After these remarks it will not seem strange that we find Ethiopian nations scattered over a great part of the ancient world. Africa certainly contained the greatest number of them, yet they were not the only inhabitants of this part of the world, nor were they confined to it alone. A considerable tract of Asia was occupied by an Ethiopian race; and as India was often made to comprise southern Africa, so, in like manner, Ethiopia is frequently made to include southern India. It is of great importance to the general scope of this inquiry, that we should show somewhat more accurately the extent and variety of the seats of these nations. It is, however, scarcely necessary to notice, that, of the ancient writers, only the more eminent historians and geographers can find a place here; as what we attempt will be rather a general geographical outline, and a detail of particulars.

They agree, for the most part, in dividing the native tribes of Africa into two distinct classes, the Libyans and the Ethiopians.

"Thus much I know," says Herodotus,[1] "four nations occupy Africa, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal, and two not. The Libyans and Ethiopians are aboriginal; the former lying northward, and the latter southward, in Libya;

[1] Herod. iv. 197.

the foreign settlers are Phœnicians and Greeks." This division will be found exactly followed by succeeding writers; although they are not very accurate in the use of names. And, notwithstanding we should grant that no essential distinction of races is here pointed at, yet it is at least evident, that the inhabitants of the north and the southern parts of northern Africa, are so distinguished from one another, and particularly by the colour of their skin, that they considered them as entirely different races.

The father of history, therefore, as well as the other Greek writers, comprised under the name of Libyans[1] all the nations which they knew in northern Africa without the territory of the Carthaginians and Greeks, as well as the separate tribes, which, as far as the Lesser Syrtis, Herodotus has so carefully enumerated;[2] and the nomad tribes of western north Africa, which later writers have rescued from obscurity, equally belong to them.[3] The first important question, therefore, that presents itself, is, who were these nations, and are any of their descendants now to be found?

Since the migratory invasions of the Arabs north Africa has been so much changed, with regard to its inhabitants, that this question cannot be answered without great difficulty. These conquerors have, by partly living in towns, and by the pastoral life of the far greater number, spread themselves over every part of northern Africa, where they are now comprised under the name of Moors.[4] Their tribes wander over the vast tracts between the Mediterranean Sea and the Senegal and Joliba; and are notorious as a nation for their savage barbarity and religious fanaticism. It has, however, for a long time been ascertained that they certainly are not the only inhabitants of these extensive regions. Even early travellers[5] distinguished from them a race known by the name of Berbers, who dwell in the southern provinces of Barbary and Morocco, and especially in the Atlas mountains, whither they have been pressed back by the progress of the conquering Arabs, as they had previously been by the Vandals.[6] But the recent discoveries

[1] The Egyptians, of course, are not included in this remark, as their country was not usually considered as forming part of Libya. This also applies to the Arab tribes, who, as will hereafter be shown, migrated to the east coast of Africa and Ethiopia at a very early period. [2] See above, p. 7, 10. [3] See above, p. 127.

[4] This name is often improperly applied to all the inhabitants of northern Africa, to distinguish them from the negroes; but it can only correctly be used to distinguish the Arab tribes in Africa, from the north coast to Sahara, who are likewise known by their language.

[5] See the narratives of Hoest, Shaw, etc.

[6] We learn from Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, that they attempted, in the time of the Vandals, to regain possession of their lost territories. To seek for a Carthaginian or Vandal race now, however, in the interior of Africa, would be as fruitless an undertaking as it would be rash to deny that Phœnician or German blood has not mixed with the native tribes, which, perhaps, has even had some influence upon their colour. The account we shall presently give of the Tuaricks may probably confirm this conjecture.

in Africa have thrown a new light upon this circumstance, or at least changed the thick darkness in which it was enveloped into a glimmering twilight. Without, then, attempting to prove their common descent, or relationship, I shall comprise under the name of Berbers all the aboriginal tribes of northern Africa beyond Egypt, from the Atlantic Sea to the Arabian Gulf, in opposition to the Moors and negroes. This survey will be facilitated by our separating the western half from the eastern.

The narratives of Hornemann[1] and Lyon have now made us acquainted with two nations in the western countries altogether different from the Arabs and negroes: we mean the Tibboos and Tuaricks, both of whom, from their widely-extended places of abode, and especially the latter, demand our consideration. They dwell, says Hornemann, to the south and west of Fezzan; their territory being bounded on the south-east by Bornou, on the south by the negro countries, and on the west by Fez and Morocco. Settlements of them, however, are to be met with in Fezzan itself, in Augila and Siwah, in which places the language of the Tuaricks is the proper language of the inhabitants. They are, indeed, divided into many tribes, but all speak the same language, which is entirely different from the Arabic. The proofs of this which have been sent to England have led to a very important consequence, as it has been found by comparison to be exactly the same as that spoken by the above-mentioned Berbers in the Atlas mountains;[2] so that no doubt can remain but that these and the Tuaricks are one and the same people. With regard to their colour, though it certainly is not exactly the same in some of the tribes, yet the difference seems in a great measure to depend upon their place of abode and their manner of living; and, properly speaking, they are but mere variations of the tint, which, owing to these causes, is sometimes lighter and sometimes darker. The western branch of this race are white, so far as the climate and their habits will allow it. Others are of a yellow cast, like the Arabs; others again swarthy; and in the neighbourhood of Soudan there is said to be a tribe

[1] Hornemann, p. 129—132.

[2] See the comparison made by Marsden. Hornemann, p. 235.

completely black. Their lineaments, nevertheless, have nothing in them of the negro kind. The Mahometan religion has been introduced among them, but has not been very generally adopted: paganism mostly prevails. They usually lead a nomad life, though some have fixed abodes; they are slimly made, and rather above than under the common height. Their moral character is favourably spoken of, and they would probably become, if their natural talents were better cultivated and enlightened, one of the first nations of the world. Commerce is their principal occupation; their caravans ply between the negro countries and Fezzan; and the principal city of the latter country, otherwise desolate and lonely, becomes enlivened at their arrival.

These particulars are confirmed and extended by Captain Lyon, who observed the Tuaricks[1] at Fezzan. He says they are the finest race of men he ever saw; tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing. They are generally white; the dark brown of their complexions only being occasioned by the heat of the climate. Their arms and bodies are as fair as many Europeans. They certainly are whites, though somewhat tanned. Their costume is composed of cotton; and they are very partial to blue and striking colours, especially the merchants, who generally dress very gaudily while in the towns. They all wear a whip, hanging from a belt passed over the left shoulder. Their weapons are a long sword and a dagger, without which no Tuarick is ever seen, and a long elegant spear, highly ornamented, and sometimes made entirely of iron. Their language is the Breber, or original African tongue, still spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, in some parts of Morocco, and at Sockna, where it is called Ertāna. They are very proud of its antiquity. They are Moslems; but their knowledge of religion very often consists in a mere form of prayer. They inhabit that immense tract found in our maps under the name of Sahara, or the great desert, and are of numerous tribes, some of whom wander like the Arabs, and subsist by plunder. They travel on the maherri, or dromedary, with which they perform incredibly swift journeys. Many of their tribes are in perpetual war with the Soudan states, from whom they carry off an immense number of slaves, the principal article

[1] *Narrative*, p. 108—112. Compare his plates, ten and eleven, where they are represented in their costume and finery. The custom of covering the lower part of the countenance, from the nose downwards, serves as a protection from the sand and hot wind.

of their trade. The nearest place of the Tuaricks is ten days' journey to the south of Morzouk.

It is therefore evident that even still an extensive people, quite distinct from the Arabs and the negroes, is scattered over the greater part of northern Africa, and that the chief part of the commerce of inner Africa is in their hands. History is silent respecting the migration of any such nation into Africa; and everything tends to prove them aboriginal. Their habits and their business bear a striking resemblance to that of the Libyans of old: and their seat would still have been the same, if powerful conquerors had not driven them from the sea-coasts, and compelled them to purchase their liberty and independence by a retreat into the innermost parts of the desert. Can any one doubt after this that these Tuaricks are the descendants of the ancient Libyans? Perhaps it only requires a more accurate knowledge of them than it has yet been possible to obtain, to confirm many of the little traits which Herodotus relates concerning them, and, among others, the reason of his regarding them as more healthy than the rest of the world.[1]

The Tibboos, frequently mentioned, are, in every respect, a different people from the Tuaricks, in their appearance, their manner of living, and their language. Their colour is of the brightest black; but their profile has nothing of the negro character:[2] they have aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of Europeans. In the matter of civilization they are below the Tuaricks, living partly in caves, and partly in villages upon barren rocks or hills, in order to escape being plundered by the Tuaricks and Fezzanese, who carry them off as slaves. They follow the slave trade, however, themselves, but do not trade to Soudan. The female sex are well made, and, like the negroes, love dancing.—By thus comparing the Tuaricks and Tibboos I am almost led to conjecture that the population of the former has spread from north to south, and the latter from south to north. To draw an accurate line between the ancient Libyans and Ethiopians would be as difficult a task as it would be between the present negro tribes and the Moors and Tuaricks. It is certainly very probable that the southern boundaries of the great desert may in general be taken as the limits of the negro countries; yet it is equally certain, that separate black tribes, either completely negro or

[1] Herod. iv. 187. [2] Lyon, *Narrative*, p. 225, etc.

not, have penetrated, both in ancient and modern times, a considerable way into the great desert. According to the statement upon Lyon's map, the black population begins under the 28° N. Lat. The fact mentioned by Herodotus, of the Ethiopians being hunted by the Garamantes in four-horse chariots,[1] and the separate tribes of them, dwelling along the Atlantic coast, almost as far as Cerne,[2] prove it to have been the same in early times; and it has already been remarked, from the narratives of modern travellers, that in the Tibesti mountains, the very same territory where the Garamantes hunted the Ethiopians, black people were, or even still are, to be found.[3] If the numerous interminglings of the various tribes, which here must necessarily have taken place, be taken into consideration, the impossibility of placing an accurate boundary line between the Libyans and Ethiopians will easily be perceived.

I shall now turn from the western nations of north Africa, to the eastern; to the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile above Egypt, and the adjacent countries, as far as the Arabian Gulf; in order to throw some light upon what the ancients have said concerning them. As their country in general is comprised under the name of Ethiopia, the name has been transferred to its inhabitants; and they are called Ethiopians, because their colour happens to be dark, without respect to their descent. But all writers have not expressed themselves with equal accuracy.

Herodotus is the first who fairly claims our attention. His accounts here, as well as every where else, show the deep inquirer and the keen observer. He distinguishes the Ethiopians according to the growth of their hair, and particularly the proper negroes[4] from the other swarthy tribes. "The eastern Ethiopians in Asia," he says, "have straight hair; while the African Ethiopians have the most curly hair of all men."[5] The father of history, however, is mistaken in speaking thus of all the black tribes of Africa. All these are not negroes; a considerable number is found there, who, like those of Asia, have straight hair, notwithstanding the black hue of their skins. We have already had some proofs of this assertion, and shall see more as we proceed; but Herodotus decided according to what he saw of them in Upper Egypt, the most southern point of his travels.

[1] Herod. iv. 183. [2] Scylax, p. 54. [3] Hornemann, p. 126, and Lyon, l. c.
[4] By *proper* negroes I understand the black people with woolly hair and the well-known negro profile. [5] Herod. vii. 70.

Herodotus has not distinguished the separate tribes of these nations, according to their geographical situation, with so much accuracy as later geographers; he describes them in a general way as the inhabitants of southern Africa. He only distinguishes the Macrobians, and the inhabitants of Meroë, to whom we shall by and by return. We are left without more minute information till we come to the writers who flourished during the period of the Ptolemies, when we have some fragments of Eratosthenes and Agatharchides, which Diodorus, Strabo, and others have preserved to us.

We are indebted, however, to Herodotus for one important piece of information, which, notwithstanding the many changes that have taken place, suits as well in the present day as in his time.

The eastern districts of North Africa, above Egypt, from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar, were even then occupied by two different races; one aboriginal, which he includes under the general appellation of Ethiopians, and the other an immigratory Arabian race, leading for the most part a wandering, roving life. That such was the case in the Persian period, and certainly as far back as the Pharaohs, is evident from what we are told of the army of Xerxes, whom they were compelled to attend in his expedition into Greece. Here we find the Ethiopians and Arabians above Egypt associated under the same commander.[1] But to what extent this spreading of the Arabians went on in later times we learn from a passage which Pliny has preserved us, of the Description of Africa by Juba, the Numidian king, and contemporary of Augustus. According to his account, the banks of the Nile, from Philæ to Meroë, were occupied by Arab tribes, differing from the Ethiopians.[2] We shall soon see how exactly this statement tallies with that of the latest travellers.

It would, however, be equally difficult to draw a precise line between the Arabian and aboriginal nations here, as it would be between the negroes and Berbers in western Africa. The Arabian tribes have not only dwelt in the country above two thousand years, and therefore long before the introduction of Mahometanism, (although Islamism, if propagated by force, might probably have given them the preponderancy,)[3] but

[1] Herod. vii. 69. [2] Pliny, vi. 34.
[3] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur Egypte*, ii. p. 146.

many of them have intermingled with the older stock.[1] The latter likewise lay claim to an Arabian descent, (especially when they would show that they are different from the negroes,[2]) although we have well-grounded reasons for believing the contrary. The *language*, however, on this point seems quite decisive; though caution must still be used even in this respect; for, as Arabian descent is considered the more honourable, there are tribes who lay claim to it, and yet speak a completely different language; travellers, therefore, may easily be deceived, when they hear individuals of such tribes speaking Arabic, and from that judge respecting the whole tribe. But, after all, the character of the language still remains in my opinion the most certain test. It does not appear likely that Arabians, who pride themselves upon their language,[3] should have relinquished it in order to adopt that of a barbarous or conquered people; unless they had become lost among them from being so few in number. I therefore consider myself justified in ranking all those nations as aboriginal who do not speak Arabic, whether they in their traditions give themselves an Arabian descent or not; and I shall venture to include them all under the general appellation of Berbers (*Barabras*,) the rather because this name in the same sense is still given them in Egypt.[4]

Among these nations we must first mention the Nubians. This name does not occur till the period of the Ptolemies, and is I believe first mentioned by Eratosthenes;[5] but it soon came into use, sometimes as the general name for all the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile,[6] from Egypt to Sennaar and the ancient Meroë, and sometimes, in a more limited sense, for the present Dongola. Their chief mark of distinction is that their dwellings are in the valley of the Nile. Within these last few years we have obtained from the graphic pencil of Burkhardt, a description of this nation, the first accurate accounts we have had, but which have already been confirmed, honourably for him, by his successors.[7]

They live in a land of monuments, perhaps erected by their forefathers; and on that account have the greater claim to our attention. Their language, of which Burkhardt has given us

[1] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur Egypte*, ii. p. 144. [2] Burkhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 216. [3] Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, p. 55. [4] Legh, p. 56. [5] Strabo, p. 1135. [6] The tribes on the west bank of the Nile are expressly reckoned among them by Strabo, l. c., and distinguished from the Ethiopians. [7] Especially by the Travels of Waddington and Hanbury.

specimens,[1] is entirely different from the Arabian; and neither that nor their exterior appearance will allow us to give them an Arabian origin. They are of a dark brown colour, with hair either naturally curly, or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly. It often forms an elevated ornament, like those on the monuments. Their visage has nothing at all of the negro physiognomy. The men are well formed, strong, and muscular, with delicate features. They are something shorter than the Egyptians. They have only a little beard growing under the chin, as upon the Egyptian statues. They are very thinly clad, almost naked; but are all armed with a spear, five feet long, a dagger, and a large shield, formed of the skin of the hippopotamus. The women are well made, with pleasing features. The men buy them of their parents; but frequently also intermarry with the Arabs.[2] The Nubian, says another eye-witness, is thin and slender, but beautifully formed; and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian. When he demands a present he poises his spear upon his breast. All go armed with spear, sword, and shield. Forty of them sitting in a circle had each their spear stuck in the ground near them.[3] According to the express testimony of the latest travellers, the Nubian language is spoken at Dongola, where the Arabian is spoken but badly.[4] To the south of Dongola is the country of the Scheygias, a very remarkable race. They are of a very dark brown, or rather black colour, but by no means negroes.[5] Till lately they were completely independent, and defended their liberty against the army of the pasha of Egypt with an heroic courage worthy a better fate, for they were almost extirpated. They speak Arabic, but whether they are of Arabian or mixed origin I cannot venture to determine. They are divided, almost in the manner of castes, into three classes: the learned, who have books and schools, the warrior, and the merchant class. The warriors are horsemen; each is armed with a double-pointed spear, a sword, and a large shield. In their country the pyramid monuments which adorned the ancient Meroë are first met with; and even its name has been preserved in that of their chief place, *Merawe*, though the ancient capital of this name must be sought for farther south.

[1] Burkhardt, p. 153, and indeed of the two dialects into which it is divided.
[2] Burkhardt, p. 144. [3] Hennicke's Notes during a visit to Egypt and Nubia, p. 164.
[4] Waddington and Hanbury, p. 59, note.
[5] See Burkhardt, p. 68, etc., and Waddington and Hanbury, p. 77, etc.

Its territory borders on the country of the Berbers. The inhabitants, in the strictest sense Berbers, call themselves Arabians, that they may not be confounded with the negroes; but from Burkhardt's description, I have no doubt of their belonging to the Nubian race, although the Arabic has been introduced among them. "The people of Berber," says Burkhardt,[1] "are a very handsome race. The native colour seems to be a dark red-brown. Their features are not at all those of the negro; the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, the upper lip however is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the negro lip. They are tall and thin, even more so than the Egyptians, very healthy, sick persons being scarcely ever found among them."

Above these regions, beyond the Astaboras or Tacazze, especially in Shendy, and from thence to Sennaar, along the Nile, the Arabic entirely prevails; and the great mass of the inhabitants, though sometimes with a mixture of other blood, may be regarded as of Arabian descent. It is not difficult to account for this. These parts always have been, and still are, great places of trade; and the trade has always been principally in the hands of the Arabians. Can we therefore wonder that in their marts their language should prevail? It extends, therefore, above Sennaar as far as the confines of Abyssinia; where, as we learn from Bruce and others, the Abyssinian languages, the Amhara and other dialects, first begin to be spoken.

The Arabic, however, is much less general among the scattered races wandering between the valley of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. The ancient writers notice here the Blemmies, and *Megabari*, a savage warlike race, who lived in the forests or groves upon what they could procure by hunting; and those in the mountains and on the coast, who from their habitation and food bore the name of *Troglodytæ*, or cave-dwellers, and *Icthyophagi*, or fish-eaters. Among the modern travellers we are particularly indebted to Bruce for some valuable information respecting them; he did not himself, however, visit their country. Burkhardt was the first who ventured upon this; and he passed right across it as he journeyed from Shendy to Suakin on the Arabian Gulf. We shall compare the account they give with that of the ancients, and particular-

[1] Burkhardt, p. 216, 233.

ly with that of Agatharchides, of whose work upon the Red, that is, the Southern Sea, unfortunately only a few fragments remain.[1]

Agatharchides again divides the tribes in these parts according to their mode of life: there were some who knew a little of agriculture, as they sowed millet, or *dhourra;* the greater part however were herdsmen; and others savages, who subsisted by hunting. It is just the same in the present day. The principal race is that to which Bruce and Niebuhr have given the name of Bischaries; the same which more early writers call Bejas, or Bedjas; except that the latter name rather applied to the inhabitants of the plain. A learned Frenchman has already demonstrated, in a very satisfactory manner, that this tribe is the same as the ancient Blemmies.[2] They live in the same territory; their habits are in no respect changed; they have nothing of the Arab about them, but are an aboriginal people; and they therefore belong to the class of nations which we comprise under the general name of Berbers.

The seat of the Bischaries begins in the north, where that of the Ababdés ends; and this latter extends from Cosseir in Egypt to some where about 23° N. Lat. The Ababdés speak Arabic, and are a commercial people; the breeding of camels has at all times been their principal employment, and the caravan life their principal business.[3] From their language they are called Arabs, but some take them to be merely a branch of the Bischaries. The seat of the Bischaries, from where it joins the Ababdés southwards to the neighbourhood of Suakin, is principally a mountain ridge, which here rises and runs along the eastern coast of Africa. This mountain chain, from the earliest times downward, has been the abode of tribes who dwell in holes and caves formed by nature, and fashioned and improved by the inhabitants themselves, whence they have been comprised under the name of Troglodytes.[4] It is a difficult matter in a northern climate to form a just notion of the manners and habits of these nations. He who would wish to see a picture of it in Europe, must visit the Catacombs of Naples,[5] which, from their appearance and history, seem once to

[1] Agatharchides, *de Rubro Mari*, in *Geographis Min.* Hudson, i. p. 37. Diodorus, i. p. 191, has borrowed from him word for word. [2] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 127, etc. The accounts given of the Blemmies by the ancients are here all brought together and compared with the Makrizie and other Arabic manuscripts.
[3] Quatremere, p. 158, etc. Burkhardt, p. 149, 344, etc. [4] Agatharchides, l. c. p. 45, and Diodorus, i. p. 197. [5] Not those of Rome, which were evidently intended for another purpose.

have been made use of for a similar purpose. In these majestic vaults, which resemble a row of Gothic churches, hewn out by the labour of Polyphemi, some conception may be formed of the mode of life of a people who found here, in the wet season, a secure shelter for themselves and their herds from the rain, and in summer a protection from the scorching rays of the sun.[1]

The Troglodytes of Ethiopia, according to the accounts of Agatharchides, were herdsmen, with their separate chiefs, or princes of tribes. A community of women existed among them, probably the result of their manner of life, which would scarcely allow of domestic relations. In the wet season, when incessant rains deluged the country, they retired with their herds into the caves, and lived upon clotted milk and blood; but immediately the weather became favourable, they hastened with their cattle into the valleys which afforded them pasturage, often a subject of contention among them.

"The Bischaries, who rarely descend from their mountains," says Burkhardt, "are a very savage people. Their only cattle are camels and sheep, and they live entirely upon flesh and milk, eating the former raw. According to the relation of several Nubians, they are very fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep; but their great luxury is said to be the raw marrow of camels. Their language is different from the Arabic, and approaches the Abyssinian. They are divided into four tribes, which are often at war with one another for the possession of the pasturages. Their colour is a dark brown. Their women are handsomely formed, with very fine eyes and teeth, and are very familiar in their manners and address. They are a genuine aboriginal people of Africa." Burkhardt and Bruce have mentioned some of their tribes by name, the Shiho, and their neighbours the Hazorta, who, according to the latter, are said to be of a copper colour, still live in their caves, still clothe themselves in goat skins, and still rove with their herds from one part of the mountain to another.[2] Some of these tribes spread themselves over the plains of Atbara,[3]

[1] There are so many traces of this in the south of Italy and Sicily, in the interior of which a whole city is found hewn out of the rocks, (see Bartel's *Letters on Calabria and Sicily*, iii. p. 441,) that this, coupled with the ancient traditions respecting the inhabitants of these countries, the Cyclops and Cimmerians, makes me feel no hesitation in expressing my opinion, that Troglodytic pastoral tribes formerly inhabited these places.

[2] Bruce, iii. p. 69, 72.

[3] Thus is named the district bordering on the lower Astaboras, or Atbara. According to Burkhardt, the place called Atbara is properly only an encampment. The name of Taka, in Bruce and Burkhardt, is evidently given to this province from the other name of the same river, Tacazze.

between the Lower Tacazze and the mountains; those nearest the river, where the soil is very fertile, sow a little dhourra, but without any artificial cultivation of their lands. They are likewise herdsmen, and possess a very fine breed of cattle.[1] The peculiarities of the climate compel these tribes to a yearly migration. The Astaboras, swelled out, overflows the neighbouring plains, and drives the inhabitants to seek fresh pasturage. According to the narrative of Bruce,[2] another cause of their wanderings is that dreadful insect which he has described under the name of gadfly, and which abounds from the beginning of the rainy season on the rich lands adjoining the Astaboras, and kill the cattle if they are not immediately driven off to the higher, sandy regions, where they do not follow them. This circumstance was not unknown to Agatharchides, and his accounts agree very well with that of the British traveller. "An extensive country," says he,[3] "borders on that of the water-locusts, with excellent pastures; it is nevertheless forsaken, and uninhabitable. It was formerly inhabited, but is now swarming with scorpions and gadflies, which are reported to have four teeth. The inhabitants, finding themselves without remedy, took to flight, and left the country waste." The Greek was only ignorant that this plague came yearly, and began and ended with the wet season. "These gadflies," says Bruce, "are only found in those places where the soil is fat; as soon as the cattle hear their buzzing they run wildly about till they at last fall down exhausted. The herdsmen, in this case, have no other resource but to leave the rich soil and flee to the sandy regions of Atbara, and remain there during the rainy season, where the cruel enemy never ventures to follow them. A later traveller,[4] though he did not visit this country himself, has raised some doubt respecting the statement of Bruce, because, upon questioning a native of it, he found him unacquainted with this insect. This, however, is by no means sufficient to establish a charge against Bruce of having himself invented this story; this could only be substantiated by the results of actual observation, which the traveller in question had no opportunity of furnishing. As for the silence of Burkhardt,

[1] Burkhardt, p. 334, etc.

[2] Bruce, iv. 443, etc.

[3] Agatharchides, l. c. p. 43. To the same district must also be referred the account, p. 37, of the gnats, or gadflies, that expelled the lions from the banks of the Astaboras, these lords of the forest being unable to bear their noisy buzz. Bruce says that even elephants and rhinoceroses can scarcely protect themselves from the attacks of these insects.

[4] Lord Valentia, *Travels*, ii. p. 394.

it proves nothing against Bruce; it might have arisen from his mere forgetfulness to make inquiries respecting it.

The southern part of the territory of Taka, or Atbara, on the upper Tacazze, is the seat of the hunting tribes. The luxurious soil is here covered with thick forests, overrun with savage beasts, lions, as well as panthers, elephants, and rhinoceroses. Agatharchides has also given us a description of the tribes who inhabit this region. "On the banks of the Astaboras, which flows on one side of the island of Meroë, dwells," he tells us,[1] "a people who live upon the roots of reeds, or canes, which grow in a neighbouring pool. After shredding it with stones, they reduce it to a glutinous pulp, and dry it in the sun in pieces about the breadth of one's hand. Near to this is the tribe of the Hylophagæ, whose nourishment is the fruit that drop from the trees, herbs that grow in the valleys, and even the soft ends of twigs. They consequently possess an extraordinary facility for climbing trees. To these follow, in a westerly direction, the hunting tribes, who live upon the wild beasts, which they kill with their arrows. There is also another race, whose food is the flesh of elephants and ostriches; besides these there is still another less numerous tribe, who feed upon the locusts, which come in numerous swarms from the unknown regions to the south."

The seats of these tribes are too accurately laid down by Agatharchides for any mistake to occur respecting them. They dwell on the banks of the Astaboras, which river separates them from Meroë. We thus find ourselves in the country of the Shangallas. No modern traveller has yet visited the interior of this district. Bruce journeyed along its southern, and Burkhardt, in his route to Suakin through Taka, along its northern boundaries; its forests and wild beasts seem to render it inaccessible. "Every night," says Burkhardt, "I heard their howlings, during which no one dares stir out of the intrenchment.[2] The fiercest animals, however," he adds, "that inhabit these woods, are the Bedjawy, or inhabitants of Bedja, themselves." He does not mention the name of Shangalla, though it is inserted in his map; perhaps it may be his *Segollo*,[3] whose seat is in this region, together with their neighbours, the Hallenga and Hadendoa, alike infamous for their complete want of hospitality.[4] The accounts collected by

[1] Agatharchides, ed. Hudson, p. 37, and from him Diodorus, i. p. 191.
[2] Burkhardt, p. 391. [3] Burkhardt, p. 387.
[4] Burkhardt, p. 395. The Hadendoas, says the same traveller, p. 392, are beyond a doubt a branch of the Bischaries, as are all the eastern Nubians, having the same shape, language, and customs.

Bruce[1] completely confirm that of Agatharchides. The habits of these tribes have remained the same for two thousand years; they are still the same rude savages they then were. They are still distinguished, as they then were, by their food, though, as will naturally be supposed, this must not be considered their only difference. The Hylophagæ still dwell under the branches of their trees, which they fix in the earth to make themselves tents. The accounts of the dough or paste made from roots is probably a mistake. It is composed of the dhourra, ground with stones, and is dressed with a broth of roots and vegetables.[2] The Dobenatis, the most powerful race among the Shangallas, still live upon elephants and rhinoceroses, whose flesh they preserve by drying it in the sun, and cutting it into strips as they do the camels'. The Baasa subsist upon the flesh of lions, and even snakes, which are found of an enormous size. Farther to the west still dwell a tribe who feed on locusts during the summer, which they preserve by first roasting and then drying them in baskets. "This country," says Burkhardt,[3] is the true breeding-place of locusts. He himself saw how greedily the slaves with the caravan devoured them.[4] In the extreme east dwelt the *Struthiophagi*, or ostrich-eaters. They must inhabit plains where alone ostriches are to be found.

We have here therefore a new proof of the great influence which the natural circumstances of country and climate have upon the destiny of the human race. The tribes of Shangallas, which we have above described, still remain hunters and completely savage, because their soil is unfit either for agriculture or pasturage; the Bischaries and others follow a pastoral life, because their mountains afford food for their cattle. But a higher degree of cultivation can never be obtained in their country, because its nature compels them to a nomad life.

Before quitting Ethiopia above Egypt, there still remains an Ethiopian nation to be noticed, highly celebrated in antiquity, and which Herodotus has copiously described, the Macrobians.[5] The expedition of Cambyses was directed against them, by which circumstance they have obtained a place in history.

A rumour of the vast quantity of gold which they possessed determined Cambyses to this expedition; he sent, however,

[1] Bruce, ii. p. 539, etc. [2] Burkhardt, p. 417.
[3] Burkhardt, p. 391. [4] Burkhardt, p. 424. They take out the entrails and roast them over the fire. These slaves probably belonged to the race of *Æridophages*.
[5] Herod. iii. 17—25.

before-hand some spies into their country; and these were Ichthyophagi, whom he sent for from the city of Elephantis, as they understood their language. Cambyses furnished them with presents for the king of the Macrobians, a purple robe, golden necklace, bracelets, perfumes, and a cask of palm wine. These Macrobians, according to the statement of the Ichthyophagi, were a tall and beautiful race, had their own laws and institutions, and elected the tallest among them to the dignity of king. This monarch soon discovered that these ambassadors were spies. He looked at their presents, with the use of which he was unacquainted. The robe, the perfumes, and the necklace, which he took for fetters, he returned; the wine was the only thing which he found agreeable. He demanded how long the Persians lived, and what their king was accustomed to eat. They informed him, bread, describing at the same time the nature of corn, and that the greatest age to which the Persians attained was eighty years. He answered, that he did not wonder at their living no longer, who fed upon such rubbish; and that probably they would not live even so long if it were not for their drink, namely, their wine, in which the Macrobians alone excelled them. Upon being then asked by the ambassadors how long the Macrobians lived, and upon what they subsisted; he replied, an hundred and twenty years, and sometimes longer; that their food was boiled flesh and milk. He sent to the Persian king, in return for his present, a great bow, and told the ambassadors to inform him, that when he could bend this bow as easily as a Persian one, he might undertake an expedition against the Macrobians.

The ambassadors were shown, as most remarkable, what was called the table of the sun; this was a meadow in the skirts of the city, in which much boiled flesh was laid, placed there by the magistrates every night, upon which all who chose might eat in the day. The inhabitants report that the earth brings it forth.—The ambassadors were next led to the prison, where the captives were bound in golden fetters; brass among the Ethiopians being one of the greatest rarities. Finally, they were shown the sepulchres, which were made of glass (ὕαλος), in the following manner. The corpse, after being emboweled, as in Egypt, is covered over with plaster. Upon this is painted the portrait of the deceased, as like as possible. It is then placed in a case of glass, (probably crystal,) which they dig up in great abundance. The dead body remains in

this case without any disgusting appearance or smell for a whole year; the nearest relation keeps it in his house, offering it sacrifices, after which it is taken into the city and placed with the others.

I have purposely been somewhat copious in describing this nation; the account being in more than one respect instructive. The Macrobians must have been a nation already living in a city that possessed laws and a prison; that understood working in metals; and among whom considerable traces were found of a progress in the cultivation of one of the fine arts. Yet they were ignorant of agriculture, as they knew nothing of bread but by report; a great proof that our rule for judging of civilization will not at all apply to the African nations, who, proceeding from other points, and advancing in other directions, must necessarily arrive at a different end from that attained by Europeans.

Further, it is evident that this nation must have inhabited the richest gold country of Africa: gold was the metal in commonest use among them, even for the fetters of their prisoners.

Bruce[1] takes the Macrobians for a tribe of the Shangallas, dwelling in the lower parts of the gold countries, Cuba and Nuba, on both sides of the Nile to the north of Fazukla. He appeals particularly to the bow which the king of the Macrobians sent to Cambyses, with a challenge for him to bend it. He says that it is the custom of this race to bind round their bows ferrules of the hides of the wild beast they slay, whereby they are continually becoming stiffer, and at last become altogether inflexible. They then hang them on a tree as trophies of their prowess; such a bow he describes it to have been which the Ethiopian king sent the Persian.

But, however probable this proof may appear, I cannot adopt the opinion started by this traveller; I feel rather inclined to believe, that the Macrobians must be sought for farther south, in another region. None of the Shangallas, that we know of, dwell in cities, or have reached that degree of civilization imputed to the Macrobians.

Herodotus mentions three particulars which may help us to discover the seat of this nation: they dwell, he says, on the Southern Sea,[2] at the farthest corner of the earth; and Cam-

[1] Vol. ii. 554, etc.

[2] ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ, that is, beyond the entrance of the Arabian Gulf on the Indian Sea. Therefore, not in the interior, where the Shangallas dwell.

byses, when he turned back, had not reached the fifth part of the way to their abode.

If we should take these statements, especially the latter, according to the letter, then the Macrobians must be sought for not only on the Indian Sea, but very far to the south.[1] But the way in which the story is related by Herodotus plainly shows that it partakes of the marvellous; and we shall be at no loss to account for this, if we consider that he derived his information from the Egyptian priests, from whom we derive nearly the whole history of Cambyses, of which this story forms a part. Now, besides the usual causes which lead to the bedizening and distorting of all narratives of this kind, another may be mentioned, which probably had a considerable influence in this case: namely, its relating to a rich gold country, whose true situation perhaps the priests felt no desire to reveal to a prying, curious foreigner: and therefore they merely gave him the common report. To extract the pure truth from this must therefore be a puzzling and difficult task; and although I may give the truth for no more than probability, I shall thereby at least screen myself from the reproach of wishing to pass my conjectures for facts.

The very story that there was in that hot, and by no means healthy climate, a people whose age exceeded the usual term allotted to man, which the appellation Macrobians implies, will scarcely obtain belief; though there must have been some foundation for this opinion. We learn from Bruce, that a custom prevails among many of the pastoral tribes in these regions, of putting to death their old people when they are no longer capable of being removed from place to place;[2] let it be granted, therefore, that the Macrobians were not guilty of this cruelty (and that may easily be supposed of a nation so far refined); would not that circumstance, and the old persons that would be found among them, be sufficient to have given rise to this popular tradition?

With regard to their abode, it seems to me, that that can only be determined from the two statements of Herodotus, that it lay on the Indian Sea,—and that they dwelt in a country abounding in gold, which it either produced, or was the great

[1] How far south Cambyses reached in his expedition cannot be determined from Herodotus. From what is said by others he must have gone as far as Meroë, perhaps to its boundaries. Diodorus, i. p. 38. [2] Vol. ii. 556. Herodotus mentions besides a wonderful spring, by bathing in which they prolonged their lives. If they dwelt in a mountainous district, mineral springs would be nothing extraordinary.

mart for. In either case we are carried to some sea-port beyond the Arabian Gulf, although we may never be able to say with certainty which. It is only known that a district is spoken of where agriculture was not in use, as its inhabitants did not live upon bread, but flesh.[1]

The account of what is called the table of the sun, is in itself so marvellous, that every reader will acknowledge it cannot be taken literally. It seems to be a figurative description, and was no where more likely to be the case than among Egyptian priests; a key to it may probably be found in a later writer.[2]

Cosmas,[3] who bore the surname of the Indian, and though perhaps never in India, was at least in Ethiopia, has preserved us the following account of a remarkable trade, which was carried on with the rich gold country on the confines of the land of Frankincense.

"The land of Frankincense," he says, "lies at the farthest end of Ethiopia,[4] fifty days' journey beyond Axum, at no great distance from the ocean, though it does not touch it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Barbaria,[5] or the country of *Sasu*, fetch from thence frankincense and other costly spices, which they transport by water to Arabia Felix, and India. This country of Sasu is very rich in gold mines. Every other year the king of Axum[6] sends some of his people to this place for gold. These are joined by many other merchants, so that altogether they form a caravan of about five hundred persons. They take with them oxen, salt, and iron.[7] When they arrive upon the frontiers of the country, they take up their quarters and make a large barrier of thorns.[8] In the

[1] The contempt of bread must have been applied to that made of dhourra, and baked, which becomes spoiled and unfit to be eaten in a very short time. Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, ii. p. 33.

[2] See for what follows the Essay of H. Bothe upon the Macrobians, *Deutsch. Monatschrift*, July, 1799, to which the first edition of my work gave rise. The author seems to me, only to have erred, in placing the Macrobians in the proper country of Frankincense, which was a midland district, instead of at Sasu, which bounds it on the sea-coast, and where gold is plentiful. It is clear however from the words of Cosmas, that the trade of which he speaks was carried on at Sasu; and only thus will there be a perfect agreement with Herodotus, who makes the Macrobians dwell on the sea-coast. But, at all events, these districts lie close to one another, and the land of Frankincense is not far from the coast.

[3] He wrote about the year 535. The best edition of his *Topographia Christiana*, is in Montfauçon, *Coll. Nova Patrum*, tom. ii. p. 113, etc., to which I now refer.

[4] Cosmas, p. 138, 139.

[5] Barbaria is the general name of the east of Africa beyond the Arabian Gulf; Sasu, on the contrary, is the name of a certain country or district. But we shall presently see that Barbaria here signifies some particular place in the territory of Sasu.

[6] That is, of Abyssinia, of which Axum was the capital.

[7] The Agows still reckon their tribute for the most part in oxen; Bruce, iii. p. 773. In this region the camel is no longer found, and oxen are the usual beasts of burden.

[8] Every thing agrees with the place. Thorn hedges, especially of the shrub *kantuffa*, are here the impenetrable boundaries. Bruce, ii. p. 443.

mean time, having slain and cut up their oxen, they lay the pieces of flesh, as well as the iron and salt, upon the thorns. Then come the inhabitants, and place one or more parcels of gold upon the wares, and wait without the enclosure. The owners of the flesh and other wares then examine whether this is equal to the price or not. If the former be the case, they take the gold, and the others the wares; if not, the others still add more gold, or take what they have put down back again. The trade is carried on in this manner because the languages are different, and they have no interpreter; it takes about five days to dispose of the goods which they bring with them."

The truth of this statement is so much confirmed by internal evidence, that no one will hesitate to believe it. But in order to apply it to the account of Herodotus, two questions remain to be determined; where does the land of Sasu lie? and how far are we authorized to apply what Cosmas relates of it, in the times in which he lived, to those of Herodotus?

With regard to the situation of Sasu, it is sufficiently pointed out by the description given of it. The African land of Frankincense, according to Bruce,[1] begins at Babelmandel, and stretches eastward almost to Cape Guardefui, taking a part of Adel or Zeyla. The fifty days' journey given by Cosmas, as the distance from Axum, agree very well with this.[2] Now as the land of Frankincense joined Sasu, and Sasu lay near the sea, it is evident that the latter formed part of the coast, and also comprised one or even several sea-ports, from which the sea trade was carried on.

But it not only *was* carried on from thence, but *is* even at the present time. Lord Valentia, who entered this country from Mocha,[3] has given us some interesting information on this head, upon which we may rely, and which besides has the merit of being as new and accurate as it is authentic. The coast from Babelmandel to Guardefui is inhabited by the Somaulies, a very dark race, with woolly hair, neither completely negroes nor Arabians. They are not savages, as Bruce has pictured them, but a friendly, well-disposed race. Their country is the natural staple for the commerce between Africa and Arabia, in it the greatest marts are found. Gums, myrrh

[1] Vol. i. p. 356. See his map.
[2] If we take with Cosmas, l. c., the distance from Alexandria to Axum at sixty days' journey, we shall find, even at this rate, that from Axum to Guardefui will be some where about fifty.
[3] Valentia's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 370—378. The author saw many of the Somaulies at Mocha. According to his opinion, it would be the easiest to penetrate into the interior of Africa from the eastern part of their country.

and frankincense, cattle and slaves, are the commodities exported, in exchange for which, and for gold and ivory, they receive the productions of Arabia and India,[1] more particularly the latter. The princes of the interior, and especially the ruler of Hanim, twenty days' journey to the west, send numerous caravans to this place to purchase these wares. The great fair for them is Berbora,[2] which lasts from October till April. The frankincense grows chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cape Guardefui, and the principal port for exportation is Bunder Kassin, near Cape Felix. The Somaulies send in their own vessels (for they have a sort of navigation act to carry for themselves, and to lade no Arabian vessels) to Aden. The situation of Aden, on the other side of the straits, which enables them to take advantage of both monsoons, renders this very easy. The profits of this trade, although the merchants only state it at fifty per cent., is accordingly very great. The commerce is only restricted by the customs, and other obstacles which the rulers throw in its way; without this it would be immense; and may there not have been a time when it really was so?

This trade, therefore, has continued full a thousand years, notwithstanding all the religious and political changes which have taken place, simply because the nature of the country itself points it out as the most proper staple for the productions of the two quarters of the world. But what is it that justifies our applying the narration of Cosmas to the period of Herodotus? Nothing decidedly but the conjecture, that as this trade in the time of Cosmas was already very old, it was very likely to have existed a thousand years before. This conjecture, besides, will not seem at all improbable to those who are acquainted with the unchanging nature of the commercial routes of Africa. The probability, however, becomes strengthened, because, in the first place, the trade in frankincense and spices is, as we may conclude from the vicinity of Arabia Felix, one of the oldest branches of commerce; and secondly, because only two hundred years after Herodotus, the name of the country of Sasu appears as a well-known and remarkable name, for in the celebrated inscription of Adule, which this same Cosmas has copied and preserved, Sasu is mentioned as the

[1] Lord Valentia has even added tables of prices, and its yearly exports and imports.
[2] Borbora on Rennel's *Map;* upon that of Sossman it is improperly made an island.

most easterly point of Ethiopia to which the king had extended his conquests.[1]

If we may venture then to consider it as probable that the Macrobians of Herodotus should be sought for in this region, on the coast, or in one of the ports of Adel, in the vicinity of Cape Guardefui, this would place them in the country of the Somaulies, perhaps their descendants. If we may also venture to apply this description of Cosmas to the same people, then almost every obscurity in the account of them may be cleared up, and every thing appears in a natural light.

The altar of the sun is the market-place in which the trade with the strangers was transacted. When we consider that even now, almost all the commerce of Africa is carried on under the protection of sanctuaries and temples, we can scarcely wonder that religious notions should be connected with this seat of the trade, upon which perhaps the subsistence of the inhabitants depended.

This kind of dumb trade will not appear strange: we have already seen its counterpart on the western coast of Africa.[2] The same causes produce here the same effect. When it is said "that the chiefs of the people laid the flesh down at night, and that in the day any might eat of it who would; but that the inhabitants reported that it sprung from the earth;" the fact explains itself. This important trade was carried on under the care and inspection of the public magistrates; every one took what he chose, without doubt for payment; and as the merchants came from a very distant country, and were not themselves seen in the transaction, a vulgar error, like the one mentioned, might very naturally arise.

By the *boiled* flesh of Herodotus, must probably be understood dried flesh, as this is the usual way in which it is preserved in these regions.[3]

The vast quantity of gold is easily accounted for; it was either a natural production of the country, or the inhabitants had accumulated it by commerce.[4] The presents of the Persian king, therefore, composed of golden ornaments and myrrh, and consequently of exactly those very commodities which they had in the greatest abundance, seemed to them a mockery, which the king of the Macrobians was fully justified in taking as an insult, and, therefore, returned it by another. The custom of hanging up the bows, mentioned by Bruce, can scarcely be altogether peculiar to the Shangallas, but has probably spread itself among their neighbours.

[1] The inscription is well known as a monument placed by Ptolemey III. at Adule, as a memorial of his conquests in Ethiopia. In this inscription Ptolemey is stated to have advanced ἀπὸ δύσεως μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Σάσου τόπων. Instead of μέχρι τῶν, I read, μέχρι ἐσχάτων, "to the farthermost regions of Ethiopia and Sasu." The opinion of Salt, *Valentia's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 192, that only half the inscription belongs to Ptolemey, still requires a separate inquiry. [2] See above, p. 85.

[3] We learn from Bruce and other travellers, that dried camel's flesh is one of the dainties of a caravan journey.

[4] Cosmas mentions this expressly in explaining the Adule inscription. The gold of that place, he adds, is called Tamcharus

The story of the golden fetters is likely enough to be a fable; but the rarity of iron and brass in these countries is a fact very well known. It is confirmed by Cosmas, who states that iron was one of the commodities carried there by the caravans and exchanged for gold.

Should my attempts to explain these difficulties still be considered as little more than conjecture, they will at least give us an example of the instruction which history may afford, even when tinctured with fable; and how the mist in which it is enveloped disperses of itself, when considered in the spirit of the country and people from which it proceeds.[1] It is however a very remarkable circumstance, and demands our particular attention, that Cambyses should have taken his spies from the Egyptian Ichthyophagi, because they could speak the language of these Ethiopians.

The Ichthyophagi derive their name from their food, which consists of fish, and therefore we cannot wonder at finding that, besides the tribes in Africa, some also on the coasts of Persia and Arabia receive the same appellation. Of the African Ichthyophagi, scattered along the coasts of the Arabian Gulf, Diodorus has preserved a few particulars. They belong properly to the Troglodytæ, or cave-dwellers, and are only distinguished from the others by their food and manner of life, which has many peculiarities, that may be regarded as true additions to our knowledge of physiology.[2] Taken altogether, however, they strengthen the remark, which applies to the whole history of the human race, that the nations subsist-

[1] Let me be allowed to add one conjecture upon another circumstance: the Macrobians, as well as other Ethiopian people, seem to be highly esteemed on account of their size and beauty. Might not this tradition have proceeded from slave dealers, who are wont to prize this or that particular tribe?

[2] Diodorus says that they only drink every fourth day; when they go in hordes to the springs, and drink to such an excess that at first they lie down unable to move. The fear of enemies perhaps occasioned this custom. He relates of others that they are quite insensible to all threats or entreaties, Diodorus, i. p. 184—186; Bruce saw the same among his savages, iii. 73. Still more surprising facts are recorded by Azara of the tribes on the river de la Plata.

ing on fish are the very lowest in the scale of civilization. They appear to be complete savages, destitute of all domestic ties; with no dwellings except clefts and holes; and without even any fishing implements, as they only feed on those fish which are left behind by the retiring floods, which they prepare by pounding, and mixing them with certain seeds, by which they make them into a kind of broth. Although we have no late accounts of their manners and customs, yet, what Bruce says shows, that the inhabitants of these districts still remain wretched, miserable, and naked savages.

If this is a fair description of what these people were in antiquity, then indeed it becomes difficult to conceive how Cambyses came to choose them for spies; there is, however, in the narrative of Herodotus itself, a circumstance mentioned, which leads us to take a different view of the subject. Cambyses, he says, caused the Ichthyophagi to come from Elephantis in Upper Egypt. There must have lived, consequently, a party of them in Upper Egypt; the whole business, too, to which Cambyses appointed them, and their acquaintance with the country and language of the Ethiopians, make it more than probable that they belonged to the roving tribes, who carried on the trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, and formed the caravans which travelled from one country to the other.[1] There is certainly no other way of passing from Egypt to the Macrobians but by a caravan, and these people must have been there once or more, as they understood their language. The name, besides, might have been continued to them, though they had adopted a new mode of life, of which many other instances are to be met with. It is not very likely that they belonged to the Ababdés, whose country stretches to the neighbourhood of these regions, and who have been, as is shown above, from the most remote periods, carriers of merchandise? I shall abstain from making any further remark upon this circumstance; though it affords, at least, a passing proof, not only that a report of the rich gold countries had penetrated into Egypt, but that a rather active commercial intercourse really existed between the two countries at a very early period.

I cannot close these remarks without comparing the narrative of Herodotus with the prophecy of the most sublime of the Hebrew poets. They mutually explain each other. When

[1] Herodotus does not say how great the number of the Ichthyophagi was who were sent on this embassy; they may therefore very well have formed a small caravan.

Isaiah promises his people the trade of Egypt and Ethiopia, he adds, *and of the Sabeans, men of stature.*[1] I cannot hold these latter to be any other than the Macrobians of Herodotus —the nation who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. Herodotus also mentions their high stature. He not only says they are the longest lived, but also the tallest people; and upon the latter they place so high a value, that they elect the tallest among them for king. Saba lies on the African coast, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf;[2] consequently, in the very spot that we consider to have been the seat of the Macrobians. The prophet expressly mentions trading nations; the Ethiopians, the inhabitants of Meroë, and the African Sabeans, who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. The proofs and illustrations which these inquiries have already so often lent to the sacred writings, will give them, as I hope, a more extended interest than they might perhaps otherwise have hoped to enjoy.

CHAP. II. *The State of Meroë and its Monuments.*

LET THE MIGHTY MEN COME FORTH; THE ETHIOPIANS THAT HANDLE THE SHIELD! JER. XLVI. 9.

THE Ethiopian nations, with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing chapter, must altogether be ranked in the lowest grade of civilization. There still, however, exists an evident difference of improvement among them. We have already seen all the various gradations, from the complete savage, as described by Hanno, whose rank might have been disputed by the ourang-outang, to the hunting and fishing tribes; and again, from the latter to the nomad herdsman; yet we do not any where discover a single nation, that, united in a settled abode, formed itself into a great and well-organized state. Nevertheless there certainly did exist a better cultivated, and, to a certain degree, a civilized Ethiopian people, who dwelt in cities; who erected temples and other edifices; who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics; who had government and laws; and the fame of whose progress in knowledge and the social arts, spread in the earliest ages over a considerable part of the earth;—that state was *Meroë*.

Meroë has been celebrated for upwards of two thousand

[1] Isaiah xlv. 14. [2] The Azab of Bruce. Compare Gesenius's Commentary in Isaiah, "The opulence of the Sabeans, high of stature," are the words of his translation.

years, but its distant situation has always involved it in mystery and obscurity. It is only within this last ten years that the dark cloud, under which it has so long been hid, has been dispersed by the hardy enterprises of Burkhardt and Caillaud, more particularly the latter. Meroë, however, did not appear alone; a new world of antiquities, whose existence had not even been imagined, were laid open to the view of the astonished spectator. The southern boundary of Egypt, and the last cataract of the Nile, had hitherto been considered as the utmost verge of ancient civilization and science. More distant regions, however, were now explored. The more early travellers, Bruce and his forerunners, first led the way by crossing the Nubian desert; others soon followed who penetrated up the Nile, keeping near its banks, where they discovered that succession of monuments, which has excited so much astonishment among all lovers of antiquity, as well by their number as their magnitude. Temple after temple appeared, sometimes erected upon, at others excavated in the rocks and the earth; scarcely had the travellers left one than another arose to their view. Colossal figures, buried up to their shoulders in sand, still towered above all these, and indicated the gigantic structures which lay concealed behind them. As the travellers continued their journey, an immense number of pyramids appeared, with temples and ruins of cities close by, or intermingled with them; and at last the distant Meroë itself; and, what realized the earlier hopes of the author, the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon was discovered, still erect, and majestic in its ruins.

I shall now endeavour to give the reader a clear and concise account of these monuments. I do not indeed intend to go through them one by one, but shall take a survey of the most important, and particularly of those which are found in the works of Gau and Caillaud. Fortunately in these we have not to examine sketches hastily made, the drawings are free from all attempts at embellishment, and the ground plans and delineations are executed with critical accuracy. It will be necessary, however, to premise a few geographical remarks.

All the monuments that I shall describe in this section are found within the valley of the Nile; either close to the river, or at a moderate distance from it. The course of the Nile above Egypt, before its conflux with the Astaboras, lies through a valley enclosed on both sides by a chain of moun-

tains, or rather hills, which sometimes retire, and sometimes advance till they almost approach the banks of the river. These, therefore, render impossible any great variation in the direction of the stream, though they offer no obstruction to the lesser windings within the valley. It can scarcely be doubted, but that the soil of the valley was as fertile at one time in these regions as it is in Egypt itself; for where it could remain in that state it is still found so.[1] Thus it becomes evident that this valley may once have been a highly cultivated country, with a numerous population, dwelling in a long series of cities. But these mountain chains being succeeded on both sides of the river by sandy deserts, (on the east the Nubian, and on the west the great sandy waste, which stretches right across Africa,) the sand has proved a still more formidable foe here than in Egypt. The lower mountain chain affording but a slight defence, this deadly enemy of all civilization not only penetrated into the valley, but has frequently, in part or altogether, buried the monuments. It cannot, therefore, seem at all surprising that the same cause should have occasioned some alterations in the river itself, many arms of which may, perhaps, have been forced into one, and small islands joined to the mainland. The valley of the Nile, at all events, was certainly very different from what it is now; traces are every where visible of old canals, formed for extending its periodical overflow; and these changes alone would have been sufficient to cause the inhabitants to sink and degenerate, if other untoward events had not happened. The river, deviating from its usually straight course, forms a bow from 19° to 23° by running to the west, deeper into Libya; and the inner part of this bow is occupied by the Nubian desert; soon, however, it winds again to the east, and reassumes a northern direction, which it preserves through Nubia and Egypt.

We are again indebted to Herodotus for the first accounts of the course of the Nile above Egypt.[2] He collected them in Egypt, probably in Thebes, or Elephantis, beyond which he never travelled. We are not to consider him here, therefore, as an eye-witness, but, as he himself informs us, as reporting what he heard from others. And here, again, we have to admire the keen and accurate inquirer, although some slight deviations from the present state of the stream seem to confirm the remarks we have just made upon its variations. "Beyond

[1] Burkhardt, *Travels*, p. 14.

[2] Herod. ii. 29.

Elephantis, the boundary of Egypt," says Herodotus, " the country becomes higher; and in that part they drag on the boat, fastening a cord on either side, as you would to an ox. Should the hawser break, the boat is forced back by the violence of the current. This navigation continues four days; the Nile winding like the Meander; and it is a space of twelve schœni, seventy-two geographical miles, over which you must navigate in this manner. Next you come to a smooth plain, where the Nile flows round an island named Tachompso. The parts above Elephantis are inhabited by Ethiopians, as well as one half of the island; the other half of which is held by the Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake, on the shores of which dwell Ethiopian nomades. Crossing this lake, you fall again into the stream of the Nile, which runs through it. Then, disembarking, you will perform a journey of forty days on the bank of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rise above the water, and many shoals are met with, among which it is impossible to navigate. Having passed through this country, you will again embark in another boat, and navigate for twelve days, after which you will come to an extensive city, the name of which is Meroë."

Let us compare this statement of Herodotus with those of the latest travellers, and we shall find that what in their nature are not liable to change, such as the cliffs and rocks, still answer to his description; while, on the contrary, in other matters, (supposing Herodotus rightly informed,) some changes seem to have taken place. Among the moderns, Norden, a Dane, was the first who attempted to navigate the Nile above Egypt; and to draw maps of its course, which, after all that has since been done, are still the fullest in particulars, though they only reach to Derri, Derar, or Deir, the end of his journey.[1] Within the lapse of ten years, Burkhardt, in his first journey, in which he kept near the banks of the river, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Dongola; in his second journey he traversed the Nubian desert.[2] The journey and map of Legh extend no farther than the second cataract;[3] and the magnificent work of Gau only reaches to the same place.[4] The statements of the Pole, Senkowsky, up to the same point, are

[1] *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, par Fr. L. Norden; nouvelle ed. par. Langles. Paris, 1795. The first edition appeared in 1752.
[2] *Travels in Nubia*, by Fr. L. Burkhardt. London, 1819.
[3] *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, by Th. Legh, Esq. London, 1816.
[4] *Antiquités de la Nubie*, par F. C. Gau. Paris, 1824, en xii. livraisons.

very accurate.[1] Above the second cataract, from Wady Halfa to the boundaries of Sennaar, or the ancient Meroë, two British travellers, Waddington and Hanbury, have given a map of the course of the Nile;[2] for the more distant regions, the authorities are Bruce, Burkhardt, and, above all, Caillaud.[3]

The winding of the stream above Syene is shown in Norden's twenty-fourth chart. It here holds a serpentine course, without, however, any considerable curves. Its current is so strong, that Norden was often obliged to quit his bark;[4] Legh mentions the same fact;[5] and the stream becomes so violent in the territory of Kalabshé, where the width of the stream is compressed to about thirty paces, as to render navigation very difficult. The voyage to the island Tachompso is stated by Herodotus to be twelve schœni, or seventy-two geographical miles, which were made in four days: navigation against the current of course admitting but of a short distance each day. The island Tachompso might therefore be the island Kalabshé, or another about twenty miles farther, opposite Ghyrshe.

The river contains many islands, of which a more accurate statement is wanting, but the lake through which it is said to flow is the great difficulty. The river, it is true, sometimes spreads out to a greater or lesser breadth, but a lake is no where to be found. Was Herodotus then falsely informed? Or has the features of this region changed, and what was once a lake been choked up by sand? It is difficult here to decide. At the time, however, of the yearly floods, it is certain that the Nile in many parts, where the mountain chains run back and suffer its waters to cover the whole valley, presents the appearance of a lake. The navigation up the stream continues, then, unobstructed as far as the second cataracts, which all agree in placing near Wady Halfa, 21° 50′. They are not higher than those near Es-Souan; Gau gives views of both of them;[6] and Hanbury a description.[7] Above this cataract the bed of the river is often interrupted by rocky shoals, which cause rapids. Senkowsky enumerates five of these;[8] a third near Wady Attyr; a fourth near Wady Ambigo; a fifth under 21°, near Wady Lamulé, beyond which Burkhardt met with two others,

[1] Fragments from the Diary, not yet printed, of a Journey through Nubia and Northern Ethiopia, in the year 1819, by Joh. von Senkowsky, given in *Neue Allg. Geogr. Ephemeriden*, B. xi. 1822.
[2] *Travels in various Countries of Ethiopia*, by S. Waddington, Esq., and B. Hanbury.
[3] Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë, au Fleuve Blanc*, etc.
[4] Norden, tom. iii. p. 47. [5] Legh, p. 61.
[6] Gau, plate I. [7] Hanbury, etc. p. 6. [8] Senkowsky, l. c.

the farthest on the north boundary of the kingdom of Dongola, 19° 30′. Thus far he states the navigation of the river to be obstructed; while Caillaud continues the interruption to Merawe, forty-five leagues farther, where the great falls begin.[1] The Arabian geographers[2] place the first cataract in Nubia, near Bakin, ten days' journey above Es-Souan, which is the same as that of Wady Halfa; the second near the island Sai, 20½°; and the last near the fortress of Astenum. Exact uniformity cannot be expected in these enumerations, as the bed of the river is generally rocky, and two cataracts may easily be reckoned for one. Above the north boundary of Dongola the features of the country become much changed; the mountain chains retire farther back; the Nile, hitherto frequently pressed into a narrow channel, here spreads out into many branches, which enclose a number of fruitful isles, adorned with palm groves, vineyards, and meadows covered with numerous herds, especially of camels.[3] Similar accounts are given by the latest travellers. Every thing might here, says one, be found in abundance.[4] The hopes this gave rise to were certainly disappointed; but the devastation of contemporary warfare, by the army of Ismael, pasha from Egypt, seems alone to have been the cause.

The foregoing researches bring us into the immediate vicinity of the junction of the Astaboras, or Tacazze, and the Nile; that is, as will be presently shown, to the beginning of the ancient island of Meroë. It is time here to make a stand, and, before entering Meroë, to form an acquaintance with the monuments of the Nile valley thus far, to which I shall give the name of Nubian. The nature of the monuments, moreover, requires this division: for the region of the Pyramids begins in Meroë, as there has not yet been discovered any trace of them in Nubia.

The valley of the Nile was once covered on both sides of the river with towns or villages, of which Pliny has left us the names, and only the names, of twenty on each side; in his time they no longer existed,[5] and he informs us that they were not destroyed by Roman wars, but by the earlier contentions between Ethiopia and Egypt. These places must then necessarily have been very ancient; and the great population of the upper valley of the Nile favours our carrying them back to the time of the Pharaohs. We have no right to suppose that any of these places were flourishing cities. The great works in architecture here, as well as in Egypt, were confined to public edifices; the Nubian, during the day, lived almost entirely in the open air; his dwelling was little more than a resting-place for the night. No wonder therefore that these slight-built places, consisting merely of huts, should be swept from the earth, or become mere villages. Notwithstanding this, the ancient Parembole is still found in the present Debut, or Debod; the name of Taphis is preserved in Tafa; Kalabshé is the ancient Talmis; Pselcis is the present Dakke; Metacompso the modern Kobban; farther south is Primis, now Abrim; all these are on this side of the first Nubian cataract.

But though the dwellings of man have vanished, those of the gods remain. The series of temples begin again on both sides of the Nile, almost immediately above the Egyptian cataracts. The first is that of Debod, twelve miles beyond Philæ, on the left bank of the Nile. At nearly the same distance, that of Kardassy; and at only five miles farther that of Tafa. Again, at nearly the same distance, the two temples of Kalabshé, one built from the ground, the other hewn in the rocks. At about ten miles more the temple of Dandour; and again, at a like distance, the temple of Ghyrshe, partly above ground, partly hewn out of a rock. In ten miles the temple of Dakke; at the same distance that of Maharraka, and sixteen miles from thence that of Seboa, half built above, and half cut into the earth. Thirty miles farther stands the temple of Derar on the right side; and sixty miles farther the temple in the rocks of Ipsambul, with its colossi, forty-eight miles below the second or first Nubian cataracts of Wady Halfa, near to which stands another temple. Beyond this the chain is broken, and does not recommence till about one hundred and fifty miles farther, below the isle of Sai, where we meet with a larger temple; and then, thirty miles onward, is discovered the temple of Soleb, which Burkhardt takes for the most southern Egyptian temple. The first chain certainly ends here, but a new one begins on the frontiers of the ancient Meroë; for, about two hundred miles farther, near Merawé, and the mountain Berkal lying close by, the temples appear accompanied with groups of pyramids. About two hundred and forty miles

[1] See his map.
[2] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii. p. 7, etc., in the *Mémoire sur la Nubie*, from Arabic manuscripts. The Arabian writers seem to reckon as one all the cataracts enumerated by Senkowsky.
[3] These are the numerous islands spoken of by Diodorus, i. p. 38.
[4] Hanbury, p. 4.
[5] Plin. H. N. vi. 35.

beyond we come to the junction of the Nile and Astaboras, immediately across which we enter the island Meroë, and proceeding about ninety miles, arrive at the temples and pyramidic ruins of the ancient city of Meroë, whose situation will presently be more accurately determined.

Though I now intend to enter more fully into particulars, and to make some observations upon the most important of these monuments, as they are represented to us by engravings, yet the reader must not expect that I shall go into any minute detail, which, indeed, without the plates before him, would rarely be understood. My principal object is, by a glance at some of them, to collect materials for a few general observations, which I shall afterwards bring forward. In prosecuting this plan a geographical arrangement will be most convenient, and I shall accordingly proceed up the banks of the Nile, from the boundaries of Egypt.

The monument at the village of Debod, on the left bank of the Nile, and the first above the cataracts, is a temple, built and ornamented entirely in the Egyptian style.[1] It is not one of the largest, nor most ancient, and apparently was never finished. In the sanctuary stand two granite *monolithi*, with niches cut in them, probably as recesses for the reception of the sacred animals. The sculptures on the walls leave no doubt of the temple's having been dedicated to Ammon. They contain libations and presents offered to him and the kindred deities.

Of the temples of Kardassy[2] and Tafa,[3] too little is left for much to be said respecting them. They also are completely in the Egyptian style, and must be ranked with the smaller. When that of Kardassy was perfect it must have afforded one of the richest views; Gau has attempted to restore it from the yet existing remains.

The monuments at Kalabshé rank among the most precious remains of antiquity.[4] There are two of them, one an edifice cut out of the rock, the other beneath it. The first is a temple on the left bank of the Nile belonging to the middle size, and is wholly in the Egyptian style of architecture. The entrance is through a high portico into a colonnade, where many columns are still standing, of which Gau has given plates;[5] this leads into a covered hall of columns, then through two smaller

[1] Gau, plate i.—v. [2] Ibid. plate vii. viii. ix. [3] Ibid. plate x. xi.
[4] Ibid. plate xii.—xxi. [5] Ibid. plate xix.

saloons into the sanctuary. This monument is highly interesting from the bas-reliefs which ornament its walls. They are painted, and a copy of one of them is given in colours.[1] They are offerings probably presented by the kings (as his head-dress is adorned with the *ureus*, the little projecting serpent, the symbol of sovereignty) to Ammon and his subordinate gods. The colouring is very remarkable. Those who present the offerings are always painted red, as they are elsewhere; but the deities are green, blue, grey, violet, and yellow. Upon all the monuments in the Egyptian style with which I am acquainted, the colour of the men is red; that of the women yellow. We are therefore justified by our present knowledge, in considering the other various colours as appropriated solely to the gods. The second relief, however, is still more important. Like the other, it represents offerings to the gods; but then there follow in addition, the purification and consecration of the person who makes the offering, the whole in four compartments,[2] which I consider a series of pictures relating to one subject. In the first compartment is offered a gift in a vessel, probably dates, to Ammon, (without the ram's head, but with the horns on the head-dress,) behind him Isis and the deity with the sparrow-hawk's head. The second gift, offered to the goddess alone, seems to consist of ostrich-feathers. The third, of frankincense in a vessel, again to Ammon; the fourth is very singular, it is a vessel upon which lies a utensil bearing the form of an eye. To these offerings follows, in the fifth compartment, the purification. Two priests sprinkle the candidate for consecration with water; in the sixth he stands with the priestly head-dress on, between two priestesses, who rest one hand upon his shoulder and with the other seem to consecrate him. Finally, he stands in the last between two priests, (one with the sparrow-hawk's mask,) who, laying hold of him, surrender to him the key, the emblem of consecration.

The second monument of Kalabshé, though smaller, and of quite a different kind, is still more remarkable. It is not raised from the ground, but cut below its surface, being entirely hewn out of the rock. Its walls contain a series of bas reliefs.[3] It is very simple, and ninety feet long by nearly sixty wide. Through a corridor of sixty feet is an entrance to an antechamber, and again, out of this, into an inner chamber. I do not consider it to be a temple, but take it for a sepulchre.

[1] Gau, plate xxi. [2] Ibid. plate xxii. [3] Ibid. plate xii. xiii. xiv.

On the back wall of the inner apartment are two groups, each of three persons, sitting on benches.[1] The middle one is the figure of a man, with a female sitting at his side embracing him. The figure on the other side is much mutilated; it seems to have had the sparrow-hawk's head. The man in the centre has the *lituus;* the woman on the side has the *modius* on her head; everything about them seems to prove that they are priests and priestesses. In stating my opinion that the whole is a sepulchre, or rather a family vault, I must observe that I do not come to this conclusion so much from the appearance of the building itself, as because there are family vaults very similar at Eleuthias in Egypt. But the most important part of this monument are the reliefs, of which I must premise that they seem to have nothing in common with the groups just mentioned. The latter are wrought in a ruder style, the figures being short and crowded, whereas the reliefs bear altogether the character of the perfected Egyptian art. The reliefs on one of the walls of the rock represent warlike transactions in four compartments, again forming a single series. In the first the king or chief is standing in his war-chariot, driving among his flying enemies, who are the eastern pastoral tribes so often exhibited in similar circumstances. In the second, the king takes the hostile leader captive, as he gripes him by his hair. He is known as leader by his great size. In the third the king is seated, and the captives pass before him. They are three in number; the first two almost naked, the third in a long garment, all with their hands bound. In a lower compartment is represented the expedition of the victorious army by a group of Egyptian warriors. In the fourth the king sacrifices the captive leader, who is cringing imploringly at his feet: he is represented as about to kill him with a crooked sword or dagger. Cycles of representations of this kind frequently occur in the Egyptian reliefs.

The relief on the other wall of the rock is still more remarkable; not only because there is no other of the same kind at present known, but because its meaning is so obvious. It fills two long compartments, one over the other; both, as is at once seen, forming but one subject.[2] It is neither a procession of priests, nor an offering of tribute as at Persepolis. It represents a king, after a victorious expedition, reviewing the booty. The king, known by his tall figure, is seated on a

[1] Gau, plate xiii.

[2] Ibid. plate xiv.

throne in full regal costume. He seems, though out of battle, as priest-king. In his right hand he holds the sceptre and the key of consecration, the left is raised; he appears to be speaking; on his head is the sacerdotal bonnet, with the emblem of sovereignty, and the globe. An herald presents a woman to him; she is without ornament, and imploring him with upraised hands. Two grown-up boys are clinging to her. Can we here see a captive queen and her two sons, perhaps doomed as sacrifices? She cannot be a common prisoner, as she is placed before all the rest, as the most important of the booty. We have here, however, more than mere conjecture. History, as well as the monuments, confirm this view; as we soon shall see near Meroë. Behind the queen follows the booty; weapons, utensils, as chairs, fruits, clothes, skins, flagons, bread, etc., set out upon tables. Then follow wild beasts, with their leaders; a lion and a goat; then cattle, a pair of steers with horns artificially bent; next drivers, and men bearing skins and ebony. This is in the first piece. The second begins with some Egyptian warriors; a parcel of flowers and fruits; captives, the first with a halter round his neck, the other bound, both led by Egyptians, (always known by their head-dress,) the prisoners are girded with skins; again come the beasts, a hound, a man, with apes and ebony: after these come a giraffe, led by a halter, a gazelle, another pair of steers with artificially bent horns, and their leaders. Women with their children next follow; one is leading an ape; two others are borne in a basket; a gazelle, an ostrich, a hound, with a leader to each, who sometimes are likewise laden with ebony.—If there is no doubt respecting the nature of this procession, neither is there respecting the countries represented. Every thing shows them to be of Ethiopia, Meroë, and of central Africa. First the captive queen. History informs us that Meroë was often governed by queens; and we moreover find them portrayed as heroines and victors upon the monuments. That the captives, especially princes, were frequently sacrificed is shown by many of the sculptures. It is not, therefore, without reason that she implores for the lives of herself and terrified sons. The costly furniture, tables, stools, clothes, weapons, etc., show that a rich and civilized people had been conquered. Kine, with their horns artificially bent, are still found on the east coast of Africa, among the Kaffers. The prisoners being girded with skins is explained by Herodotus.

"The Ethiopians in Xerxes' army," he tells us, "were girded about with skins of panthers and lions."[1] But the wild beasts are particularly remarkable; the apes, the ostriches, and the giraffe, could only be found at a great distance from Meroë, in the deserts of central Africa. Yet we find neither the powerful rhinoceros, nor the mighty elephant; a certain proof of its not yet being tamed. And before whom was this procession exhibited? Before an Egyptian ruler; but who, his deciphered name may perhaps some time explain. If we question history, its answer will be Sesostris (also called Ramesses) the Ethiopian conqueror; who so often appears on the monuments; and certainly upon those which, like the present, belong to the flourishing period of Egyptian art. What this monument represents can no longer be doubtful,—*the conquest of Ethiopia and Meroë by the Pharaohs.*

That this monument was hewn out beyond the boundaries of Egypt, in Nubia, the conquered country, is not at all strange: and that the side of a rock should be chosen for the purpose is quite conformable to the custom of the primitive ages. Whether it stood in any particular relation with the sepulchre or not, I cannot decide. It will scarcely be taken for the tomb of the Egyptian chief, whose glory the relief perpetuates. In its interior is represented the consecration or purification and sprinkling of the Egyptian ruler, just the same as it is in the sculpture of the temple above ground.[2] Some religious motives seem therefore to have determined the choice of this particular spot. Four heads on the relief portrayed in a larger size, and two portraits of Nubians placed opposite, induced Mr. Gau to call our attention to the similarity between the present features of many of the African nations and those almost always found represented upon the monuments.[3]

The temple of Dandour, however important in itself, only offers us a repetition of the scenes which we have already noticed.[4] This is not the case with that at Ghyrshe, which next follows in ascending the stream. We here, for the first time, find the grotto and temple architecture combined in the erection of a monument. The original foundation is a grotto hewn out of the solid rock, before which, at a later period, a portico has been erected.

The plan of the grotto is very simple.[5] Through a porch

[1] Herod. vii. 69. [2] Gau, table xiii. [3] Ibid. table xvi.
[4] Ibid. table xxiii.—xxvi. [5] Ibid. table xxvii.

we enter a saloon; and beyond this is an inner apartment. It was evidently intended originally as a sepulchre for several families, as is proved by the five groups found in the background.[1] The upper or principal group consists of four figures, sitting on a bench; the four lower groups, each of three figures standing. In each is a man, and a woman embracing him, and a subordinate figure. They bear emblems of the priesthood; I therefore doubt not but they are families of priests. The vestibule consists of an open colonnade, in which, as well as in the hall of columns, stand gigantic figures of priests of Osiris as *caryatides*, on the pilasters.[2] "On these," says Belzoni, "may be distinguished the very ancient from the later sculptures. The artist was merely able to show that he intended them for human figures, which figures are so bad that they could only have been formed after an Ethiopian model."[3]

The temple at Dakka is one of the best preserved.[4] The entrance, separated from the temple, still remains, as well as the temple itself with its *propyla*. It is very remarkable that over the entrance is a Greek inscription, certainly of one of the Ptolemies;[5] either the first or second Evergetes. By comparing it, however, with the Rosetta inscription, it appears to be the first of this name, or the third in the succession of Ptolemies; and it therefore affords us a proof, that he extended his conquests and dominion into these regions, whether the monument of Adule be in part or altogether ascribed to him. The sculpture on the walls represent gifts offered to Ammon and his temple companions. They are remarkable as picturing not only the king but his consort presenting offerings.[6] They are, moreover, in the purest and most perfect style of Egyptian art.

The following temple at Maharraka still shows traces of Grecian art.[7] Over the entrance is a half-reclining female figure, partly Egyptian and partly Greek; near this a Greek inscription, attesting the adoration of a whole family, of which a boy

[1] Gau, table xxx. [2] Ibid. plate xxix.
[3] Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations in Egypt and Nubia*, p. 71.
[4] Gau, plate xxxiv.—xxxvii.
[5] Ibid. plate xxxv. Ἐνέρ βασιλ———Θεω———εις——— leave no doubt of the fact, notwithstanding the mutilated state of the inscription.
[6] See in particular the large lower relief in plate xxxviii. Both the king and queen (distinguished by the *ureus*) are offering gifts; he a large dish, with vessels, and she a wreath of flowers. Behind them are two of their followers, also husband and wife, (without the emblem of dominion,) with cattle and poultry. The same relief is twice repeated on each side, in every particular. Can we forbear, then, to consider it as Ptolemy III. and his consort Berenice?
[7] Gau, vignette, livr. viii.

is represented as offering the gift. " No where," says Belzoni, " did I see Egyptian and Grecian rites more evidently united."[1]

The monument of Asseboa, or Sebu, which next follows, is still far more important.[2] It is not one of the largest, but one of the most finished temples. First, a magnificent portico, followed by an alley of sphinxes; leading to the first pylon, before which sit two colossal figures. Through this we pass into an open colonnade, and out of this into a covered hall of columns, with priests of Osiris instead of caryatides on the pillars. Next follows the sanctuary with the representation of the holy ark. All this is above ground; but there are several rooms joining thereto hewn in the rock. Thus we find the case here to be the reverse of what it is in the temple at Ghyrshe. For there the temple is hewn in the rock, and only the vestibule stands free; while here we have the temple free, and only the subordinate building hewn in the rock. The greatest part of the temple, however, is covered with sand. The sphinxes are of one peculiar shape; they bear the high priest's bonnet, which I do not remember to be the case any where else. The reliefs in the interior, with their colours, are in fine preservation; representing gifts offered to Ammon and his kindred gods. They must be ranked, according to the plates of Gau, among those of the perfected Egyptian art; although, according to Legh, they are, at least the hieroglyphics, of a ruder character. " Probably," says he, " this monument is more ancient than the Egyptian."[3]

The temple of Amada, half buried in sand, bears a cupola, a proof of its having been adapted to the Christian worship.[4] Champollion, nevertheless, has demonstrated its high antiquity, by discovering upon it the name of Pharaoh Thutmosis, the expeller of the Hyksos.[5]

The monument of Derar, notwithstanding its small size, is still remarkable.[6] It is altogether cut in the rock, without any building before it. The plan is exceedingly simple. It was a temple of Ammon. The procession of the holy ark is represented in the sanctuary.[7] The king comes forward kneeling, and presents an offering; but upon another wall he kills a captive, evidently intended as a sacrifice. The god with the falcon's head advances, and brings to the king the sword or

[1] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 73. [2] Gau, table xlii.—xlvii. [3] Legh, p. 66.
[4] Gau, table xlviii. [5] Champollion, *Système Hieroglyphique*, p. 241.
[6] Gau, table l. li. lii. [7] Ibid. table li.

dagger. A similar subject is portrayed in the temples of Thebes.

We now approach those stupendous monuments which, principally by the exertions of Belzoni, have been rescued from the sand and restored to day, and are celebrated under the probably corrupted name of Ipsambul throughout Europe.[1] They are two rock monuments, a smaller and a larger. The first, nearest the Nile, shows itself to the passing vessels, by six gigantic figures, which seem, as it were, to keep watch before it. Burkhardt and other travellers had already mentioned this: but behind it, and still almost entirely covered with sand, out of which only the heads of two vast colossal figures project, is the great temple itself; these two figures standing like sentinels before its entrance. Belzoni not only discovered it, but with astonishing perseverance cleared away the sand, and laid it open to view. And what sensations he must have experienced as the light broke in and gradually revealed, by its solemn glimmer, these gigantic forms! Before the entrance four colossal figures sit as guards, the largest yet known, being sixty-five feet high:—in the interior, first the colonnade, with gigantic figures of Osiris on the pilasters, nearly thirty feet high: the walls full of sculptures representing battles and triumphs. Out of this we step into a hall of columns, with similar gigantic figures; next to this an ante-chamber, which is followed by the sanctuary, with many side chambers. In the back-ground is a colossal figure sitting upon a bench; and similar ones are in the side chambers. In the midst of the sanctuary stands a pedestal.[2] This monument is usually called a temple, yet I will venture to maintain that it was no temple, but intended for a sepulchre. The object in the sanctuary proves the truth of my opinion. An object like this is never seen so situated in any Egyptian temple, though it is common enough in the sepulchres. We have already seen proofs of this at Kalabshe. But still it was a family tomb, perhaps of priests; but here it seems highly probable that we have the sepulchre of a king. If the monument had been originally a temple, a *monolithus* would have stood in the sanctuary. Instead of that we have here a pedestal, upon which probably a sarcophagus once stood. What ruler it was who has here taken up his last abode I dare not venture to decide. If it

[1] In Gau, Abusambul, table lv.
[2] In Belzoni the two last plates but one; in Gau, the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth.

were an Ethiopian king, then have we here again the archetype of the kings' tombs at Thebes, but the latter, although certainly not larger, were far superior in magnificence.

What is here said of the larger monument applies also to the smaller; and is still further confirmed by Gau's having given a plate of the inner sanctuary, as well as a view of the façade. Six colossal, though smaller figures, stand here as sentinels; three on each side, each middle figure being that of a female. They are priests and priestesses, as is shown not only by the head-dress, but also by the key, the emblem of consecration, which even the females retain: in the men the upper part seems to be broken off. The subjects on the walls of the colonnade are of the same kind as in the large monument; scenes of war and triumphs. But the most important are the painted reliefs in the sanctuary.[1] Four figures are portrayed, all sitting on a bench. They are not however of one family. The red, principal figure I take to be the king, placed between two deities, which they appear to be, the one on the right from his bluish colour, the one on the left from his falcon-head. The fourth figure on the side, of a yellow colour, I cannot explain.

The monuments hitherto spoken of lie altogether on this side the second cataract, which is about forty-five miles distant from Ipsambul. But as beyond this the monuments become rarer, the temple of Soleb, 20° 20′, which Waddington has described and Caillaud delineated, must not be passed by.[2] According to the first it is among the lightest built temples; but nevertheless interesting to us from the sculptures, of which Caillaud has given engravings. Among them are prisoners with their arms bound behind them, one a negro, with a complete negro profile.[3] Everything about this temple however is entirely in the Egyptian style; Burkhardt therefore is perfectly right in marking it on his map as the most southern monument of this kind, wishing to keep it distinct from those of Meroë, at which we shall presently arrive.

Let us now consider the observations to which this acquaintance with the monuments gives rise; and inquire what certain and what probable results may be deduced therefrom. And first it is certain that the religion, rites, and arts of Egypt were not confined to its proper territory, but extended to the upper

[1] Gau, table liv.

[2] Waddington, p. 178. Caillaud, plate xii. xiv.

[3] Caillaud, plate xiv.

valley of the Nile. We see the same deities worshipped here as in Egypt; though the number is somewhat less. The rites of Ammon every where predominate; and after his, those of his temple companions and kindred. He himself occasionally appears with the ram's head, and sometimes in a human shape; but still with the attributes which distinguish him as Ammon. Next to him comes his son Osiris, known by the scourge and sceptre. A female form always accompanies both these where the space will allow it: Ammon, with the ram's head, by his wife Satis. He, however, as well as Osiris, is often accompanied by Isis, known by the cow's horns in her head-dress, between which is placed a globe of the world or sun. The other deities bear the heads of animals, especially those of the falcon and dog. I leave the further particulars respecting them to mythologists; all that is required here is to determine in a general way the prevailing religion.

In speaking of the monuments it is necessary to distinguish between the architecture itself, and the ornaments which they have received from the hand of the sculptor.[1]

The character of the architecture is upon the whole decidedly the same; but still there is a progress in it, which, in my opinion, is not to be mistaken. In the monuments of Egypt we find this art in its greatest perfection, and perhaps, at times, even in its decline; but here we see it in its rise and progress. The small grottos, especially those of Derar, appear to me to exhibit the earliest attempts of the art; these were afterwards improved; but how many shades of improvement must the art have undergone before it attained that sublime magnitude in which it exists at Ipsambul! I think, however, that I have proved that these grottos, at least originally, were not temples, but sepulchres. That this was the case with all I cannot venture to determine; as I am now only speaking of those in which the above-mentioned objects are depicted in the sanctuary, and that these, viz. Kalabshé, Ghyrshe, and Ipsambul, were such, I hesitate not to affirm. Respecting the monument at Derar I have some doubts, from there being no accurate delineation of the sanctuary.

The science of architecture therefore commenced with grottos and the tombs within them, and became perfected by degrees. And is not this a proof that this architecture was indigenous and not of foreign origin? Do we not see that its first

[1] Champollion, *Syst. des Hieroglyphes*, p. 99.

attempt was the construction of tombs, and is not that a striking proof that it was not of Indian origin? For though we are acquainted with mighty grotto-works in India, yet have we no where the least trace of their having been sepulchres. The disciples of Brama, in fact, do not bury their dead; they burn them.

The rock-monuments determined very naturally the principal character of the Nubian-Egyptian architecture to the colossal form which it assumed. In those caverns, already partly prepared by nature, the eye was accustomed to dwell on huge shapes and masses; so that when art came here to the assistance of nature, it could not move on a small scale without degrading itself. What would statues of the usual size, or neat porches and wings, have been, associated with those gigantic halls, before which only colossi could sit as watchmen, or lean on the pillars of the interior?

From the grottos this architecture trod forth into the open air. And is it not sufficiently evident how the monuments of Nubia underwent this change? We have seen them, like that of Ghyrshe, half in the rock and half in the open air. This union is still important on another account, it proves as clearly as possible, that the grotto monuments are the most ancient. For no rational being will believe that the porticos are older than the grottos.

But, notwithstanding I maintain that these grotto buildings, in their origin, were sepulchres, I do not deny but that they might afterwards have become temples. Religious ideas easily associate themselves with repositories of the dead: and if a certain veneration was shown to the deceased kings,—which we now know, from the Rosetta inscription, to have been the case with regard to the Ptolemies, who indeed were but the successors of the Pharaohs,—then, indeed, their sepulchres must likewise have been temples, where they were not made expressly inaccessible.

Architecture, however, quitted its junction with the grottos, and mounted a third step; by erecting monuments unconnected with these excavations.

All these edifices, without exception, so far as they are yet known, are temples; we find none beyond, which we can hold ourselves justified in calling sepulchres, or, as in Thebes, palaces. I have already remarked, and their appearance testifies to its truth, that they bear throughout the character of

Egyptian architecture. How far the earlier or later Egyptian style can be distinguished in them, I must leave to the judgment of architects. One difference I cannot pass over in silence. Notwithstanding the Nubian temples, like the Egyptian, exhibit pylones, colossi, colonnades, column-halls, and sanctuaries, yet there is no where to be found among them an obelisk, or the least trace of one. The magnificence which these proud monuments imparted was confined to Egypt;[1] and this alone is a proof that they were first erected in that country, where the architecture of the valley of the Nile was improved and carried to its highest perfection.

From the architecture let us turn to the sculpture or reliefs, with which the walls and columns of these monuments, as well below as above ground, are so profusely ornamented. And here at once a question presses itself upon our attention, namely, in what relation did these stand to the monuments? Did they form a part of them originally, or were they added at a later period? Are they by the same artists, or by others? Who would not at once decide in favour of the first, and consider the monuments and decorations as forming one whole, if a great difficulty did not, at the first glance, present itself. In the architecture, and even in the colossal statues, we have traced a progress, from the first attempts almost to their perfection; while in the reliefs nothing of the kind is discernible: they all belong to the perfected Egyptian art. How then can we account for sculpture having already attained this perfection, while architecture was gradually progressive in its improvement? I can only explain this extraordinary circumstance, connected with the rock-monuments, by supposing that their walls were not ornamented with reliefs till a later period; and that the sculpture has no connexion with their original destination as sepulchres. Whoever will compare the sitting figures, which represent family groups of the deceased, with those on the wall, will find no resemblance whatever between them either in countenance or shape. In the reliefs these are invariably long and slender; but in the sitting figures, short and thick. These observations apply particularly to the monuments of Kalabshé and Ipsambul; in those built from the ground there is no such disproportion between architecture and sculpture. Until the deciphering of the hieroglyphic writing, therefore, shall give us better information, I shall con-

[1] That of Axum, which will be hereafter spoken of, does not belong to Nubia.

sider it probable that the Egyptian rulers, who invaded Nubia, made use of the ancient rock-monuments, which they found already existing, and endeavoured to perpetuate their fame as victors and conquerors, by pictorial representations on the walls, of their pious and heroic deeds. The latest discoveries of Champollion confirm this view of the subject.[1] Ramasses the Great, otherwise called Sesostris, was the hero thus honoured; every part of the great monuments of Ipsambul, Kalabshé, Derar, Ghyrshe, and Seboa, bear records of his fame.

The subjects portrayed on these monuments may be mostly comprised under three classes; adorations, processions, and military triumphs. It is necessary, however, before entering upon them in detail, to premise a few general observations.

All accounts agree in attributing these temple buildings to the kings.—But for what purpose were they erected? They are described to us as memorials, by which the remembrance of the kings was preserved by the priesthood; for the Egyptian priests confessed to Herodotus, that of those kings who had left no monuments they could relate nothing more than a catalogue of names.[2] But in what sense were these buildings memorials of their founders? Were they merely such that at the most they did but preserve the remembrance of a ruler; or rather might not the representations on the walls,—those numerous reliefs with which they are covered,—have had a further object; namely, that of exhibiting the history of the king's reign? The nature of things seems to require our assent to this view of the subject, which is further confirmed by the historical pictures, those military triumphs, which we find portrayed upon them. This matter, however, will appear in a clearer light, if we fairly consider what the history of the reigns of these kings would comprise.

They are *priest-kings;* that is, kings who, if they did not by law belong to the priest-caste, were yet held in great dependence by that body; a dependence not consisting in mere words, but in an active expression of their reverence by sacrifices and offerings, which, nevertheless, were not without recompence; but, on the part of the priesthood, were returned in favours to the rulers, to them of importance; among which reception into the caste, and promotion, were perhaps deemed —as among the Indians—the highest.

The history of such kings was therefore necessarily twofold.

[1] Champollion, *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique*, 220. [2] Herod. ii. 101.

One ecclesiastical, which comprised the homages offered to the priests, and the recompences received for them; the other political, which contained the enterprises of the kings, and, above all, their military exploits.

I scarcely need state which of these two the priests would consider most deserving their attention. Though the political ranks highest with us, the other certainly had the highest claims to their regard.

Now if the temples of the kings were erected for the preservation of their memory, would they not have desired, above all things, to perpetuate their history by them in the way just explained? The contrary is almost inconceivable; but a more accurate view of the monuments, and the information lately obtained, leads to the result we should have anticipated.

We have another proof that political or military history ranked below the ecclesiastical; not only the disproportion in the numbers of the two show this, (that of the historical reliefs being very insignificant compared with the others,) but also the places assigned them; the representation of political affairs being confined to the outside of the pylones, and perhaps the partition-walls of the open hall of pillars, and even not exclusively to these. The battle-pieces extend no further. The triumphal processions, which, from their offerings to the gods, pertain to the ecclesiastical character, obtain at best only a place in the covered column-hall; consequently in the place where the people assembled and worshipped, but never in the inner sanctuary. This is sacred to religious affairs; although these previously occupy almost the whole of the walls and columns of the vestibule and halls; indeed even the façade of the pylones. Every thing, in short, proves that religion was here predominant, and that what we should regard as most important was thrown here into the back-ground.

These ecclesiastical pictures, then, claim our first attention; and who indeed could help asking, even at a cursory glance, for what they were intended? Were they merely decorations of the walls? or, if their general object was the promotion of religion, had they not particular and special objects as well? What can we make of them, and especially of the numerous repetitions of the same circumstance, unless we adopt some such notion as this?

It appears to me, that the late discoveries, especially the Greek inscriptions, for copies of which we are indebted to Gau

and Caillaud, lead to a further solution, by being compared with what we find exhibited upon the most ancient monuments. These Greek inscriptions give us important information respecting the solemn adoration[1] of the Egyptian deities, upon the ceremonial with which they were performed, and their relation to the temple, and the views with which they were made and received.

These adorations were solemn acts which a man performed, with the approbation of the priests, for himself, or even for his family. They were not, however, celebrated empty-handed, but accompanied with gifts and offerings; and for these the donor obtained that the remembrance thereof, and the honours conferred on account of them, should be preserved by an inscription on the walls of the temple. To this class belong the numerous Greek, and, in part, the Egyptian inscriptions, which the travellers I have so often mentioned copied.[2] "This is the adoration of such a one," sometimes with the addition of the sum which he had paid to the temple. A kind of tax, indeed, became formed, which a man paid once or more, according as he desired honours or grants from the temple. These consisted of priestly titles, and of privileges connected with them; perhaps something like those which a pilgrimage to the holy cities now gives to the disciples of Islam. The persons who came to worship were often pilgrims from distant lands; (the reader may bear in mind the customs of the East, and the example from holy writ of the chamberlain of queen Candace, who came to worship at Jerusalem;) though it was not religion and piety alone which induced many to undertake the distant journey.

It appears from the inscriptions, that it was mostly persons of the higher ranks, such as statesmen, commanders, governors, and the like, that procured these titles for their adorations; as might indeed be expected from the expense with which they were attended; though it is not likely that the gifts of the inferior classes were disdained. But, what is of particular

[1] The Greek expression is προσκυνήματα.

[2] See in particular the inscription of Cartasche given by Gau. The title of priest was the honour obtained; and this dignity was many times repeated, and raised the rank of the persons on whom it was conferred, till they obtained the title of chief-priest (ἀρχιερεὺς), and father of the priests (πατὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν). It is certain that it was procured for money; there are examples of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty pieces of gold being paid for it. A certain Makrinus paid one hundred and ten for two titles; another gave a talent and upwards. In the inscription, number xxiv., the price of the title of under-priest is estimated at thirty pieces of gold, and that of chief-priest at sixty. Compare the observations of Niebuhr, in *Dissertation*, p. 13.

consequence to us, even the kings of the house of Ptolemy were followers of this custom. The temples of Philæ contain many inscriptions of kings who had celebrated such adorations, and perpetuated the remembrance thereof by inscriptions.[1] And if the explanation I have above given concerning Ptolemy Evergetes and his consort be correct, whether it be the first or second of that name, it becomes clear that it was done not merely by inscriptions, but also by pictorial representations on the walls, which, probably, in the latter period of these monarchs, fell into disuse, as the Greek language became usual for inscriptions; which was not so well adapted as hieroglyphics to accompany pictorial representations: other causes which occurred under the latter Ptolemies may also have operated.

Let us apply these observations to the period of the Pharaohs, and its monuments, and with what increased interest shall we then regard the work of the sculptor, whose appearance testifies that they for the most part relate to such adorations. Whether these were only offered by kings, or by others as well, I will not venture to determine; but that the greatest proportion of them are royal oblations is shown by the ensigns of dominion with which the offerings are so frequently adorned. To explain the whole, it would be necessary to have the ritual of the priests, which, unfortunately, we are without. From that we might learn how this or that oblation was connected with its attendant ceremony; how it gave the right to wear this or that ornament on the head, or this or that ensign of the priesthood; how they led to washings and purifications, and at last even to admission into the priestly order; as this is many times represented in a manner not to be mistaken. Add to this, that Ammon was the deity of an oracle, and that many of these adorations could have no other object than that of obtaining favourable oracles from him, which none could require more than kings in their enterprises. The difference, therefore, between the earlier and later usage consisted in this, in the later period the matter was merely recorded by an inscription, while in the more ancient it was perpetuated by a pictorial representation of the act itself, accompanied, however, with hieroglyphic writing, a further key for the solution of which may perhaps be soon afforded us. What, however, was represented could naturally be no more

[1] See the proofs in the *Dissertation* already quoted, p. 21. The kings were some of the last of the house of Ptolemy.

than the prescribed ceremony; the more trifling offerings must certainly have been very different from the sums paid for admission into the priesthood.

I cannot, therefore, consider these pictorial representations as mere ornaments, or the fanciful creations of art; I regard them as historical. They set forth the ecclesiastical life of these priest-kings. And if it be remembered, that the completion of one of these stupendous monuments required centuries, and this is a fact beyond all doubt, it may then be conceived how one of them might contain the church annals of an empire.

And do not these ideas completely harmonize with what Champollion, the most acute inquirer into these subjects,[1] has said upon the origin of these monuments? "The study of them shows," he says, "that the Egyptians in general first erected the great masses of these edifices; covered them with large plain surfaces, and only completed at first the ornamental part of the architecture, when they polished and prepared all the smooth surfaces of the monument. After these labours the reliefs were set about, and ornamented with innumerable hieroglyphic characters, which covered the pillars and walls. This was the decoration of the monument, and proved the longest operation, and required the most care. Many reigns might pass by, many dynasties might succeed each other, ere the decoration of one of these stupendous monuments was completed." In all this I agree with the learned writer; the works left unfinished prove its truth. I cannot, however, believe that these were mere decorations. The foregoing remarks place these phenomena not only in a clearer, but in a more natural light.

In addition, however, to the ecclesiastical history of these priest-kings, their political is also portrayed upon the walls of their monuments; their military expeditions, their battles, their triumphs. These representations, however, are evidently copies of those in Thebes; they display the deeds of Egyptian conquerors, who wished to perpetuate their remembrance in the conquered countries, on the monuments they found there, of which I have already given proofs. In my researches upon Egypt I shall examine this subject more particularly, and shall, therefore, confine myself here to one remark respecting Nubia.

It is an important circumstance, that Egyptian art should

[1] *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xiii. p. 416.

always have been so careful to distinguish the conquered nations in these pictures by their colour, features, clothing, and arms. Their variety, however, is not so great upon the Nubian monuments as upon those of Thebes.[1] Negroes, known by their profile, only occur once or twice as captives.[2] The remainder, throughout, have the same colour, physiognomy, beard, and clothing: the colour is yellow, the clothing long, the beard short but projecting, the hair black, and on the females hanging down in ties.[3] Though it may appear strange that we here see the same nations warred upon by the Egyptian rulers, who indeed often governed Nubia, that we so often see in Egypt itself, yet is this not to be wondered at, because the inhabitants of both countries had the same enemies. Nubia, like Egypt, was surrounded by pastoral nations, of whom the most formidable were those towards the Arabian Gulf. The conquering of herdsmen, which is so common a circumstance in the history of Egypt, is not less so in that of Nubia. The greatest and longest wars were carried on against them, and are, therefore, represented upon the monuments. There can be no doubt of their being pastoral nations; for they are not only accompanied by women and children, as nomades usually are, but even the flying herds are portrayed.[4] Whether Arabian or Libyan nomades I will not venture to decide; it is easier shown that both had their seat in these regions: the yellow colour, the clothing and hair, seem to argue for their being Arabs. The fruitful valley of the Nile, with its treasures and temples, could not but often allure them to plunder and inroads.

The most interesting of the processions belonging to this part of my subject have now been explained;[5] at another opportunity I shall discuss the sacerdotal. We have thus far become acquainted with the monuments of Nubia. There are others besides these to which I shall now proceed,—those upon the island of Meroë.

But where is Meroë to be found? This is the first and most important question that demands our attention. The whole of the following inquiry can only become creditable and determinate by an accurate settlement of the locality.

If we first question Herodotus, we shall find that he has

[1] See especially the reliefs upon the tombs of the kings in Belzoni, plate vii. viii., where the people of white, red, and black colour are distinguished likewise by their clothing and physiognomy. [2] See above, p. 186.
[3] See Gau, table xiv. and lxi. [4] Gau, l. c. [5] See above, p. 178. sqq.

given us some important hints in what he has told us of the course of the Nile above Egypt. He recommends us to leave the vessel near the island Tachompso, in order to avoid the cataracts, and to make a forty days' journey by land near the banks of the river, after which a new voyage of twelve days will bring us to the city of Meroë. The fixing the journey *near* the banks of the river is here of great consequence; as by this course the Nubian desert is avoided, and by following the various bendings of the stream the way is much lengthened. There is still, however, much vagueness in these statements, as the windings of the river are not accurately pointed out. According to Waddington's map, the distance from the cataract of Wady Halfa to the influx of the Tacazze is six hundred geographical miles, to which must be added one hundred and twenty miles from Kalabshé, where we suppose the island Tachompso to be, to Wady Halfa. However uncertain, therefore, the reckoning may remain, the forty days' journey will, nevertheless, carry us into the territory of Atbara, between the Nile and the Astaboras, to the northern part of the empire of Sennaar. It remains to be seen whether what other writers have said will fix its situation more accurately.

Herodotus only mentions the city of Meroë. All other writers describe Meroë as an island, with a city of the same name.[1] They therefore do not contradict Herodotus; the following will tend to show that the situation of the city, as laid down by Herodotus, agrees with their statements.

"The Astaboras," says Agatharchides, "which flows through Ethiopia, unites its stream with the greater Nile, and thereby forms the island of Meroë, by flowing round it."[2] Strabo is still more precise.[3] "The Nile," says he, "receives two great rivers which run from the east out of some lakes, and encompass the great island of Meroë. One is called the Astaboras, which flows on the eastern side; the other the Astapus. Some mention instead the Astosabas, and distinguish therefrom the Astapus, which runs in a course very nearly parallel with the Nile. Seven hundred stadia above the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras is the *city* of Meroë, bearing the same name as the island."—To these statements, which are quite sufficient to settle the situation of Meroë, I must add, even at the risk of being tedious, the testimony of Pliny. "In the midst of

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 38. Strabo, p. 1134. Plin. vi. 29.
[2] In Huds. *Geogr. Min.* i. p. 37. [3] Strabo, p. 1134.

Ethiopia," he says, "the Nile bears the name of Astapus.[1] It here forms great islands, which it scarcely flows round in five days, especially the island of Meroë, where its left branch is called the Astaboras, and the right Astaspes. It first takes the name of the Nile where all these branches unite."

A glance at the map will immediately show where the ancient Meroë may be found. The Astaboras, which flows round it on the eastern side, is the present Atbar, or Tacazze; the Astapus, which bounds it on the left, and runs parallel with the Nile, is the *Bahar el Abiad*, or *white river*, which, perhaps, should properly be called the Nile. I do not stop to determine other small streams, which have nothing to do with my subject.[2]

The accounts of the Arabian geographers throw a still clearer light upon this matter.[3] The Nile they say divides itself into seven streams, three of which are large, and the others smaller. One of the former runs from the east, and, therefore, without doubt is the Astaboras, or Tacazze, called also the blue stream. The second of the larger streams is the white Nile, which runs from the west, therefore the Astapus, whose water is as white as milk. The third is the green Nile, running from the south-east, therefore the proper Nile of the moderns; its water is so clear that the fish are visible at the bottom of it. The four smaller streams likewise come from the south-east, and run into the green Nile. They may be seen in Bruce's map. The country between these streams is the empire of Alua, which begins where the first of them, the Tacazze, joins the Nile. The capital of the empire, called Sujah, a handsome, well-built town, is situated at the junction of the white and green Nile.[4] Between these rivers is an island whose extent is unknown. It is therefore evident that this island, or the empire of Alua, is the ancient island of Meroë.

Diodorus has accurately stated the size of the island Meroë. It is three thousand stadia, he tells us, that is, three hundred and forty English miles in length, and one thousand stadia, or one hundred and fifteen miles in breadth.[5]

And finally, Pliny determines its distance in miles from Syene in Egypt. Eratosthenes, he says, computed it at six hundred and twenty-five, and Artemidorus at six hundred

[1] Pliny, v. 9. He confounds the Astaspes and Astapus.
[2] For that consult Bruce, ii. p. 253, etc., and iii. 646. *Edit.* 1790.
[3] See Quatremere, l. c. ii. p. 7—21. [4] Bruce has placed here upon his map a town, Halfaia, whose name perhaps comes from Alua. [5] Diodorus, l. c.

Roman miles. Shortly before his time, however, under Nero, the distance was measured, and found to be eight hundred and seventy-three Roman miles to the nearest part of the island.[1] All these measures may have been right, according to the roads taken. The Roman ambassadors chose the longest way, as they followed in the whole course the direction of the Nile; the Greek geographers reckon according to the shorter caravan route, which leaves the Nile, and strikes across the desert of Bahiuda. The celebrated British traveller went by a still shorter way from Meroë to Syene, as he ventured to pass directly across the great Nubian desert: the same route that Burkhardt took upon his return.

From the foregoing statements taken together, we may safely draw the following conclusions:

First: that the ancient island of Meroë is the present province of Atbar, between the river of the same name, or the Tacazze, on the right, and the white stream and Nile on the left. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile; in the south it is enclosed by a branch of the above-mentioned river, the Waldubba, and a branch of the Nile, the Bahad, whose sources are nearly in the same district, although they flow in different directions.[2] It lies between 13° and 18° N. Lat. In recent times it has formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennaar, and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.

Secondly: Meroë was therefore an extensive district, surrounded by rivers, whose superficial contents exceeded those of Sicily rather more than one half. It cannot be called an island in the strict sense of the word, because, although it is very nearly, it is not completely enclosed by rivers; but it was taken for an island of the Nile, because, as Pliny expressly observes, the various rivers which flow round it were all considered as branches of that stream.[3] It becomes, moreover, as we are told by Bruce, a complete island in the rainy season, in consequence of the overflowing of the rivers.

Thirdly: upon this island stood the city of the same name. It is impossible from the statements of Herodotus to determine precisely its site. Fortunately other writers give us more assistance. According to Eratosthenes[4] it lay seven hundred

[1] Pliny, vi. 29. [2] See the large map of Bruce; where will be found all the small streams and their branches, whose names are not given in our maps.
[3] Pliny, v. 9. Herodotus is here again the only ancient writer who speaks determinately. He mentions only the city of Meroë, without calling the country in which it lay an island
[4] Strabo, p. 1134.

stadia (about eighty English miles) above the junction of the Tacazze or Astaboras, and the Nile. Pliny, following the statements of those whom Nero had sent to explore it, reckons seventy *milliaria* (sixty-three English miles); and adds the important fact, that near it, in the river on the right side, going up stream, is the small island Tadu, which serves the city as a port.[1] From this it may be concluded with certainty, that the city of Meroë was not on the Tacazze, as might otherwise be conjectured from the names of those rivers being so unsettled, but on the proper Nile; and its situation, notwithstanding the little difference between Pliny and Eratosthenes, may be determined with the nicest accuracy, by the small island just mentioned, which Bruce has not omitted to note upon his map.

The ancient city of Meroë stood a little below the present Shendy, under 17° N. Lat. 52½° E. Long. Bruce saw its ruins at a distance, and only ventured to conjecture what I, from the testimony of the ancients, think I have completely proved. Every one of my readers will certainly read here with pleasure what that remarkable traveller says: I give it in his own words.[2] "On the 20th of October, in the evening," says he, "we left Shendy, and rested two miles from the town, and about a mile from the river; the next day, the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island, in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees, and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog; some pieces of obelisk, likewise with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive; and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess," he adds, "that this is the ancient city Meroë."

What Bruce and Burkhardt[3] only saw at a distance, and

[1] Pliny, vi. cap. 29. [2] Bruce, iv. p. 541.
[3] Burkhardt himself gives us a reason why he examined so few antiquities, p. 275. As he travelled under the character of a poor merchant, he could not leave the caravan any distance without exciting suspicion. "Had even the stately Thebes lain close at hand, I could not have stopped to examine it." He did not go beyond Shendy; and therefore could not have seen the monuments south of that place.

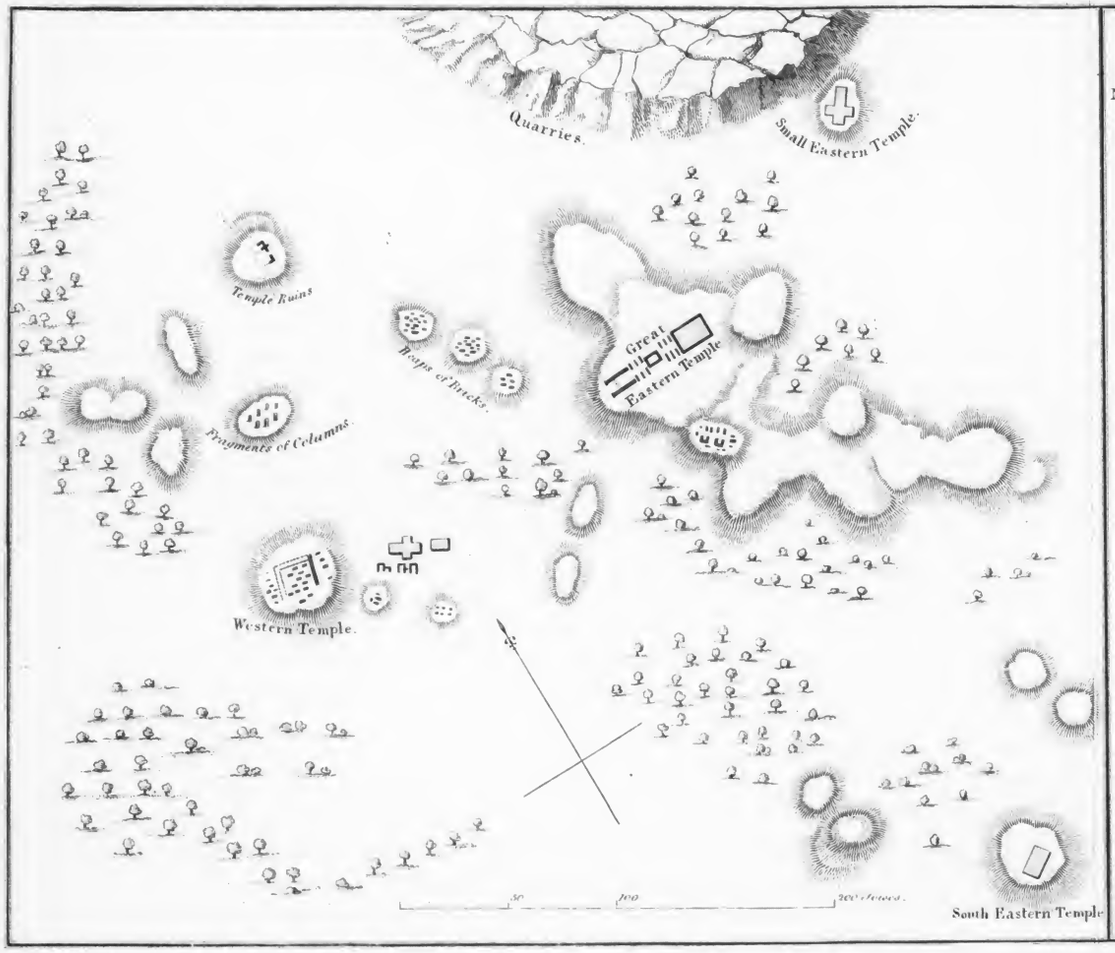
hastily, has now been carefully examined by later travellers, and placed before our eyes by their drawings. These inquiries have however shown, that the antiquities of Meroë are not confined to a single spot, but are found in many places. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gherri teems with them, and must be considered as classic ground. On the north of the island we also find a group, those of mount Berkal, which we may securely affirm to have belonged to Meroë. I will return to these by and by, and for the present direct my attention to those in the island of Meroë itself.

So far as our present information extends, these may be included under three principal groups; with the names of Assur, Naga, and Messura. That of Assur[1] lies a little to the north of Shendy, about two miles from the Nile; the two others run southward, more towards the desert, and are at some leagues' distance from the Nile. The monuments still found consist of temples and pyramids; all private dwellings have been long ago destroyed. According to Strabo,[2] they were only built of split palm trees and tiles; the earth, however, is, in many parts, so covered with bricks, that a city must formerly have stood here. The site of the ancient Meroë, after the above statements, can no longer be doubtful, even if there were no remains to confirm them. It stood near the present Assur, about twenty miles north of the present Shendy, exactly under 17° N. Lat. The site of the ancient city, which lay on the Nile between the present villages of Assur and Tenetbey, is still discovered by the remains of a few temples, and of many other edifices of sandstone. The whole extent amounts, according to Caillaud, to nearly four thousand feet.[3] The plain allowed sufficient room for a much larger city.

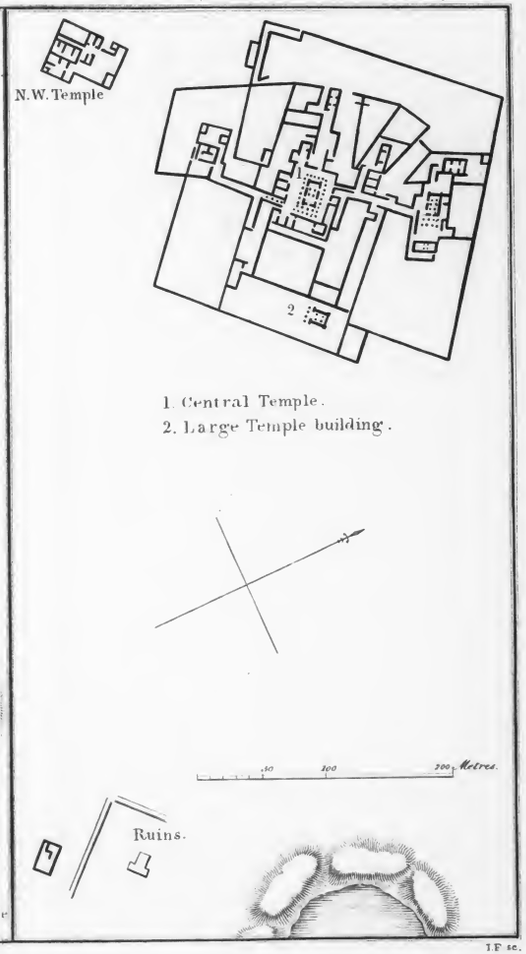
But if the habitations of the living are destroyed, those of the dead still remain. To the east of Assur is the great churchyard of pyramids—I cannot more appropriately denote them,—which likewise proves that a considerable city was in its neighbourhood. It is impossible to behold the number of these monuments without astonishment, eighty are mentioned in the plan of Caillaud;[4] but the number cannot be well ascertained, as the ruins of many are doubtful. But there is reason to suppose that their number is considerably greater

[1] The name of Assur is only found in Caillaud. In Bruce and Burkhardt this district is called Djebail, from the mountains. Assur is the name of a village on the Nile; in the neighbourhood of which are the villages of Danqueil and Tenetbey. [2] Strabo, p. 1177.

[3] One thousand three hundred metres, that is, the extent of the ruins still remaining. That the city must have been larger cannot be doubted. [4] Caillaud, plate xxxi.



A PLAN OF THE TEMPLES OF MEROE AT NAGA NEAR SHENDY.



TEMPLES AT EL-MESSOORAH.

than he states. They are divided into three groups, one due east from the city; the two others a league from the river, one north and the other south. The most northern one is the largest and best preserved. They certainly appear small in comparison with the monuments of a similar kind in middle Egypt, the height of the largest not being more than eighty feet;[1] but they are more wonderful from their number. They are built of granite like the Egyptian, but do not seem so massive in the interior. The highest of them was ascended, and, as its top was thrown off, the interior seemed nothing beyond a heap of shapeless masses. As no one, however, examined the interior, it might be premature to decide anything respecting it. Most of the largest of them have a temple-like fore-building in the Egyptian style; a pylone and a door which leads into a portico, and this again through a sanctuary into the pyramid. It does not appear therefore that they desired here, as was the case in Egypt, to conceal the entrance, unless the real entrance was some where else. Until an interior has been examined, it will not be known whether sarcophagi and mummies are to be found within; I am not aware of any having been found beyond Egypt, south of Philæ and the cataracts. According to Strabo the Ethiopians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in a different manner; in earthen vessels, near the sanctuary.[2] The corners of the pyramids are partly ornamented; and the walls of the pylones are decorated with sculpture. That on the largest pyramid, drawn by Caillaud, represents an offering for the dead.[3] In one compartment a female warrior, with the royal ensigns on her head, and richly attired, drags forward a number of captives as offerings to the gods; upon the other she is in a warlike habit, about to destroy the same group, whose heads are fastened together by the top hair, as we shall see again upon the ruins of Naga. On a third relief in the sanctuary she is making an offering of frankincense to the goddess. Upon a fourth field appears Anubis with a burning light in his hand, accompanied by the Jackal, the guardian of the lower world. This representation, together with the magnitude of the pyramid, renders it probable that it is the sepulchre of a king. That all pyramids here were not monuments of kings is evinced by their great number. Other grandees of the empire, especially priests of high rank, or such as had obtained the sacerdotal dignity,

[1] Caillaud, plate xlv [2] Strabo, p. 1178. [3] Caillaud, plate xlvi.

might have found in them their final resting-place. In Ethiopia, and consequently in Meroë, the pyramid architecture was native from the earliest ages. But if we compare this pyramid architecture with the Egyptian, we shall see another proof of what has already been partly established; namely, that what had its rise in Ethiopia was perfected in Egypt, of which we shall still see further proofs.

The statements of Caillaud have been confirmed by the narrative of Rüppel of Frankfort,[1] who likewise visited Meroë. His account extends beyond that of the French traveller, as he informs us of the existence of similar groups of pyramids in the land of Kurgos. "After having for some time been within sight of the ruins of Kurgos, which are also mentioned by Bruce, I was at last able to go and examine them under a guard. On the other side of the Nile my way lay for fifty-seven minutes across a plain of Nile slime or mud. Traces were visible of ancient canals running parallel with the bed of the Nile, a proof that this territory was once highly cultivated. Ten minutes after I came to a great heap of hewn and burnt stones. Time, however, had destroyed everything. With difficulty were some shafts of columns discovered, whose capitals were ornamented with the heads of animals. Proofs that this was the site of ancient temples."

"Twelve minutes farther a group of pyramidic mausolea. There were thirteen, all of hewn stone, forty feet high, without an entrance. Near them was a lion's head in black granite; evidently a sitting sphinx. Thirty minutes farther, eastward, a group, far more considerable than the former, of twenty-one tombs. Some were of the pyramid form with indented borders; others had pointed angles, with borders of plainer workmanship. One of these monuments, the most southerly, differs from all the others. A prismatic steeple stands upon a socle twenty feet square. It has, like the rest, an eastern entrance, leading to the hall or gallery, as in the sepulchres of Meroë (Assur). The walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture; the reliefs like those at Meroë, but in greater perfection; they invariably represent the apotheosis of the dead. Among these pyramids there is one, as among those at Meroë, peculiar on account of its entrance. On both sides of this are two female figures, holding lances in their hands, and in the act of piercing with them a band of prisoners. The drapery, grouping, and keeping of this surpasses every thing of the kind I have seen in Nubia and Egypt, not even excepting the temple of Tentyris. They are free from the stiffness which is found in the Briareus of that place. These monuments, from their preservation, seem of later date than those of Meroë."

[1] Writings by Edward Rüppel, from the camp near Kurgos, 29th Feb. 1824, in *Europæische Blætter*, Oct. 1824, p. 131—134.

"A third group is met with five minutes south-east of the foregoing. It consists of nine pyramids, each with its entrance towards the east, the inner walls of which are covered with sculpture. The reliefs represent *apotheoses* of *female* figures only; while in all others they represent heroes, to whom offerings are brought. These southern sepulchres are also less than the others, the highest not being above forty feet. In the group of twenty-one pyramids there are some which measure ninety feet. All these monuments are built of hewn stone without mortar." Thus much beforehand of the German traveller's information, whose more extensive and accurate narrative may be expected at his return.

The antiquities of Naga and Messura, to the south of Shendy, are of another kind; they are temples. The city of Meroë, however, was not without temples; two, a larger and smaller, are laid down in the plan of Caillaud; though neither of them seem to have been of any importance. The most recent traveller has ascertained, that the larger temples were not in the city, but at a few miles' distance.

The monuments of Naga, or Naka, lie about six leagues south-east of Shendy, and about the same distance east of the Nile.[1] They consist of numerous temples, of which a larger one lies in the centre, and various smaller ones are scattered around in every direction. The ruins show that a considerable city at one time stood here.—The remains of the principal temple clearly prove to what god it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, rams couchant, on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a second similar gallery, we arrive at the pylone. Adjoining this is a colonnade consisting of eight columns; then a hall, and through a third door is the sanctuary. The door, the pillars, and the walls of the sanctuary are of hewn stone; the rest of bricks, with a coating, upon which traces of painting are visible. The pylones and pillars are ornamented with sculpture, very highly finished. Those on the first pylone, on each side

[1] Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë*, plate xi.—xxi.

of the entrance, are particularly remarkable.[1] A king and queen (bearing the emblems of dominion) are kindly welcomed by the deities. The latter by Ammon with the ram's head, and the former by the same in human shape, but without any further mark of distinction. Above, in the frieze, oblations are offered by both to the same deities; below, at the bottom, are handmaids with vessels, out of which they are pouring water. The building is in the Egyptian style; and of a vast size. The whole, from the first pylone to the end, is about eighty feet long. There is also something peculiar in the entrance. The duplicate gallery of rams before and after the portico, is not common elsewhere; and the plan of the whole seems to show that architecture had not yet attained to that perfection which it afterwards exhibits in the great temples of Egypt.—The western temple is less, but more richly embellished with sculpture. On the pylones the same scenes are again represented as we have already seen in the pyramids of Assur. A male warrior on one side, and a female warrior on the other, destroy a number of captives whom they have bound together by the hair.[2] They are king and queen, as they both have the emblem of dominion, the *ureus*, on the head-dress; over each is a spread eagle, with a globe; both are magnificently dressed. The sculpture below contains a string of single captives with their hands tied behind them. The reliefs on the interior represent the sacrifice of prisoners to the gods. The upper row contains the five male deities, Ammon, with his followers; first, the god with the lion's head, and the ornament with the ram's horns; behind him Ammon himself; Re, the god of the sun; his son Phthæ; and then again Ammon with the ram's head. The under row contains the females in an equal number; first Isis, who has already seized and holds fast the group of captives offered to her. The offerings are over the king followed by men, and under the queen by women.[3] The following subject is still more remarkable. It represents the same god, with the lion's head and the ram's horns on the head-dress; but with a double head and four arms.[4] It is the only subject of this sort I am acquainted with among all the known sculptures from the sources of the Nile to its mouth. It is likewise the only one which can be considered as borrowed from the Indian theology. The king comes from one

[1] Caillaud, plate xix. xx. [2] Ibid. plate xiv. xvi. [3] Ibid. plate xvii. [4] Ibid. plate xviii.

side, and the queen from the other, both with tablets in their hands, probably containing lists of their gifts and offerings.

It is evident, then, that these representations possess many peculiarities, and that they are not pure Egyptian. Certainly not, however, in respect to religious rites. There appears nothing here in the worship of Ammon, with his kindred and associate gods, essentially differing from that of Upper Egypt. The relief already mentioned, with the male and female deities, contains this family of gods almost complete. But the most remarkable difference appears in the persons offering. The queens appear with the kings; and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors. Nothing of this kind has been yet discovered in the Egyptian reliefs, either in Egypt or Nubia. It may, therefore, with certainty be concluded, that they are subjects peculiar to Ethiopia; i. e. such as relate to the ancient rulers, male and female, of Meroë, and are devoted to the preservation of *their* deeds. If we look into history, we shall there find some little help towards a general explanation. "Among the Ethiopians," says Strabo, speaking of Meroë, "the women are also armed."[1] We also know that they sometimes mounted the throne. Herodotus mentions a Nitocris among the ancient queens of Ethiopia, who ruled over Egypt.[2] Upon the relief already described, representing the conquest of Ethiopia by Sesostris, there is a queen with her sons, who appears before him as a captive.[3] A long succession of queens under the title of Candace must have reigned here;[4] and when at last the seat of empire was removed from Meroë to Napata, near mount Berkal, there was also there a queen who ruled under the title of Candace.[5] It is not therefore strange, but quite agreeable to Ethiopian usages, to see a queen in a warlike habit near her consort; although history has preserved nothing particular on the subject.

The perfection to which sculpture had been brought here is very striking. There is nothing superior to it on the Egyptian monuments; and in boldness of outline it seems almost to surpass them. "These colossal figures," (they are ten feet high,) says Caillaud, "are remarkable for the richness of their drapery, and the character of the drawing; their feet and arms are stouter than the Egyptian: yet are they altogether in the

[1] Strabo, p. 1177. [2] Herod. ii. 100. [3] See above, p. 181. [4] Plin. vi. 35. [5] Strabo, p. 820. *Acts* viii. 28.

Egyptian style."[1] Rüppel notices a similar perfection on the pyramids of Kurgos. Are we to suppose that Ethiopian artists became thus accomplished? Or do not these monuments rather belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë (the eighth century before our era) when the dynasty of Tarhako and Sabako ruled over Upper Egypt, and to whom it would have been easy to send Egyptian artists to Meroë, to perpetuate their fame by their workmanship? Futurity may perhaps solve these problems.[2]

The second station, now called *El Messura*, for a description and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud,[3] is equally interesting. "In an extensive valley in the desert," says he, "eight hours' journey from Shendy to the south-east, and six leagues from the Nile, are very considerable ruins. They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples, and galleries; surrounded by a double enclosure. From the temple in the midst, the way to the others is through galleries, or terraces, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its particular chambers. These buildings are placed in an exact order; and consist of eight temples, thirty-nine chambers, twenty-six courts, twelve flights of steps, etc. The ruins cover a plot of land two thousand five hundred feet in circumference."

"But in this immensity of ruins every thing is upon a smaller scale, the monuments as well as the materials employed. The largest temple is only thirty-four feet long; upon the pillars are figures in the Egyptian style; others in the same portico are fluted, like the Grecian; upon the basis of one I thought I discovered the remains of a zodiac. Time and the elements, which have destroyed the ancient Saba, seem to have been willing to spare us the observatory of Meroë; but until the rubbish be cleared away, a complete plan of it cannot be expected. It excites our wonder to find so few hieroglyphics in all these ruins; the six pillars which form the portico of the middle temple are the only ones containing any, all the other walls are without sculpture."

[1] Caillaud, plate xvii. Explication.

[2] It is very remarkable, that here, in the neighbourhood of the most ancient monuments, is found a portico in the Greek style. Caillaud, plate xiii. Certainly a decided proof of the high antiquity of the others. [3] In his letters in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xvi. p. 128. For the engravings see plate xxii.—xxx.

"Some hundred paces from the ruins are the remains of two other small temples; and the traces of a great reservoir of water, surrounded by little hills, which protect it from the sand. There is here, however, no trace of a city; no heap of rubbish; no sepulchre. If the city of Meroë had stood here, the pyramids would not have been built two days' journey off. I believe that the public offices of Meroë were situated here; the form and the architecture prove it. The city was in the neighbourhood of the sepulchres, where the pyramids are."

So far M. Caillaud. I wish circumstances would permit me to lay the ground-plan of it in full before the reader;[1] yet I hope the accompanying small plan will give an idea of the whole.[2] It forms an outline of the whole enclosure. In the centre is the principal temple; on the different sides are the inferior temples; if they are not rather other buildings. The many corridors, chambers, and courts, cannot now be altogether completely restored. The two inferior temples, with the reservoir, lie at some distance from the enclosure.

May I be allowed to express my opinion freely and openly? IT IS THE ANCIENT ORACLE OF JUPITER AMMON. A mere glance at the ground-plan leads to this idea. It is only thus that the singularity of the foundation can be accounted for; of that labyrinth of passages and courts which must be wandered through, before arriving at the entirely secret temple in the midst. Scarcely could there be a better introduction contrived for reaching the sanctuary.

But we need not rest upon mere conjecture. A passage of Diodorus settles more accurately the site of the ancient temple, and strikingly confirms the above notion. It informs us that this temple did not stand in the city of Meroë, but at some distance from it in the desert, as it is here situated. When, in the period of the Ptolemies, (as will be shown hereafter,) the then ruler of Meroë overthrew the dominion of the priests, he went with an armed company to the retired spot, where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, surprised the priests, and killed them.[3] Can clearer proofs be required,—situation, building, and locality all agree?

[1] Caillaud, table xxii. [2] See the ground-plan. The labyrinth of Egypt comes, almost involuntarily, into the mind upon viewing it. Who can at present determine whether there are not also here subterraneous apartments?

[3] See Diodorus, i. p. 178. Ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῆλθε μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄβατον, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν χρυσοῦν ναὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων. And in Strabo, p. 1178, ἐπιὼν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅπου ὁ χρυσοῦς νεώς ἐστι.—But what is said here: In the sanctuary

The smallness of the principal temple is not surprising, the same thing has been observed at Ammonium in the Libyan desert.[1] It was probably a place merely for the preservation of the sacred ship, which stood between the pillars of the sanctuary.

Its situation in the desert also follows the example already adduced, and will appear still less extraordinary when it is shown, that one of the great trading routes runs just by it.

As the principal temple was so small, the others, which are called temples, may merely be considered as chapels: it remains very uncertain for what use they were destined. Hence, Caillaud very properly designates them, in the explanations to his plates, "*constructions*." The separate members were small, but the whole was great.

The rarity of sculpture and hieroglyphics is very remarkable; no trace of that Egyptian art has been discovered here. The few figures on the pillars, now scarcely legible, have nothing in common with it. One of them has evidently the hair done up in the broad Nubian fashion.[2]

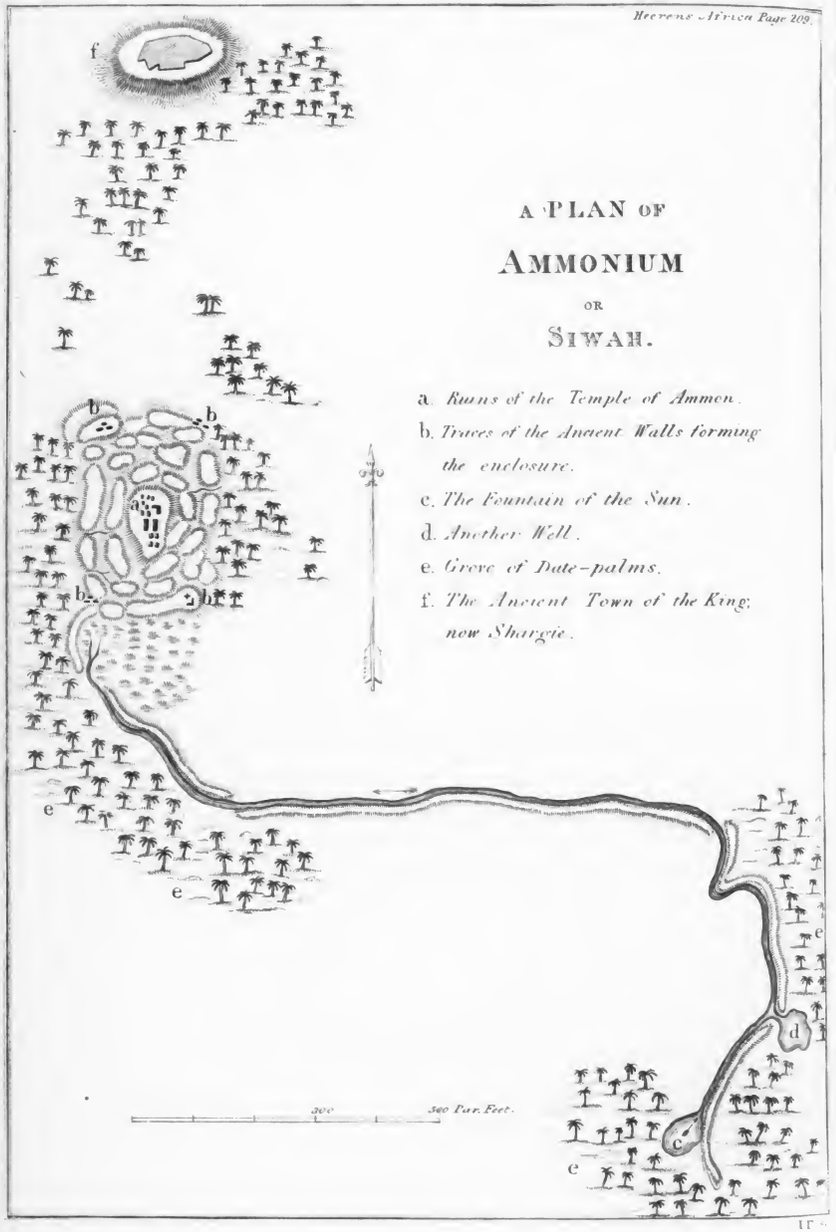
In what relation the foundations of Messura stood to those of Naga we can only conjecture. If Messura was the oracle-temple, then that body of the priesthood who had the care of the oracle would naturally reside here. The number of these in proportion to the whole order could be but small, perhaps only the highest class of ministers. On the other hand, I feel inclined to consider Naga as the proper metropolis of the caste. Here stood a number of temples, not only dedicated to Ammon, but to the kindred gods;[3] here are found the remains of a city that would afford convenient dwellings to the priesthood, no traces of which are found in Messura.

Thus we stand on that remarkable spot which antiquity frequently regarded as the cradle of the arts and sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence. Who then can avoid asking, what was here formerly? what took place here?

Although it is impossible to answer these questions so completely as the reader might wish, yet there are many circum-

where the golden temple is found? If the reading be correct, a small portable temple must be meant, which belonged to the sacred vessels. I scarcely, however, have a doubt that we should read *ναυς* instead of *ναος*, as found in Diodorus; and the same in Strabo; and then translate it *the golden ship*. It will be shown hereafter that this could not fail to be in all the oracle temples of Ammon. As this corrupt reading might very easily have crept in, it very probably existed in the common source into which both these writers dipped.

[1] See above, p. 100. [2] Caillaud, plate xxx. Herodotus mentions that to Dionysos, or Osiris; Strabo, l. c. Hercules, or Pan.



stances which supply materials towards it. Let us select from them such as may be regarded as certain facts; and then add those that are more or less probable.

It stands as an incontrovertible fact, that besides the pastoral and hunting tribes, which led a nomad life to the west of the Nile, and still more to the east, as far as the Arabian Gulf, there existed a cultivated people near this stream, in the valley through which it flows, who had fixed abodes, built cities, temples, and sepulchres, and whose remains, even now, after the lapse of so many centuries, still excite our astonishment.

It may further be stated, as a certainty, that the civilization of this people was, in an especial manner, connected with their religion: that is, with the worship of certain deities. The remains of their foundation prove this too clearly for any doubt to be entertained on the subject.

This religion, upon the whole, is not uncertain. It was the worship of Ammon, and his kindred gods. The circle of these deities was very nearly of the same extent as that of Olympus among the Greeks; it might, possibly, be somewhat larger. It became enlarged by the appearance of the same deity, in different relations, and consequently with changed attributes, especially with different head-ornaments, and also under various forms. But the rites of Ammon so much prevailed, that his emblem, the ram's horns, are seen every where; and it seldom happens but that the kindred deities exhibit, in some part or other, something which refers to him.

Without digressing into a detailed description of particular deities, which I leave to mythologists, I think I may yet venture a step farther without fear of contradiction, and assert that this worship had its origin in natural religion connected with agriculture. The great works of nature were revered, accordingly as they promoted, or retarded and hindered this. It seems natural that the sun and moon, so far as they determined the seasons and the year, the Nile and the earth as sources of fruitfulness, the sandy deserts as the opposers of it, should be personified; one thing is remarkable, namely, that of all the representations of Nubia yet known, there is not one, which, according to our notions, is offensive to decency.

But this worship had besides, as we know with certainty, a second element: oracles. Ammon was the original oracle god of Africa: if afterwards, as was the case in Egypt, other deities delivered oracles, yet they were of his race, of his

kindred. Even beyond Egypt we hear of the oracles of Ammon. "The only gods worshipped in Meroë," says Herodotus,[1] "are Zeus and Dionysos (which he himself explains to be Ammon and Osiris). They also have an oracle of Ammon, and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands." How these oracles were delivered we learn partly from history, partly from representations on the monuments. In the sanctuary stands a ship. Upon it many holy vessels; but, above all, in the midst a portable tabernacle, surrounded with curtains, which may be drawn back. In this is an image of the god, set, according to Diodorus, in precious stones;[2] nevertheless, according to one account, it could have no human shape.[3] The ship in the great temples seems to have been very magnificent; Sesostris presented one to the temple of Ammon at Thebes, made of cedar, the inside covered with silver, and the outside with gold.[4] The same was hung about with silver pateræ.[5] When the oracle was to be consulted, it was carried around by a body of priests in procession, and from certain movements, either of the god or of the ship, both of which the priests had well under their command, the omens were gathered, according to which the high-priest then delivered the oracle.[6] This ship is often represented, both upon the Nubian and Egyptian monuments, sometimes standing still, and sometimes carried in procession; but never any where except in the innermost sanctuary, which was its resting-place. Upon the Nubian monuments hitherto made known, we discover this in two places; at Asseboa and Derar, and on each twice. Those of Asseboa are both standing. In one the tabernacle is veiled, but upon the other it is without a curtain;[7] Ammon appears in the same, sitting on a couch; before him an altar with gifts.[8] Upon one the king is kneeling before the ship at his devotions, in the other he is coming towards it with an offering of frankincense (is it in order to consult the oracle?). In the sanctuary of the rock-monument at Derar we also discover it twice. Once in procession, borne by a number of priests;[9] the tabernacle is veiled, the king meets it,

[1] Herod. ii. 29. [2] Diodorus, ii. 199.
[3] Curtius, iv. 7, *umbilico similis*. I doubt this statement, not only on account of the passage just quoted from Diodorus, but because we see on one of the common monuments a complete portrait of Ammon. [4] Diodorus, i. 67.
[5] So in Ammonium; Curtius, l. c. [6] Compare especially the account of Alexander's visit to Ammonium, in Diodorus, ii. 199, and Curtius, l. c.
[7] Gau, plate xlv. B. In this the relief is represented as coloured.
[8] Ibid. plate xlv. A. Ammon appears here with the ram's head.
[9] Ibid. plate li. C.

bringing frankincense; the other time at rest.[1] These processions are not only seen upon the great Egyptian temples at Philæ, Elephantis, and Thebes, but also upon the great Oasis.[2] *The sacred ship was therefore the oracle ship;* and wherever we discover it we may conclude that an oracle of Ammon was, or should be there.—But it is naturally asked, how came this idea of ships? The answer seems almost as naturally to present itself. For as we have already seen, and shall still further see, how the worship of Ammon spread along the Nile by the foundation of temples and colonies, can we in these ships and these processions see anything plainer than the *allegorical propagation of this worship in this* manner? Does not this explain the representation both as a whole and in detail? Does not this explain also the frequent repetition, as this propagation happened according to the prescription of the oracle, and was regarded as a sacred duty?

These oracles were certainly the main support of this religion; and, if we connect with them the local features of the country, it will at once throw a strong light upon its origin. Fertility is here, as well as in Egypt, confined to the borders of the Nile. At a very short distance from it the desert begins. How could it then be otherwise than that crowds of men should congregate on the borders of the stream where the dhourra, almost the only corn here cultivated, would grow. And if they could satisfy their first cravings with the produce of this scanty space, was not the rise of a religion having for its object the adoration of nature, referring to it, just what might be expected? Add to all this, however, another circumstance highly important. Meroë was besides, as will be proved in the following chapter, the chief mart for the trade of these regions. It was the grand emporium of the caravan trade between Ethiopia, the north of Africa, and Egypt, as well as of Arabia Felix, and even India. But before proceeding to these circumstances, let us take an accurate survey of the express and authentic information given us by the ancients respecting the history and condition of Meroë.

Meroë, according to their account, was a city which had its settled constitution and laws, its ruler and government. But the form of this state was one which we too often find among the kingdoms of these southern regions; it was a hierarchy; the government was in the hands of a race or caste of priests,

[1] Gau, plate lii [2] *Description d'Egypte*, plate xiii. xxxvii. lxix.

who chose from among themselves a king. I shall translate here Diodorus's account of them, which is the most extensive and accurate that we have.

"The laws of the Ethiopians,"[1] he says, "differ in many respects from those of other nations, but in none so much as in the election of their kings; which is thus managed. The priests select the most distinguished of their own order, and upon whichever of these the god (Jupiter Ammon) fixes, as he is carried in procession, he is acknowledged king by the people; who then fall down and adore him as a god, because he is placed over the government by the choice of the gods. The person thus selected immediately enjoys all the prerogatives, which are conceded to him by the laws, in respect to his mode of life; but he can neither reward or punish any one, beyond what the usages of their forefathers and the laws allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be legally condemned to that punishment; but they send to the malefactor one of the servants of justice, who bears the symbol of death. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his own house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of escaping punishment by flight into a neighbouring country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one who would have attempted this, strangled him with her own girdle, in order to save her family from that greater ignominy. But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of the king. The priests at Meroë, for example, who attend to the service of the gods, and hold the highest ranks, send a messenger to the king, with an order to die. They make known to him that the gods command this, and that mortals should not withdraw from their decrees; and perhaps added such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by custom, and unable to oppose anything thereto."

The government continued in this original state till the period of the second Ptolemy, and its catastrophe is not less remarkable than its formation. By its increased intercourse with Egypt, the light of Grecian philosophy penetrated into Ethiopia. Ergamenes, at that time king, tired of being priest-ridden, fell upon the priests in their sanctuary, put them to death, and became effectually a sovereign.[2] A consequence

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 177, etc. He is speaking of Meroë.

[2] Ibid. i. p. 178.

of Greek illumination—or rather of the lust of power in kings—which could hardly be expected in this distant region.

Of the history of this state previous to the revolution just mentioned, but very scanty information has been preserved; but yet enough to show its high antiquity and its early aggrandizement. Pliny[1] tells us, "that Ethiopia was ruined by its wars with Egypt, which it sometimes subdued and sometimes served; it was powerful and illustrious even as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned. At the time of his sovereignty," he continues, "Meroë is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and four hundred thousand artificers (*artifices*). They still reckon there forty-five kings." Though these accounts lose themselves in the darkness of tradition, yet we may, by tracing history upwards, discover some certain chronological data. In the Persian period Meroë was certainly free and independent, and an important state; otherwise Cambyses would hardly have made such great preparations for his unfortunate expedition.[2] During the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, under Psammetichus and his successors, the kingdom of Meroë not only resisted his yoke, although his son Psammis undertook an expedition against Ethiopia, but we have an important fact, which gives us a clew to the extent of the empire at that time towards the south; the emigration of the Egyptian warrior caste. These migrated towards Meroë, whose ruler assigned them dwellings about the sources of the Nile, in the province of Gojam, (as I shall hereafter show,) whose restless inhabitants were expelled their country.[3] The dominions of the ruler of Meroë therefore certainly reached so far at that time, though his authority on the borders fluctuated, in consequence of the pastoral hordes roving thereabout, and could only be fixed by colonies. Let us go a century farther back, between 800 and 700 B. C., and we shall mount to the flourishing period of this empire, contemporary with the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, especially with the reign of Hezekiah, and the time of Isaiah, 750, 700, where we shall consequently have a light from the Jewish annals and the oracles of the prophets, in connexion with Herodotus.[4] This is the period in which the three

[1] Plinius, vi. 35.

[2] Herod. ii. 25. The statements of Strabo, 1139, etc., according to which Cambyses reached Meroë, may perhaps be brought to accord with those of Herodotus, if we understand him to mean northern Meroë, near mount Berkal.

[3] Herod. ii. 30.

[4] Gesenius, on Isaiah xix. 1, proposes to remove the difficulties which arise between the Egyptian and Jewish chronology, by making the reign of Pharaoh Neco sixteen years.

mighty rulers, Sabaco, Seuechus, and Tarhaco, started up as conquerors, and directed their weapons against Egypt, which, at least Upper Egypt, became an easy prey, from the unfortunate troubles of the dodecarchy having just taken place. According to Eusebius[1] Sabaco reigned twelve, Seuechus also twelve, and Tarhaco twenty years; but by Herodotus, who only mentions Sabaco, to whom he gives a reign of fifty years, this name seems to designate the whole dynasty, which not unfrequently follows that of its founder. Herodotus expressly says that he had quitted Egypt at the command of his oracle in Ethiopia.[2] It may therefore be seen by the example of this conqueror, how great their dependence must have been in their native country upon the oracle of Ammon; when even the absent, as ruler of a conquered state, yielded obedience to it. Sabaco, however, is not represented by him as a barbarian or tyrant, but as a benefactor to the community by the construction of dams. The chronology of Seuechus and Tarhaco is determined by the Jewish history. Seuechus was the contemporary of Hoshea, king of Israel, whose reign ended in 722, and of Salmanassar.[3] Tarhaco was the contemporary of his successor, Sennacherib, and deterred him, in the year 714 B. C., from the invasion of Egypt, merely by the rumour of his advance against him.[4] His name, however, does not seem to have been unknown to the Greeks. Eratosthenes, in Strabo,[5] mentions him as a conqueror who had penetrated into Europe, and as far as the Pillars of Hercules—that is, as a great conqueror. Certainly, therefore, the kingdom of Meroë must have ranked about this time as an important state. And we shall find this to be the case if we go about two hundred years farther back, to the time of Asa, the great-grandson of Solomon, but who, nevertheless, mounted the throne of Judah within twenty years after his grandsire's death, 955. Against him, it is said in the Jewish annals, went out Zerah the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand men, and three hundred chariots.[6] Al-

instead of forty-six, by which the period of Psammetichus and the dodecarchy would be carried so much farther back. We may hope that the new deciphering of the Egyptian monuments will throw some light upon this subject; but, at all events, the flourishing period of Meroë must be placed between 800 and 700.

[1] *Chronic.* tom. ii. 181, cf. *Marsham's Chronicon*, p. 435. [2] Herod. ii. 137—139.

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 4. He is called *So* in our translation, but the name may also be read *Seven*. See Michaelis. He is also mentioned here as king of Egypt. [See Dr. Gill's *Comment.* on the verse referred to. There can be little doubt that Seuechus is the So, (the Sua,) to whom Hoshea sent an embassy, 2 Kings xix. 9. Tarhaco is without doubt the Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, who came out to fight against Sennacherib. *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 154. *Translator.*] [4] 2 Kings xix. 9. [See the note on the seventh verse of the same chapter in Mant's Bible. *Translator.*] [5] Strabo, p. 1007.

[6] 2 Chron. xiv. 9. See the remarks of Michaelis. He translates it *Cushite*, which appellation comprises both the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, remarking expressly, however, by comparing 2 Chron. xvi. 8, that he must have been king of Ethiopia; and probably of Arabia Felix as well. [See also Gill's Commentary on the same passage.]

though this number signifies nothing more than a mighty army, it yet affords a proof of the mightiness of the empire, which at that time probably comprised Arabia Felix; but the chariots of war, which never were in use in Arabia, prove that the passage refers to Ethiopia. Zerah's expedition took place in the early part of Asa's reign, consequently about nine hundred and fifty years before Christ; and as such an empire could not be quite a new one, we are led by undoubted historical statements up to the period of Solomon, about 1000, B. C.; and as this comes near to the Trojan period, Pliny's statements, though only resting on mythi, obtain historical weight. Farther back than this the annals of history are silent; but the monuments now begin to speak, and confirm that high antiquity, which general opinion and the traditions of Meroë attribute to this state. The name of Ramasses, or Sesostris, has already been found upon many of the Nubian monuments; and that he was the conqueror of Ethiopia is known from history.[1] The period in which he flourished cannot be placed later than fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. But the name of Thutmosis, belonging to the preceding dynasty, has also been found in Nubia,[2] and that assuredly upon one of the most ancient monuments of Armada. But in this sculpture, as well as in the procession representing the victory over Ethiopia in the offering of the booty, there appears a degree of civilization, which shows an acquaintance with the peaceful arts; they must consequently be attributed to a nation that had long been formed. We thus approach the Mosaic period, in which the Jewish traditions ascribe the conquest of Meroë to no less a person than Moses himself.[3] The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood also agree in this, that Meroë in Ethiopia laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. Who can expect here more critical certainty than this? History itself, however, has carried us back to those ages in which the formation of the most ancient states took place, and has thus far shown that Meroë was one of them.

[1] Herod. ii. 110; Strabo, 1140. That the Pharaohs should have carried their conquests into Ethiopia, could in no period seem less strange than in ours, in which the same scene has been acted. Scarcely was the present ruler of Egypt firmly possessed of that kingdom, than his son Ismael Pasha undertook the same conquest, and not only penetrated to Meroë, but even at one time as far as *Singue*, 10° N. Lat.

[2] See above, p. 184.

[3] See the account of his expedition against Meroë, in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii. 10, which has the air of a romance.

In a state whose government differed so widely from any thing that we have been accustomed to, it is reasonable to suppose that the same would happen with regard to the people or subjects. We cannot expect a picture here that will bear any similitude to the civilized nations of Europe. Meroë rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa at the present day; a number of small nations, of the most opposite habits and manners, some with, and some without, settled abodes, form there what is called an empire; although the general political band which holds them together appears loose, and is often scarcely perceptible.[1] In Meroë this band was of a twofold nature; religion, that is, a certain worship, principally resting upon oracles and commerce: unquestionably the strongest chains by which barbarians could be fettered, except forcible subjugation. The rites of that religion, connected with oracles, satisfied the curious and superstitious, as did trade the cravings of their sensual appetites. Eratosthenes has handed us down an accurate picture of the inhabitants of Meroë in his time.[2] According to his account the island comprised a variety of people, of whom some followed agriculture, some a nomad, pastoral life, and others hunting: all of them choosing that which was best adapted to the district in which they lived.

The nomad tribes dwelling to the north of Meroë in Nubia, were no longer subject to that state.[3] The dominion over roving hordes, however, can seldom have fixed boundaries, and it would be rash to apply what Eratosthenes says of his times to all the preceding centuries, while, on the other hand, we learn from the monuments, that the rulers of Meroë lived in almost continual warfare with these nomad tribes. To the west, Meroë was bounded by sandy deserts which separated it from Darfour, unknown in antiquity; and to the east, it had for neighbours in the mountains, the rude Shangallas, the Troglodytes, or the race of Bischaries, at about ten or eleven days' journey distant from the city of Meroë.[4] These do not appear to have been subjects of Meroë, as they, according to what is stated above, had their own kings or chiefs.

To the south of Meroë, on the other hand, was a province, which, by an extraordinary circumstance, came into the possession of a very numerous race of Egyptian colonists. At the time Psammetichus obtained, by the aid of foreign mercenaries,

[1] See the description of the empire of Bornou, in the *Proceedings of the African Association*, p. 189, etc. [2] Strabo, p. 1177. [3] This is expressly stated by Eratosthenes in Strabo, p. 1194. [4] Eratosthenes, ap. Strabo, l. c. p. 1134.

the sole government in Egypt, the numerous Egyptian warrior-caste rebelled against him; they had indeed already in the foregoing troubles, when the priest-caste played for the mastery, and in fact for a long time played a winning game, been deeply injured. These Egyptian warriors,—who might be called, as belonging to the highest rank in the nation, the Egyptian nobility, if false notions of a subordinate nature did not too easily attach themselves to that appellation,—these Egyptian warriors, I say, chose rather to leave the land of their birth, than comply with the new order of things, which began with Psammetichus's reign in Egypt. The king in vain attempted to restrain them, they derided his attempt, and left the country, two hundred and forty thousand men in number. This took place about six hundred and fifty years before Christ. They emigrated into Ethiopia, and obtained a new settlement from the king of Meroë. He willingly received them, and appointed them a province, whose inhabitants having been lately rebellious were expelled, in order to make way for these new comers. This land, according to the best authority, was the present Gojam, an island formed by a deep curve of the Nile, which it makes immediately after its rise, and then returns, almost in a complete circle, nearly back to its sources.

Here this numerous Egyptian colony settled, and formed a separate state dependent upon Meroë, but governed by its own subordinate kings, or rather, at least at a later period, by its queens. They introduced, according to Herodotus, civilization among the Ethiopian tribes dwelling in these regions; and built cities, the most considerable of which was Sembobytis; there was also another called Esar. This state, which lasted for many centuries, extended itself on the east as far as the mountains, and very clear traces of it are visible in the histories of these countries at later periods.[1]

The state of Meroë, therefore, comprised a number of very different races or tribes, united together by one common form of worship, which was in the hands of the priesthood, the most cultivated, and consequently the dominant caste. But a question remains unanswered, which has probably before this oc-

[1] I must beseech the reader to accept these remarks as the results of a careful historical research, which on another occasion I have laid before the public in its full extent with the proofs. *Commentat. Societ. Scient. Goetting.* tom. xii. p. 48, etc. The passages of the ancients which I have principally quoted are Herod. ii. 30; Pliny, vi. 29, 30; and Strabo, p. 1134. See † *Historical Works*, iii. p. 323.

curred to my readers: namely, to what nation belonged this ruling priest-caste? Were they natives of the country, or did they emigrate into it? The origin and descent of this race it is impossible to prove by express historical evidence. The peopling of these distant regions, and many of the early emigrations, occurred so long before the period of legitimate history, that more than conjecture cannot be here expected. We know, however, that they did not consider themselves as a race who had emigrated into the land, but as a primitive aboriginal people, and the same belief prevailed among the Egyptian priest-caste.[1] Nothing more can be determined respecting them from historic evidence. What therefore now remains to be done, is to examine whether the information we have respecting this race will warrant us to consider them as having emigrated into this region? and whether we can discover in the tribes still existing there the descendants of that race? Our knowledge of it can only be derived from the monuments it has left behind; but from these innumerable pictures we are placed in a situation of judging of its external character. In these we always discover the same formation of countenance, the same shape,[2] the same colour, and although with many variations, yet, upon the whole, the same rich costume. The countenance has nothing at all of the negro variety, it is a handsome profile, the body is tall and slender, the hair straight or curled, the colour a reddish brown. That the colour in the painted reliefs was certainly that of the people represented, no one can entertain a doubt who has seen Belzoni's plates of the royal sepulchre, which has been opened.[3] I would not, however, be understood to mean that the colour in nature was exactly the same; the artists in this respect were constrained by their materials; but I maintain with confidence that this race was neither fair nor dark, but of a brown colour between the two. I believe I recognise them in the Nubian race. Though the colour, by frequent intermixture with female negro slaves, is become something darker, yet the same shape, the same profile, and the same moral characteristics are still to be found, as far as this can possibly be expected, in their present degenerate state.[4] They were once, according to Strabo, a mighty nation, spreading on both sides of the Nile.[5] They are now pressed

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 174. [2] Only among the few figures in the rock-sepulchres are they somewhat different, but these in general betray the infancy of the art.
[3] See above, p. 185. [4] Compare what is said above, p. 155, upon the accounts imparted by Burkhardt and others [5] Strabo, p. 1134, 1135.

back into its valley, scarcely more than the ruins of a nation; but it has been impossible altogether to suppress them. Their ancient civilization was knit to their religion, and naturally declined with it; intermixture with foreigners, wars, and oppressions, did the rest: what then can be expected beyond a faint shadow of what they once were?[1] But whoever will take the trouble to compare the descriptions and representations of them given by modern travellers, with those upon the reliefs, will recognise the same shape, and the same countenance.[2] They even still carry the same weapons; the long, often two-edged spear, the great shield of hippopotamus-skin, with which they so often appear on the monuments, and by which even the prophet characterizes them;[3] and if the splendour of their dress is exchanged for lighter habiliments, yet then the nature of the climate renders them ornaments rather than necessary clothing. All these distinguishing marks, I grant, are mere probabilities, and not founded upon historical evidence. It is not difficult to bring forward arguments against them. I shall however consider my views as just, until replaced by others more probable.

[1] And yet, remarkable as it may appear, the remains of a hierarchy still exists in those regions; it seems then occasioned by something in the locality. We read in Burkhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 236, etc., of a priestly establishment at Damer, a town of five hundred houses seated on the south shore of the Tacazze or Mogrew, just before its junction with the Nile, consequently in the isle of Meroë. In this small but independent state the authority is in the hands of a high pontiff, called *El Faky el Kebir*, who is their real chief and oracle-giver. The office is hereditary in one family. The Faky el Kebir (or great Faky) leads the life of a hermit, shut up in his chamber all the morning till about three o'clock in the afternoon, after which he transacts business till long after sun-set. He occupies a small building, one part of which is a chapel, and the other a room about twelve feet square, in which he constantly resides day and night. He is a venerable looking figure, clothed in a long white robe. There are many fakys under him of various rank, who enjoy more or less a reputation for sanctity. At Damer are several schools, to which young men repair from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan, and other parts of Soudan, in order to acquire a proficiency in the law, and in the reading of the Koran. The schools are in an open place adjoining the great mosque. Imagine instead of this a temple dedicated to Ammon, and instead of the Koran and law, the books of Hermes and the priest-ritual, and there will be but little difficulty in believing it one of the ancient priestly establishments. "The affairs of this little hierarchical state," continues Burkhardt, "appear to be conducted with great prudence. All its neighbours testify much respect for the fakys; the treacherous Bischarein, even, are so completely kept in awe by them, that they have never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling from thence across the mountains to Souakin. They particularly fear the power of the fakys to deprive them of rain, and thus to cause the death of their flocks. It is also a trading state. Caravans pass occasionally from Damer to Dongola, Shendy, Souakin, and the Arabian Gulf; for many of the fakys are traders. Caravans generally make a short stay at this place, as the land is well cultivated, and common necessaries easily obtained. Two fakys accompanied the caravan as guards as far as the limits of the country of Shendy. The road is dangerous, and the inhabitants upon it robbers; but such is the fear entertained of the fakys of Damer, that the mere sight of them marching unarmed at the head of the caravan, was sufficient to inspire the country people with the greatest respect. It would require an armed force to pass here without the aid of some of these religious men." Could there be a better voucher for the truth of our picture of the ancient priest and trade state, and their rise and progress? It will now be easily understood how settlements of priests might influence the course of trade.
[2] See them in Legh and others. [3] Jer. xlvi. 9.

This question is naturally followed by another, to which various and contradictory answers have hitherto been given; though I venture to hope that what I have already said will go a great way towards setting it at rest. This question is, whether Ethiopia, and particularly Meroë, was the parent of civilization, which descended thence into Egypt; or whether civilization ascended the Nile from Egypt into Ethiopia? I should not think this, considering our present acquaintance with the monuments, and the helps history affords, a problem difficult to solve, if a prevailing mistake attending it be first laid aside. It is a very general error to suppose—that those, who are of opinion that the original point of civilization, or what is nearly tantamount to it, the worship of Ammon with its dependencies, was at Meroë, and that it spread thence down the Nile into Egypt, and certainly first to Upper Egypt, where it attained in Thebes its full perfection—must necessarily affirm that this happened in the exact order and succession beheld in the monuments with which we are acquainted. Such an assertion would not only be in direct opposition to the monuments, as we have above explained them—but also to history. We have historical evidence that rulers of Meroë were, at certain periods, likewise rulers of Egypt, and at least of Upper Egypt; and, on the other hand, that many of the Pharaohs extended their dominion over Ethiopia. What, therefore, could be more natural than that countries should be mutually affected by being thus brought into close contact with each other; and, as the erection of monuments, temples, and their appurtenances, formed so essential a part of the rites of Ammon, that the Pharaohs, when they ruled over Ethiopia, should endeavour to perpetuate their memory there, as well as in Egypt, by the building of monuments? I think this already settled by the reliefs which decorated the walls of the Nubian temples; and that I have proved, as well by the high perfection of the art as by the objects they represent, that they must be ascribed to the flourishing period of the dominion of the Pharaohs. And who would presume to assert that some of these temples themselves were not their work?

Those, therefore, who derive the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia, and particularly from Meroë, will not go further than to affirm that certain colonies of the priest-caste spread from Meroë into Egypt. This happened according to the oracle of Ammon. "They undertook their expeditions at the time and

to the place appointed by the god."[1] The fact is too well known that the foundation of colonies in the ancient world generally took place under the authority of the oracles, for it to be necessary to stop here to prove it. But these oracles were under the guidance of a higher power, that of the high priests, or perhaps the kings, or both; consequently we may safely conclude that these settlements were not left to blind chance, but selected and appointed for particular objects. And this is confirmed by history and the monuments.

One of these settlements, the nearest to Meroë on the north, is only lately become known to us. I speak of that near mount Berkal.[2] Here evidently stood a sort of second Meroë; indeed, even the very name obtained here, the village being still called Merawé. At this place are found the remains of two temples, dedicated to Osiris and Ammon. The larger, with an alley of sphinxes and all the sections of the great temples of Egypt, surpasses in extent and finishing those of the parent state.[3] The smaller, called by Caillaud a *Typhonium*,[4] exhibits in its sanctuary Ammon with his whole train.[5] But, besides the name, another thing indubitably proves this place to have been a colony from Meroë; I mean the pyramidic buildings for the dead, with nearly the very same number of pyramids as at Assur, though of a larger size.[6] These are the only ones which are found between the island of Meroë and Egypt. The reliefs on the temples relate to the worship of Ammon. A hero, or king, is offering to him a number of captives on the pylone.[7] In the interior decorations, richer gifts of fruit, cattle, and other articles. In the front building of the pyramids Osiris, as king of the lower world, to whom likewise gifts are presented.[8] This place, at a later period,—probably after the period of the Ptolemies,—became the capital, which bore the name of Napata; and which, as late as the time of Nero, when the Romans captured and destroyed it, was the residence of the queens who reigned here under the title of Candace.[9]

Ammonium, in the Libyan desert, was, according to the ex-

[1] Herod. ii. 29. Στρατεύονται is his expression. The foundation of such colonies, in the midst of barbarous nations, would very likely be often attended with wars. But the warlike expeditions of a priestly state would naturally have for their object the spread of its worship, because without this no conquests could be preserved.

[2] This mountain lies on the west bank of the Nile; the monument at its foot. This is now made known to us by the plates and ground-plan of Caillaud, plate xlix.—lxxiv.

[3] Caillaud, plate lxiv.—lxvi. [4] Ibid. plate lxvii. [5] Ibid. plate lxxi.

[6] Caillaud, plate lvi. lvii. Also opposite, on the western bank of the Nile, near Nuri, is a group of pyramids. Caillaud, plate xlvii. [7] Caillaud, plate lxi.

[8] Ibid. plate liii.—lv. [9] Plin. vi. 35. Compare Mannert, x. p. 220.

press testimony of Herodotus,[1] another of these colonies, which, as we have already shown, did not consist merely of a temple and oracle, but rather formed a small state where the priest-caste was, as at Meroë, the ruling body, and chose a king from among themselves. And, certainly, according to his account, this colony was founded in common from Thebes and Meroë. A very remarkable fact, which not only proves the foundation of such colonies, and the objects for which they were intended, but also places beyond a doubt the continuance of a connexion and a common interest between Meroë and Thebes.

The kingly Thebes itself was a third, and by far the most important settlement of this priest-caste; it formed a sort of central point, from which they spread over the rest of Egypt and the Oases. The priestly tradition of Ethiopia and Egypt asserted the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with its feasts and processions, to be first settled at Meroë the metropolis.[2] From this city did Osiris, the great symbol of Egyptian civilization, carry it into Egypt. The worship of Ammon and his temple associates, the same priestly dominion, the same oracles, confirmed it in antiquity; and do we not see the same truth still established by the monuments, when we discover in the temples of Upper and in the pyramids of Middle Egypt the same designs carried to the highest perfection, of which the monuments of Nubia and Meroë furnished the first rude models? But that Meroë was a colony of Thebes there is not the slightest proof. And if the question turns upon the rise of civilization,—what is gained by this opinion? On what account was it less likely to arise in Meroë than in the Thebais? No doubt in both countries certain external causes promoted it; but that these are to be found as well, indeed rather sooner, in Meroë than in the Thebais, will be seen in the next chapter.

It is no slight proof of the conclusions to which I came, in the early editions of these Researches, by the study of history, to find that the pursuits of others, in a different path,—I mean the study of monuments and inscriptions,—lead exactly to the same inferences. I cannot, therefore, refrain from giving here the opinions to which the labours of Gau and Champollion

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 175. As the credibility of the statements of Diodorus depends entirely upon the sources from which he obtained them, it is necessary that these should be brought under notice. He cites them himself. At one time as written, namely, the narrative of Agatharchides in his work on the Red Sea, and the history of Artemidorus: at others as oral; namely, the assertions of the priests in the Thebais; and of the ambassadors from Meroë, whom he there had an opportunity of conversing with; all these agree very well together Diodorus, i. p. 181.

have led, although these as yet are only prematurely made known:

"The observation of Gau," it is said,[1] "seems especially interesting, on account of the results to which it will lead; we mean his remark, that he hopes by his work to prove, that the original models of Egyptian architecture may be found in the Nubian monuments, from the rudest rock-excavation to the highest point of perfection; and that specimens are met with in Nubia of the three different epochs of architecture. Of the first attempts, the excavations from the sides of rocks, which were not till a later period ornamented with sculpture, the temples of Derar, Ipsambul, and Ghyrshe afford examples. From them Egyptian art proceeded to perfection, as we know from the monuments of Kalabshé, Dekar, etc.; and again retrograded, as is shown by the small buildings of Dandour, etc."

"History," it is said, in the letters upon Champollion's latest discoveries,[2] "is extended and authenticated. Champollion reads the names of the mighty Egyptian Pharaohs upon the edifices which they erected; and arrives at certainty respecting the deeds of a Thutmosis, Amenophis II., Ramasses Miamun, Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, and others, which our modern sceptical critics would tear from the volume of authentic history, and place among the fabulous.[3] But a powerful voice is raised in their favour by the irrefragable evidence of the venerable reliefs, the innumerable inscriptions on the pylones and long walls of the Theban palaces. Nearly thirty royal dynasties are enumerated, of which from seventeen upwards, uninterrupted monuments have been discovered."

"The most flourishing period of the Egyptian state, and its highest point of civilization, Champollion places under the eighteenth dynasty; the first of whose kings expelled the shepherd race, or *hyksos*, from Lower Egypt, under whom this part of Egypt had groaned for centuries. It was also the Pharaohs of this dynasty who so aggrandized Thebes; who built the vast palaces of Karnac, Luxor, Medinet Abou, Kornu, and Memnonium. What a high pitch of cultivation! What an astonishing era of art; two complete thousand years before the Augustan age of Rome! The magnificent palace of Karnac

[1] From the German journals, the *Hesperus*, etc.

[2] From the *Lettres de Turin*, or in German, in the *Europaische Blätter*, Sept. 1824, p. 224. In some later accounts it is said, that among the Papyrus-rolls a whole archive has been found, with the names of the Pharaohs, and annals of their reign.

[3] That these opinions never formed the basis of my criticism may be seen by the early editions of this work, and my *Manual of Ancient History*.

records by its hieroglyphics, that it was built during the eleven hundred years which elapsed from the time of Amenophis I. to that of Nekao II. Amenophis I. was the third, Amenophis II. (whom the Greeks call Memnon) the eighth, and Amenophis III. the sixteenth of this glorious dynasty. But the most exalted hero among the Pharaohs was Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, as he is called by Herodotus. He is the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, and flourished fifteen hundred years before Christ."[1]

"But this advantage of the researches, so interesting in their consequences, is not merely confined to the antiquities of Egypt: it stretches away to the south—it opens up an historical view of countries, whose names have not yet been enrolled in the eternal tablets of history. In Nubia and Ethiopia, stupendous, numerous, and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilization contemporary, ay, earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences, and religion descended from Nubia to the lower country of Mizraim; that civilization descended the Nile, built Memphis, and finally, something later, wrested by colonization the Delta from the sea. From Meroë and Axum, downwards, with the Nile, to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, cultivated and powerful states, which, though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing, and the same religion."

"Champollion, by comparing the manners and customs, the political institutions and physical organization of the Egyptians with those of other nations, regards it as certain that they are a genuine African-descended race; undoubted aboriginals of this quarter of the world, as they resemble the western-Asiatic nations, their neighbours, in but a very few unimportant particulars. Their language contains as few analogies with the Sanscrit and Zend, the Chinese and the Arabic, as their writing with that of the rest of the known world. Everything tends to prove them a great, a self-cultivated, and an exclusive family of nations, possessing the north-east of Africa, Nubia, the Oases, and Egypt."

How well these conclusions accord with my own, the earlier editions of this work will show. Should there still be something problematical in the manner in which the priest-caste

[1] The Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties are those which I have comprised under the name of Sesostrides. *Manual of Ancient History.*

extended itself, it will be solved by my recalling the attention of the reader to a remark already made; it is, that those very places formed the principal stations of the caravan trade. I have already proved this with regard to two of them, Ammonium and Thebes;[1] and the following inquiry will leave no doubt respecting Meroë itself.

If I do not err, a stream of light is breaking upon the night of Egyptian and Ethiopian antiquities, which opens to us new and unexpected prospects. Who can help perceiving here a close connexion between religion and commerce, which was, perhaps, as natural to those countries as it is opposed to our institutions? Though this priesthood was not itself a trading body, (which I by no means maintain,) did it not guide the southern commercial intercourse by its establishments? Were they the builders of those proud temples and palaces along the banks of the Nile and on the great inland trading highways, which served as sanctuaries for their gods, as dwellings for themselves, and as stations and marts for the caravans? Were they, indeed, the founders of those states which bore so close a resemblance to each other in Egypt and Ethiopia?—These are questions which perhaps many of my readers have already proposed to themselves. But if we would not answer them with partiality, we must take a higher point of view, and trace out, in its whole extent, the ancient and so frequently mentioned Ethiopian commerce, as far as the darkness of antiquity will permit us.

CHAP. III. *Commerce of Meroë and Ethiopia.*

THE LABOUR OF EGYPT AND THE MERCHANDISE OF ETHIOPIA SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE. ISAIAH XLV. 14.

WHEN it is considered that the Ethiopians were one of the most distant and least known nations of antiquity, and that only vague and disfigured reports had reached the West respecting them, can it be a matter of surprise that so little should be known of their commerce? There are many circumstances, however, in ancient history, which cannot be satisfactorily proved and described from the direct testimony of ancient writers, which, nevertheless, appear certain and consistent to the critical historian. To this class belongs the

[1] See above, p. 99, 100.

early commercial intercourse among the southern nations, in which the Ethiopians took so considerable a part.

Nature has, in a remarkable manner, ordained the commerce of these nations, by conferring treasures on one portion of the southern districts which the others have not, and yet cannot well do without. This need of a commercial intercourse certainly does not prove its actual existence; but, as it evidently gives an additional force to every historical argument brought to its support, it is on that account necessary to go somewhat further into its detail.

By the countries of the south I here understand the western coast of the peninsula of India, together with Ceylon on one side, and Ethiopia and Arabia Felix on the other. India, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] is one of the richest countries of the world in natural productions, and on that account has always been a country of the greatest importance in the commerce of the world. Besides wares for clothing, which it possesses in common with other countries, nature has bestowed upon it exclusively, cinnamon and pepper, the two spices most in request. In colder regions these are become articles of luxury; but under the burning and damp climate of the southern zone, they are indispensably necessary, as antidotes to putrefaction; and none of the nations in these regions can ever do without them after having once experienced their value.

Yeman, or Arabia the Blest, though separated from India by an open sea, is yet connected with it by nature in an extraordinary manner. One half of the year, from spring to autumn, the wind[2] regularly sets in and wafts the vessels from Arabia to India; the other half, from autumn to spring, it as regularly carries them back from India to Arabia.[3] A sky, almost always serene, offers them the stars as guides, and spares them the pain of creeping round the coasts. Though nature has conferred no spices upon Arabia, she has amply made up for that deficiency by other valuable gifts. If not exclusively, Arabia is above all others the native country of frankincense, of myrrh, and other aromatic perfumes. If the purification of the air by sweet-smelling savours was not as necessary in these warm climates, as spices are for the preservation of the health, yet the value of these productions was

[1] See my *Researches on the Asiatic Nations.*
[2] What are called the monsoons, which must not be confounded with the almost unchangeable trade winds of other seas between the tropics.
[3] The former is a south-west, the latter a north-east wind.

doubled by religion. There was scarcely one of the half-civilized nations of the ancient world, that would have dared to offer a gift to the gods without frankincense.

As eastern Africa likewise produced frankincense, it divided, in some degree, this treasure with Yeman; but it possessed another besides, in its gold, of which neither this country nor India could boast, and without which their traffic must have been much cramped. Though the western coast of the Indian peninsula did not produce this metal, and Arabia, if at all, but very sparingly,[1] eastern Africa contained those districts abounding in gold, which are still numbered among the richest of the world.

Taking all these circumstances together, it may easily be perceived, that there are probably no other extensive regions of the world, where so many causes excite to a mutual commerce; and if any such should be found, trade could scarcely any where be more profitable than here. Let us now follow the historical traces which have been preserved respecting it.

The early appearance of Indian produce in the western world claims our first attention. Indian spices, especially cinnamon, come before us as early as the Mosaic records; and, indeed, in such quantities as plainly show them to have formed an important article of trade.[2] Should, however, any objection be made to the translation of the terms[3] or the uncertain antiquity of the Mosaic writings, the explicit accounts of the early trade of Arabia Felix will be sufficient to obviate it.

Both Hebrew and Greek writers always speak of this country as one of the richest of the earth. It has already been shown in my researches upon the commerce of the Phœnicians, how well that enterprising people, and even the Jews, were acquainted with it.[4] The Hebrew poets cite the names of its various cities and harbours, and are full of the treasures which were imported from them.[5] No sooner had the Greeks obtained some knowledge of these regions, than they almost exhausted their language in crying up the boundless riches concealed in Arabia Felix. "Its inhabitants, the Sabians," says Agatharchides as quoted by Diodorus,[6] "not only surpass

[1] Ancient writers give gold to Arabia Felix as a natural production. It is not found there at present, which leaves the fact in doubt.
[2] See in Exodus xxx. 23, the enumeration and quantity of spices to be used in compounding the holy oil of the sanctuary.
[3] I do not know that this has been questioned.
[4] See the chapter on the land-trade of the Phœnicians.
[5] Compare Ezek. xxvii. 21—24, and the commentaries.
[6] Diodorus, i. p. 215. See note.

the neighbouring barbarians in wealth and magnificence, but all other nations whatsoever. In bringing and selling their wares they obtain, among all nations, the highest prices for the smallest quantities. As their distant situation protects them from all foreign plunderers, immense stores of precious metals have accumulated among them, especially in the capital. Curiously-wrought gold and silver drinking vessels in great variety; couches, tripods with silver feet, and an incredible profusion of costly furniture in general. Porticos with large columns partly gilt, with capitals ornamented with wrought-silver figures. The roofs and doors are ornamented with gold fretwork, set with precious stones; besides which, an extraordinary magnificence reigns in the decoration of their houses, in which they use silver and gold, ivory, and the most precious stones, and all other things that men deem most valuable. These people have enjoyed their good fortune from the earliest times undisturbed; being sufficiently remote from all those who strove to feed their avarice with the treasures of others."

The inhabitants of this country, then, had obtained by their commerce not only immense wealth, but had arrived at a high degree of cultivation; as even architecture and the plastic arts had made a considerable progress among them. It was not, however, from the mere produce of their soil that they obtained this opulence; much of it, as we learn from Herodotus's account of the cinnamon which came through their country,[1] was derived from the merchandise of India, for which their country was the great mart; and his statement is fully confirmed by the testimony of another well-informed writer.[2] "Before merchants," he says, "sailed from India to Egypt, and from Egypt to India, (that is, as the context shows, *before* the period of the Ptolemies,) Arabia Felix was the staple both for Egyptian and Indian goods, much as Alexandria is now for the commodities of Egypt and foreign merchandise."

If the explicit testimony here brought forward proves a

[1] Herod. iii. 3. See the chapter on the land-trade of the Phœnicians.

[2] Arrian. *Peripl. Mar. Eryth.* in Hudson's *Geog. Min.* i. p. 15. Since the first appearance of these Researches this valuable document, so important in the history of geography and commerce, has been illustrated by the well-known and excellent commentaries of Dean Vincent. It appeared to this careful and acute critic, as it must indeed to every one, who, without prejudice, and with some knowledge of the East, goes into the inquiry, that the high antiquity and extent of an active commerce between the countries of the south is so very clear that no doubt can remain respecting it. The results of the learned dean, who laboured independently of the author,—though he shortly before his death testified to him, by letter, his participation and approbation of his labours, and sent to the library of Goettingen a copy of the last edition of his work, enriched with his own autograph additions,—are quite in unison with his own upon these particulars. See Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, in the *Preliminary Disquisitions*, p. 57, etc.

commercial intercourse between India and Arabia, it proves at the same time its high antiquity, and that it must have been in active operation for many centuries.[1] And although we have not sufficient information to point out with absolute certainty by what nation and by what way the navigation between these two countries was carried on, yet everything connected with the subject seems to point the finger so plainly to the Arabians, that we can scarcely err in attributing it to them. The Indians no where appear as navigators;[2] the Arabians always. They not only possessed the navigation of the Indian Ocean during the whole of the middle ages, but undoubtedly enjoyed during the period of the Ptolemies, and immediately afterwards, the advantage of a direct intercourse with India. When therefore we hear that their country even thus early was the market for Indian goods, it is surely highly probable that they, at this time as well as afterwards, possessed the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean. Whether this was confined to coasting, or whether advantage was taken of the monsoons, and vessels stretched across the sea, must be left to conjecture; though we can scarcely suppose it possible that the benefit of this wind should have remained unknown, during the lapse of centuries, to a people dwelling in the very regions whence it blew.[3] Every other passage across the open sea, in the infancy of time, may excite suspicion; nothing, however, can be opposed to the shortness and facility of this. A great part of the way along the Arabian coast, moreover, might be navigated by the monsoons; the rest of the voyage was in itself inconsiderable, and the great number of islands, with which the ocean is here dotted, would serve as landmarks and harbours. At all events it is a remarkable circumstance to every reflecting mind, that the direct transit from

[1] Although its commencement is beyond the reach of history, it is nevertheless very evident that it was yet in its zenith during the times of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; in the eighth and seventh centuries before the Christian era, and consequently in the flourishing period (as is shown in the preceding section) of the kingdom of Meroë. The overthrow of the throne of the Pharaohs seems to have led to its decay; though the more early great Asiatic wars of the Assyrians and Babylonians had, no doubt, considerably affected it.

[2] See Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 61, and my *Researches on the Indians*.

[3] The well-known account in Arrian. *Peripl.* p. 32, that the use of the monsoons was first introduced by the Greek, Hippalus, forms no objection. It refers only to the Greeks at Alexandria, and not to the earlier periods. In these primitive times the use of the monsoons was not required in the same manner as in the Alexandrine period, when vessels sailed from Myos, Hormos, and Berenice. At that time Aden, lying without the straits of Babelmandel, was the principal port, as it seemed destined to be by its position. This distinction is of great importance. The voyage from Aden to Malabar and back is the easiest in the world, because one sails thither with one wind and returns with another; but the voyage out of the Arabian Gulf is far more difficult, for two different winds are required both for the navigation to and fro. See on this head Valentia's *Travels*, ii. p. 380.

Yeman to India leads straight to that very district of all this vast country, in which (at Elephanta and Salsette) some of the most ancient and remarkable monuments that are to be found within it still exist.

The intercourse between Arabia and Ethiopia is not subject even to one of *these* little difficulties. They are neighbouring countries, only separated by a narrow strait. Just across this lies the Ethiopian land of frankincense, known to Herodotus,[1] and, near to that, the gold countries, of which so much has already been said. That Egypt and the rest of northern Africa abounded in the home produce of Ethiopia, as well as in those of the countries we have just mentioned, is evident from so many circumstances, that no doubt can remain upon the subject.

In proportion as we ascend into the primeval ages, the closer seems the connexion between Egypt and Ethiopia. The Hebrew poets seldom mention the former without the latter; the inhabitants of both are drawn as commercial nations. When Isaiah, or rather a later poet in his name, celebrates the victories of Cyrus, their submission is spoken of as his most magnificent reward. "The trade of the Egyptians, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and of the tall men of Saba, will come over to thee and become thine own."[2] When Jeremiah[3] extols the great victory of Nebuchadnezzar over Pharaoh Neco near Carchemish, the Ethiopians are allied to the Egyptians. When Ezekiel threatens the downfal of Egypt, the remotest parts of Ethiopia tremble at the denunciation.[4] Every page, indeed, of Egyptian history exhibits proofs of the close intimacy in which they stood. The primitive states of Egypt, as we have already seen, derived their origin from these remote regions: Thebes and Meroë founded in common a colony in Libya; Ethiopian conquerors more than once invaded Egypt; Egyptian kings in return forced their way into Ethiopia; the same worship, the same manners and customs, the same mode of writing are found in both countries; and under Psammetichus, as is shown above, the noble and numerous party of malcontents retired into Ethiopia. Does not this intimate connexion presuppose a permanent alliance, which could only have been formed and maintained by a long, peaceable, and friendly intercourse?

[1] Herod. ii. 8. [2] Isaiah xlv. 14. [3] Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[4] Ezek. xxx. 5, and the Comment. of Michaelis.

Egypt also, as far as history reaches back, abounded in all the commodities of the southern regions. Whence did she obtain the spices and drugs with which so many thousands of her dead were embalmed? Whence the incense which burned on her altars? Whence that immense quantity of cotton in which her inhabitants were clad, and which her own soil so sparingly produced?[1]

Further, whence came into Egypt that early rumour of the Ethiopian gold countries, which Cambyses set out to discover, and lost half his army in the attempt? Whence that profusion of ivory and ebony which the ancient artists of Greece and Palestine embellished?[2] Whence that general and early spread of the name of Ethiopia which glimmers in the traditional history of so many nations, and which is celebrated as well by the Jewish poets as the earliest Grecian bards? Whence all this, if the deserts which surrounded that people, had formed an impassable barrier between them and the inhabitants of the northern districts?

Yet why should I invoke the traditions which have so long slept? Let the remains of those proud monuments, which extend in one unbroken series from Elephantis and Philæ beyond the desert to Meroë, now speak for themselves. However short and monosyllabic their language, they plainly enough evince that a close connexion must have prevailed between the nations that erected them.

I think I have now placed the reader in a situation to judge both of the certainty and extent of this international commerce of the southern regions in that very remote period. It was just a connexion between the richest and most productive regions of the earth: the gold countries of eastern Africa, the spice regions of India, and the native land of frankincense, of precious stones and drugs, in southern Arabia. Another interesting research still demands our attention, and that is, to trace the course of this trade through the distant countries of Africa. The more original and unexpected the views have been which have already, in more than one place, opened before us, the greater claim I hope to have to the indulgence of the reader while I yet detain him somewhat longer on this part of my subject.

[1] See Beckmann's *Corbereitung zur Waarenkunde*, v. p. 19.
[2] Herod. iii. 114. Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, brings forth gold in plenty, and ivory, and ebony and various other woods, and the tallest and most long-lived of men.

This research necessarily presupposes another inquiry, upon which indeed I have already touched, but which still requires to be carried a little further, because it is a subject which does not readily fall in with our ideas, I allude to the exact *relation in which commerce stood in these regions with religion.*

Commerce and religion have always been indissolubly connected in the East. All trade and commercial intercourse requires peaceable and secure places in which it may be transacted. In the limited countries of Europe, inhabited by nations partly or altogether civilized, every city, indeed almost every hamlet, affords this. How totally different is the case in the immeasurable tracts of the East! The rich caravans here have often to perform journeys of hundreds of miles through nations of nomad robbers. The mart is not where they might choose, but on the boundaries of the desert, where nature herself fixes it, in the midst, or in the neighbourhood of these roving hordes. What can protect commerce here but the sanctity of the place? Where are their asylums except under the walls of the temple?

Besides, a profitable and ready sale of merchandise requires a resorting together of men; and where does this take place so frequently and to such an extent as in the vicinity of the national sanctuaries, where whole nations celebrate their feasts? Here, where men give themselves up to good living, the necessaries of life will be plentiful, and here the merchant will obtain the best profits. Now, however, the East affords a striking example of the extent to which the trade by sea has diminished that by land. Mecca remains still, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart for the commerce of Arabia; and what are the great caravans of pilgrims which journey thither from Asia and Africa but trading caravans? Are not the fairs which depend upon their arrival the greatest in Asia?

The rapidity with which a place rises in the East, when once it has obtained a sanctuary that becomes the object of pilgrimage, and by that means becomes a place of trade, almost surpasses belief.[1] The whole organization of social life in these

[1] The single example drawn from the present times of a place in Egypt, which Europeans scarcely know by name, may serve as a sufficient proof. Tenta, a city of the Delta, is celebrated as containing the sepulchre of a Mahometan saint, Seyd Achmed. The veneration in which this is held brings an incredible number of pilgrims, who come at the time of the spring-equinox and summer-solstice from Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, and Darfour. Their number is stated at one hundred and fifty thousand. These periodical assemblies, besides the worship of the saint, are devoted to commerce; and each of them is the period of a celebrated fair, which lasts for many days, and at which the produce of Upper Egypt, the coast of Barbary, and the whole of the East, is exchanged for the cattle of the Delta and the linen there manufactured. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 357.

parts contributes towards it. In Europe the richest market can only become the resort of a less or greater number of individuals; but in the East, where the greater part of the inhabitants consist of nomades, who though their wants be few have still some, or easily acquire them, which can only be gratified by commerce, it is not merely individuals, but whole tribes, or portions of tribes, who appear as merchants. How well frequented, how important must a trading place of this kind become under such circumstances! How widely must the fame of such a sanctuary become spread; and if once trade becomes connected with it, how natural it seems, that, by the establishment of similar sanctuaries, with the same form of worship in other distant places, the same order of things should follow!

Upon the religion of these nations I have endeavoured to be as explicit as the nature of these researches requires. It was the worship of Ammon and the deities allied to him, whose rites were propagated by the foundation of colonies of the same caste of priests along the banks of the Nile, from the vicinity of its sources till its divided streams lose themselves in the sea. And the same places which are most celebrated for the worship of these deities, are also famous as the great marts for the commerce of these regions.

These statements, therefore, furnish us with so many data for determining the most ancient trading route from Ethiopia to Egypt and northern Africa. It is unnecessary to prove that this was a caravan trade; the situation and nature of the country will allow of no other. The Nile, if we believe Herodotus, was not navigable above Egypt but with great labour (although commerce in this way seems very early to have been carried on); and single merchants could travel with as little safety in antiquity, as they can at present, over these sandy deserts without a secure convoy.

I have already, in my researches upon the land trade of the Carthaginians, pointed out the caravan roads from the north of Africa and the negro countries to Upper Egypt, where Thebes was the place of rendezvous. It therefore only now remains to trace out the route from thence to Ethiopia, and its chief place, Meroë.

Nubia from its situation is the natural, and has therefore always been the great point of communication for the caravan trade between Ethiopia and the countries on this side the Nu-

bian desert. There are still three principal caravans which go from inner Africa to Egypt; one from Fezzan or Barbary, another from Darfour, and a third from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë.[1] In coming from Egypt this is the first fertile spot that relieves the wearied eye of the traveller over the dreary desert, the crossing of which is so often attended with toil and pain, and frequently with peril. Nature therefore seems to have destined this as the resting-place for the caravans from Egypt; it is likewise the natural staple for such productions of inner Africa, as are wont to be transported to the north. It is indeed the extreme point of the gold countries towards Egypt;[2] and possesses an easy communication with the southern regions, by the many navigable streams with which it is surrounded. Its moderate distance from Arabia Felix facilitates its intercourse with that rich country, which again rendered it, as long as it possessed the trade of Arabia and India, the natural market of Africa for Arabian and Indian goods.

But though Sennaar, or the country of Meroë, appears as a great commercial country, yet the territory about the city of Meroë seems always to have been the principal market.

"Shendy," (now the nearest place to the ancient Meroë,) says Bruce,[3] who does not speak here as illustrating any point of history, but as simply relating his adventures, "was once a town of great resort. The caravans of Sennaar, Egypt, Suakin, and Kordofan, all were accustomed to rendezvous here, especially after the Arabs had cut off the road by Dongola."

Still more copious particulars have been given us by another well-known traveller, no way inferior to Bruce; I mean the celebrated Maillet, who wrote at the beginning of the last century.[4] At that time the caravan from Sennaar arrived twice every year, bringing gold dust, ebony, ivory, balsam, and between two and three thousand black slaves:—all wares equally known and valued in antiquity.[5] It assembled at Gherri, a place lying a few miles above Shendy and the ancient

[1] This is generally acknowledged. See however *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 81.
[2] Meroë is enumerated as one of the countries which produce gold, Diodorus, i. p. 38; Strabo, p. 1177. This is particularly to be understood of the districts adjoining it on the south-west, Cuba and Nuba, which abound in gold. It is however very probable that the rivers in Meroë brought some gold with them, as they partly flowed from those mountainous provinces. Meroë moreover had mines of iron and metal, Diodorus, i. p. 38; Strabo, p. 1177. Certainly not an unimportant circumstance in estimating the degree of civilization to which that country had attained.
[3] Bruce, iv. p. 532.
[4] Maillet, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 197, 216, etc.
[5] Exactly the same that Herodotus mentions as the produce of Ethiopia, see lib. iii. 114.

Meroë. The merchants from Sennaar and Gondar, the two chief cities of Abyssinia, and many other districts, here met together to begin their journey. The caravans leave the Nile to the east, and stretch across Libya, where, after a seventeen days' journey, they come to a fertile valley planted with palms; then, continuing their route, which leads over mountainous districts, they again reach the Nile at Monfelut, a city of Upper Egypt.

The information brought to Europe by the French expedition not only confirms this statement, but discloses many other particulars respecting the commercial importance of these places.[1] Shendy, or the ancient Meroë, we are told, is the place where the caravan road to the north, or Egypt, and to the east, or the Arabian Gulf and Suakin, separate. It must therefore on this account have become long ago a place of great trade, and it still remains the next city to Sennaar.

It bore also this character in the middle ages, to the flourishing period of Arabian commerce. The trading road extended at that time from Alua to Suakin, to Massuah, and to the islands on the Arabian Sea.[2]

Burkhardt, who remained an entire month at Shendy,[3] not only confirms all this, but gives such copious details respecting the trade of that town, that I refer the reader to his work in preference to giving extracts. "Commerce," he says, "is the very life of society in these countries. There is not a single family which is not connected more or less with some branch of traffic, either wholesale or retail, and the people of Berber and Shendy appear to be a nation of traders in the strictest sense of the word.[4] Among the articles of commerce which he particularly specifies, are black male and female slaves, dhourra, gold, ivory, ebony, monkeys, and ostrich feathers.[5] The land does not produce sufficient dhourra for the consumption of the population, but requires a supply to be imported. The many other articles of commerce, which he mentions, are chiefly brought from Sennaar, whence a caravan arrives every six weeks; almost as often from Suakin; and the traffic with Yeman, Hadramaut, and Malabar, is repre-

[1] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 119.
[2] From Makrizi in Quatremere de Quincy, *Mémoires*, ii. p. 16.
[3] From the 17th of April to the 17th of May, 1814. *Travels*, p. 277, etc.
[4] Burkhardt, p. 234.
[5] That there was a considerable trade in ostrich feathers in antiquity, is evident from the frequency of their appearance in the head-dress of the Egyptian priests. Monkeys we have seen above among the booty, p. 181, as well as in the trade of Ophir, 1 Chron. ix. 21

sented as very active.[1] To these must be added the salt trade, so important in ancient times.[2] The great salt-works are but at a few miles' distance from Shendy, which supply all Abyssinia with this useful commodity; Strabo also mentions this, to whom I must refer for further particulars.[3] I shall only notice one other circumstance, which I think of too much consequence to be passed over in silence.

Although the intercourse between Egypt, Arabia, and Sennaar is so brisk, that to the west, with Soudan,[4] is altogether as inactive and insignificant. The principal commerce of the interior of Africa is chiefly carried on in two directions; one follows the valley of the Nile from Egypt to Sennaar, the other is that of Soudan, from the Joliba to the Mediterranean. The empire of Bornou forms a separation between them. Thus it is now. And a glance at the trading routes laid down upon my map will show that it was just the same in antiquity. All here perfectly agrees.

It appears, therefore, that the districts of Gherri and Shendy, that is, of the ancient Meroë, was, and still continues to be, the place where the caravans are formed, which trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, or the point at which they touch in passing to and fro. But a commercial connexion between Egypt and Meroë being established, it scarcely needs be mentioned, that the trade of the latter must necessarily have stretched much farther into the south of Africa. Meroë was the emporium, where the produce of the distant southern lands were collected together in order to be transported, either on the Nile or by caravans, into north Africa. The great end of this commerce was the rich gold countries, much farther to the south. What is said of the Macrobians, whose seat I have already proved to be at a much greater distance in this direction, shows that such was the case. If Cambyses, however, could settle the plan of an expedition to this nation, and could find Egyptian Ichthyophagi who knew the road and could speak their language, to send there as spies, a connexion between them and Egypt must already have existed for some time. The only obstruction to the communication between north and south Africa is the desert; the countries beyond that maintain, as we learn both from ancient writers and the

[1] Burkhardt, p. 319.
[2] Ibid. p. 276. It is perfectly white. The Sennaar merchants buy it in great quantities for the Abyssinian market. Its importance in all ages requires no proof.
[3] Strabo, p. 1177. [4] Burkhardt, p. 322.

more modern accounts of the British society, a constant intercourse.[1]

Thus numerous and manifold are the traces of a connexion between Egypt and Ethiopia! We have only now to determine accurately the routes by which it was carried on. The usual route of the caravans in the present day runs to the east of the Nile, where that river makes its great bend towards the west, through the midst of the Nubian desert; the same that Bruce followed from Sennaar to Egypt, and Burkhardt from Egypt to Sennaar.[2] From the northern boundaries of Sennaar, and the beginning of the desert, to Assur on the Egyptian frontier, the distance amounts to twenty days' journey.[3] Another road, which almost constantly follows the course of the Nile, is, in consequence of its great westerly bend, much farther about.[4] Whether the first, that is, the shorter or more difficult, was frequented in antiquity, cannot be determined from express historical evidence; but as Eratosthenes and Artemidorus state the distance from Syene to the city of Meroë, the former at 625 and the latter at 600 miles,[5] and these distances are undoubtedly reckoned according to this route,[6] we may safely conclude that it was known. According to Burkhardt, it is the only route from Shendy to Egypt,[7] and the one generally pursued by the Sennaar caravans. Though not without its perils, it did not appear so dangerous to him as the great Syrian desert. Springs are met with, and these naturally confine the path to one direction. A description of the longer way on the banks of the Nile, and, indeed, as far as the nature of the stream will allow, upon that river, has already been given from Herodotus, whose forty days' journey is explained by the context, that the course of the river is almost invariably followed.[8] The succession of places along the river renders it probable that in these times it was the common way, especially for those who dreaded the dangers of the desert. These places continue to *Merawé* where the last cataracts begin; and a very natural cause is found in this situation for the establishment of these settlements. Pliny was not only

[1] *Proceedings*, etc. p. 259, etc. [2] The different stations and the distances, are accurately stated in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. 118.
[3] Which is the time it took Burkhardt, who travelled with a caravan. It took Bruce less because he did not journey with a numerous caravan.
[4] It is traced out in Bruce's map. [5] See above, p. 197.
[6] Reckoning the day's journey at twenty-five miles, it will require twenty-four days for the whole distance, which agrees very well with the above statements, if we add to the twenty days' journey the distance from Shendy to the beginning of the desert.
[7] Burkhardt, p. 207. [8] See above, p. 195.

acquainted with them, but describes the manner of the voyage up the Nile. "Syene," says he, "is the rendezvous of the Ethiopian vessels. The sailors fold them together, and carry them on their shoulders as often as they come to the cataracts."[1] This custom is still continued. "Notwithstanding the number of falls and cataracts," says Maillet,[2] "which render the navigation difficult, they do not altogether impede it. The boats are brought as near as possible to the cataracts; the movable wares are then all taken out, and a number of men take the boat, which is built very light for this purpose, upon their shoulders, and carry it past the cataracts, while others transport the merchandise to the same place. The boat is then relaunched on the Nile, and so they go on, from cataract to cataract, until they have passed them all." But the nature of the journey itself shows very well that this could hardly have been the usual caravan road. And, besides, the account of Herodotus expressly states, that people, in order to avoid the cataracts, would rather go a journey of about forty days. The number of places show that this route lay through inhabited districts, which perhaps rendered it possible for single travellers to go it without danger.

The route which led, in ancient times, from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf and Yeman, is not pointed out by any historian. Nevertheless, traces are still extant of the intercourse of those nations, which time has been unable to obliterate. Just in the midst of the way are found the ruins of Axum, and, at its end, on the coast opposite Arabia Felix, the remains of Adule and Azab.

The antiquity of Axum, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, entitles it to a particular notice. Its name is not mentioned, so far as I can discover, by any writers previous to the first century. It was unknown both to Herodotus and Strabo. It is first mentioned by the author of the Periplus of the Red Sea,[3] who probably flourished under Nero; and afterwards by Ptolemy. Some time later, in the sixth century, when Justinian closed an alliance with Ethiopia, Axum was highly celebrated. At this time it was the residence of the Ethiopian monarchs; Cosmas, Nonnosus, Procopius, and others have a good deal to say concerning it.[4]

[1] *Plicatiles*, Plin. v. 9, they were, therefore, probably made of skins.
[2] Maillet, p. 215. [3] Arrian. *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* in Hudson's *Geog. Min.* vol. i. p. 3. Axum is here called a *capital*, (metropolis,) and was at that time the chief mart for the ivory trade. It was about seven or eight days' journey from the Red Sea.
[4] See Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* ii. cap. 11, and commentaries, etc. p. 60, et 251.

The silence of early writers, however, proves nothing against a higher antiquity; and that Axum, in fact, was more ancient would be proved by an inscription which Bruce states he found there, if the existence of the inscription itself had not since been disputed. But, notwithstanding the silence of the early writers, the ruins of Axum are still left, and their evidence is still sufficient to establish the fact.

These remarkable monuments soon attracted the attention of travellers. The first account we have of them was given by two Portuguese, Alvarez and Tellez;[1] to this succeeded the narrative of Bruce, which has been sharply criticised, and in many places corrected, by Salt, a later traveller, and the companion of Lord Valentia.

The accounts given by the Portuguese, especially by Alvarez, are copious, but not critical. The remains of Axum belong to different ages; partly to a very high antiquity, partly to the first centuries of the Christian era, and partly to a still later period. Alvarez and Tellez had not sufficient knowledge to distinguish these accurately; but their information is still very valuable, because it shows that in their time many monuments were extant which are no longer to be found. Besides the obelisks, sometimes standing and sometimes thrown down, which were in part covered with inscriptions, Alvarez mentions many pedestals and statues of lions jetting out water. Tellez not only speaks of obelisks and pyramids, whose resemblance to the Egyptian cannot be mistaken, but also saw, as he relates, an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, most likely the same which Salt has since given to the world.—The narrative of Bruce I give in his own words.[2]

"On the eighteenth of January (1770) we came into the plain wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part, I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people, or Troglodyte Ethiopians, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country. But the black or Troglodyte part of it,[3] have in many places buildings of great strength, magnitude, and expense, especially at Azab,[4] worthy the mag-

[1] See Alvarez, *Viaggio della Etiopia*, cap. 38, and Tellez, *Historia General da Ethiopia*, lib. i. cap. 22. [2] Bruce, iii. p. 130, etc.
[3] [That is, according to Heeren's translation, in the parts inhabited by the Troglodytæ, or negroes. *Trans.*]
[4] Azab lies on the African coast, near the straits of Babelmandel, and exactly opposite Arabia Felix. It is a great pity that neither Bruce nor any other traveller has yet examined these ruins.

nificence and riches of a state which was from the earliest ages the emporium of the Indian and African trade."

"The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but entirely consist of public buildings. In one square, which I apprehend to have been the centre of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. They are all of one piece of granite; and on the top of that which is standing there is a *patera* exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste."

"We proceeded southwards by a road cut in a mountain of red marble, having on the left a parapet-wall about five feet high, solid, and of the same materials. At equal distances there are hewn in this wall solid pedestals, upon the tops of which we see the marks where stood the colossal statues of Syrius, the Latrator Anubis, or Dog-star. One hundred and thirty-three of these pedestals, with the marks of the statues I just mentioned, are still in their places; but only two figures of the dog remained when I was there, much mutilated, but a taste easily distinguished to be Egyptian."[1]

"There are likewise pedestals, whereon the figures of the sphinx have been placed. Two magnificent flights of steps, several hundred feet long, all of granite, exceedingly well fashioned, and still in their places, are the only remains of a magnificent temple."

These accounts of Bruce are in part contradicted and in part confirmed by Salt, the companion of Lord Valentia, but who went alone into Abyssinia.[2] He denies the existence of a parapet of red marble, and the traces of one hundred and thirty-three pedestals upon it; as what Bruce took for a work of art, he regards as a natural production. The remains of ancient art found by Salt are two groups of obelisks, a considerable distance apart, each composed of fourteen or fifteen pieces. Only one of each group is now standing. The largest, formed of one piece of granite, is eighty feet high, and some of those thrown down are still more; the smaller one is twenty feet. Many of them, and the first one standing upright is among the number, are ornamented with sculptures, which seem, however, rather embellishments than hieroglyphics; some are plain. The proportions and workmanship are admirable; the plates

[1] Might not these mutilated figures of dogs have been intended for sphinxes, or even Egyptian lions, somewhat like those of the *Fontana Felice* at Rome? Bruce, led away by his hypothesis of the worship of the dog-star, saw every where monuments of it. Though Salt could not find these two figures, that proves nothing against their existence; as Alvarez mentions many similar statues of the lions, which in his time served as fountains.

[2] Valentia's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 87, sq. 181. Among the plates are a ground-plot of the territory, a representation of the great obelisk, and of the modern church.

of Salt give a very just idea of them, and contradict the strange fancies of Bruce respecting the Greek *pateræ*, etc. The sculptures represent architectural ornaments, somewhat similar to those in the Indian rock-pagodas—a door below, and apertures or windows above. The ecclesiastics stated the original number of the obelisks to have been fifty-five. Several pedestals and altars lay scattered around; fallen from their former places, the two magnificent flights of steps are included in the plan of Mr. Salt, as well as two others hewn in the rock. The Greek inscription, which he has transcribed and explained, belongs to the remains of a later period—the fourth century of the Christian era.

The ancient monuments of Axum were laid waste by the violence of fanaticism. According to the statement of the ecclesiastics of the place, by a queen of Amhara, named Gadit, about the year 1070; or, according to an inscription found there, by a conqueror named Abun David; perhaps by both. As Axum was something more than eleven hundred years the seat of a Christian church, (the present one was built in 1657,) many of the old materials were probably used in the construction of the new buildings; and only such remain as could not be readily removed or put to use. This, however, is sufficient to clear up every doubt respecting the high antiquity of Axum. Though the plan of the principal building can no longer be accurately laid down, yet Mr. Salt expressly remarks, that all the antiquities in the district of the new church now form one group, and formerly belonged to one great fabric. But who does not perceive in its separate members, as well as in the whole, a most striking resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. Do not the rows of obelisks, which here again form an avenue; the pedestals, which at one time bore statues, perhaps of a gigantic size; and the vast magnitude of the whole, show the same architecture, the same art in the arrangement of the great masses of stone, and the same taste as the ruins of Thebes, of Elephantis, and Meroë, with which Bruce himself in another place compares them.[1] Remarkable differences, however, still occur; for, as I have already observed, no traces of obelisks appear in Nubia and Meroë,[2] while here we find them in groups; and while, on the contrary, the

[1] Bruce, iv. p. 542.

[2] What Bruce took for the fragment of an obelisk near Kurgos (see above, p. 199) was not seen by his successor.

Egyptian obelisks are covered with hieroglyphics, there are none on those of Axum, which are merely ornamented.

These circumstances have lately led a learned historian to conjecture that Axum was originally one of the cities founded by the emigrant warrior-caste from Egypt. And there is much, certainly, which appears to favour this opinion.[1] It lay within the territory possessed by them, which we know extended easterly towards the Arabian Gulf. And, if this opinion should be correct, it would account for the absence of hieroglyphics, as there was no caste of priests among them. This would make Axum mount up to the last period of the Pharaohs, and it is known, from the Periplus of Arrian, to have been, some centuries later, a principal mart for the interior trade; whether it was so even still earlier, remains indeed open to conjecture.

The end of this route, according to Bruce, was Azab, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf, whence the passage to Arabia Felix requires but a few hours. Ruins, similar to those described in the passage above cited from Bruce, are said still to point out the site of this remarkable place, which was at one time the great staple of Indian and Arabian goods for the vast regions of Africa.[2]

But besides Azab there is yet another ancient sea-port on the Arabian Gulf, of which we can speak with more certainty, I mean Adule. This lay at a small distance from the present Arkeeko, 15° N. Lat. "Adule," says Pliny,[3] "according to an ancient writer, is the greatest emporium of the Troglodytæ and Ethiopians. They bring here ivory, rhinoceros-horn, hippopotamus-hides, tortoise-shell, and slaves." Adule was certainly an Egyptian colony. "Egyptian bondsmen, who ran away from their masters, founded it." Must not this be a version of the emigration of the warriors? Unfortunately, no modern traveller has reached Adule; Stuart, whom Salt sent there, was obliged to return, having been prevented from proceeding. The Arabians, however, are uniform in their assurances, that the ruins of a city exist there; and a column brought to Arkeeko gives evident proofs of the Egyptian style.[1] The successful adventurer who reaches this place will most likely make some interesting discoveries, and perhaps will find there, still in its place, the well-known monument of Adule, for the preservation of whose inscription we are indebted to Cosmas.[2]

It is an important circumstance, and more than once mentioned by Bruce, that in all Abyssinia there are only three places, namely, Azab, Axum, and Meroë, (to which we may now add Adule,) where ruins of those great establishments are found, whose form as well as high antiquity shows them to have sprung from a common origin. All these are ruins of large public edifices; everything about them is colossal; while of private habitations there is not the slightest trace. These, perhaps, from their being less durable, may have long been crumbled with the dust; though it must always remain very doubtful whether, and how far, we ought to extend our notion of cities to any of those places. The greater portion of the inhabitants of Ethiopia were nomades, as they are in the present day, and as from the nature of their country they must always remain. Who, therefore, can venture to determine that those places called cities, really were so in point of fact? Is it not possible that these places, adorned with temples and obelisks, were merely extensive places of trade, where caravans from remote regions of the world gathered together, and to which distant nations, under the protection of the deities who inhabited these temples, brought the treasures of their country, in order to barter them for others? Does not this notion seem most agreeable to the physical geography of Ethiopia, and does it not best accord with the magnificence of these monuments? It cannot be too often repeated, that in those distant countries everything sprung from completely different causes, and therefore must have been completely different from what they are in the regions in which we live.

Let us now take a review of what we have thus far advanced, and we shall find that we may with certainty deduce from it the following conclusions:

1st, It appears, that in the earlier ages a commercial intercourse existed here, between the countries of southern Asia and Africa—between India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, and

[1] Mannert, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, part x. 166. He considers Axum to be identified with Esar, which was one of the cities founded by them. Compare my treatise in *Comment. Soc. Goetting.* vol. xii. p. 64.

[2] From the accounts already given of the Somaulies, at p. 166, it is seen how desirable it is that the coast of Africa about the straits of Babelmandel should be more accurately explored. If we were even to set aside the authority of Bruce with regard to Azab, (which is the same as Saba,) it would be very astonishing if the long intercourse between Arabia and Africa had not produced some large settlement. But if not to be found exactly in the spot where Azab is placed upon our charts, it may perhaps with more probability be sought for without the straits, as from that part a connexion with Aden would be so much easier.

[3] Plin. vi. 34.

[1] Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 452. The name is now pronounced Zulla.

[2] See above, p. 167.

Egypt; which was founded upon their mutual necessities, and became the parent of the civilization of these people.

2dly, The principal seat of this national intercourse for Africa was Meroë; and its principal route is still pointed out by a chain of ruins, extending from the shores of the Indian Sea to the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, and Axum are links of this chain between Arabia Felix and Meroë; Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Egypt, and Carthage.[1]

3dly, The chief places of this trade were likewise establishments of the priest-caste, who, as a dominant race, had their principal seat at Meroë, whence they sent out colonies, which in their turn became builders of cities and temples, and likewise the founders of states.

No doubt, therefore, can exist respecting the close connexion between trade and religion here, nor respecting the manner in which more than one state became formed, in the interior of Africa, in very high antiquity. But though this caste, by sending out colonies, guided the course of trade, it did not on that account keep it to itself, nor did it, in general, even directly participate in it. I have already remarked, that

[1] It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that this whole chain, and almost every link of it, may be traced in the earliest Greek mythology. The fame of the Ethiopians, as a civilized people, had forced its way to Greece in the time of Homer, and referred pre-eminently, as we have shown above, to Meroë. The hundred-gated Thebes is celebrated by the same poet. The traditions of Jupiter Ammon, in Libya, are interwoven with the most ancient Greek mythi (Diod. i. p. 237); and that the Carthaginian coast was a theatre of these mythi, is generally known, from the Argonautic expedition, the Triton Sea, the garden of the Hesperides, the Gorgons, etc. All this proves, that rumours of these regions and places travelled very early into the West; and is it not evident, that these should be understood of the places which were the seats of national commerce? But a very remarkable clew is preserved in Herodotus, which seems evidently to prove, that not merely rumour of this commerce found its way into Greece, but that an attempt was actually made, at a very early period, to introduce it from Africa, by the then usual means, of founding a sanctuary and oracle. I refer to his account of the origin of the Dodona oracle under the Pelasgi, ii. 51—58. The priests of Ammon at Thebes informed him, that the oracle of Ammon and of Dodona were both founded from Thebes; and he himself testifies, that they were both delivered in the same manner. Two sacred women (prophetesses or soothsayers) were carried off by the Phœnicians, who sold one in Libya and the other in Greece; the latter of whom founded that of Dodona, and the former that of Ammon. The information he received in Dodona was, that two black doves had flown from Thebes into Egypt, one to Libya, the other to Dodona, at which places they had, with human voices, commanded the establishment of oracles; all this Herodotus himself explains to be a figurative account, which had arisen from the prophetesses having spoken a foreign language, and from their having been black Egyptian females. The account of the sale of the two women as slaves was given him by the priests themselves as an uncertain tradition. So far as regards Ammon, we know from other creditable testimony that this oracle was a colony founded by Thebes and Meroë; it is therefore exceedingly natural to conjecture the same of Dodona, and to consider the holy women as merely representing these settlements, because they, as prophetesses, certainly were the chief personages. Thus then becomes explained the account of Herodotus, ii. 51—58: the oracle at Dodona commanded the Pelasgians to adopt the Egyptian names of the deities, which at the same time passed through them to the Hellenes. I scarcely need repeat, that I only state this as a conjecture; but yet I know no more natural way of explaining Herodotus's extraordinary account of the adoption of the Egyptian names of deities in Greece, than that the oracle at Dodona was influenced from now known causes to introduce the Egyptian worship into Greece. That this did not produce the same effect as in Africa is easily accounted for. Greece was altogether a different world; and whatever the Greeks adopted from foreigners they always stamped as their own property.

the tribe of priests by no means became a tribe of merchants. It would, indeed, have been altogether contrary to the manners of the East; nevertheless, without properly following trade, they found means to obtain a share of its benefits, and the consideration which this caste obtained through it was very great; partly from the oracles; partly from the security and protection which they afforded; and partly from the number and variety of the merchants.[1]

The nature of the caravan trade imposes upon it the necessity of employing a great number of hands; to perform these long journeys in safety, numerous bodies are requisite as a guard; besides which, the whole internal organization of caravans, the care of the camels and other beasts of burden, the lading and unlading of the wares, etc., require a great number of assistants, who not unfrequently, from mere carriers, become merchants themselves.

Men who are accustomed to a settled abode, and dwell in cities, are not at all fit for a caravan life, constantly upon the move. In Arabia, therefore, as well as in Africa, these trading communities are formed by the nomad pastoral tribes, of which the greater part of those distant countries are full.[2] These by their mode of life are not only best adapted to it, but possess in their herds, their camels, and other beasts of burden, the only means of carrying it on. It was thus that the merchandise of the Sabeans was conveyed to Arabia Felix by the Nabatii and the Midianites; it was thus that the Carthaginian caravans were formed by Lotophagi and Nasamones; and thus it is, in the present day, that those from Tripoli to Cairo are formed by the inhabitants of Fezzan. It is not then a mere fanciful, fleeting hypothesis, but is founded on the nature of things, that this must also have been the case in Ethiopia: we already know that these regions were also occupied by vast numbers of wandering pastoral tribes, and we find some faint traces in antiquity, which makes the matter still clearer.

The nations who dwelt to the west of Meroë along the banks of the Astaspus, tribes of Agows and Bejahs, could not be unknown in Egypt, which they must have frequented. They occasionally spoke there of the river on which they dwelt, and maintained it to be the proper Nile. Diodorus obtained this information from their own mouths;[3] and they could not well

[1] Let the reader here bear in mind what is said of the present Damer. See above, p. 219.
[2] See above, p. 90. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 45. The Agows appear on the monument of Adule.

have made this long journey except in the train of a caravan. There is still more evidence to prove that the inhabitants of the eastern mountains, the Troglodytæ, and their neighbours the Ichthyophagi, were engaged in this calling; they were indeed so well acquainted with the route to the most distant parts of Africa, that Cambyses chose them for the spies, which he sent under the form of an embassy to the Macrobians. This could scarcely be the first time of their journeying to this nation, as they were already able to speak their language.

This eastern ridge, its inhabitants, and its productions, have been for a long time known in Egypt. Even Herodotus could describe them as far as the straits of Babelmandel; for he not only points out very accurately its direction, but also knew, that where it ended on the south the land of frankincense begun.[1] This is the region extending from Azab to Cape Guardefui; consequently, the country of the Somaulies. And here again the statements of the Greeks are confirmed by the accounts of recent British travellers.[2] This accurate knowledge presupposes mutual intercourse, and the conjecture therefore is highly probable, that the nomad inhabitants of these regions, composed for the most part the caravans, which journeyed from Egypt to Ethiopia, and again from Ethiopia to northern Africa and Arabia Felix. This is exactly the case in the present day. The caravans which trade between Egypt and Abyssinia are now, and have been from time immemorial, composed of the Bejahs and Ababdés, who at this time occupy the mountains and part of Nubia.[3]

These nomades, however, were scarcely ever anything more than mere carriers of merchandise; no wealthy tribes being found among them. They appear in this character in the pageants, which Ptolemy Philadelphus gave at his accession to the throne, when, among other shows, the procession of an Arabic-Ethiopian caravan was exhibited.[4] "There came a train of camels, carrying three hundred pounds of frankincense, crocus, cassia, and cinnamon, together with two hundred pounds of other costly spices and drugs. These were followed by a host of Ethiopians armed with lances; one band of these bore six hundred elephants' teeth, another two thousand pieces

[1] Herod. ii. 8. [2] See above, p. 166. [3] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 269.
[4] Athen. p. 201. Bruce, i. p. 432, etc., gives an ample account of these armed herdsmen. It is known that the caravans of the nomad tribes, as now from the Ababdés, take escorts. According, however, to another reading of Athenæus, (δωροφόροι instead of δορυφόροι,) they were present-bearing Ethiopians.

of ebony, and another sixty vessels of gold, silver, and gold dust." Notwithstanding the part which these nomades took in conducting it, the trade itself still remained in the hands of the inhabitants of Meroë and Axum, who carried it on by their foreign settlements; and these places still remain, what nature herself has appointed them, the great marts for the southern commerce.

Thus the great conclusion, so interesting and important for human nature and its history, becomes in a manner forced upon us: THE FIRST SEATS OF COMMERCE WERE ALSO THE FIRST SEATS OF CIVILIZATION. Exchange of merchandise led to exchange of ideas, and by this mutual friction was first kindled the sacred flame of moral and intellectual culture.

That this civilization of the Ethiopians,—that is, of the ruling priest-caste,—was bound to their religion is easily shown. Some scientific knowledge must indisputably have been connected with it, else the erection of those monuments would have been impossible. But the high attainments in science which some would bestow upon them rests upon no solid foundation.[1] None of the ancients has made them philosophers or astronomers; although the latter science could not have remained altogether concealed to a nation, who were wont to spend the greater part of their lives in journeys across the deserts, where the stars of the firmament could be their only guide, and whose climate brought a more regular change of weather and seasons than we are accustomed to. Diodorus certainly derives the civilization of the Egyptians in general from Ethiopia,[2] but I cannot perceive how this can be true, unless in a very limited sense; and though its first germ might perhaps have shot forth there, the fruit did not ripen till transplanted into Egypt.

From the express testimony of this writer, we learn that the Ethiopians possessed the art of writing;[3] not, however, alphabetical characters, but merely picture-writing, a proof of which is still preserved upon the ruins of Meroë;[4] and from this passage the first invention of it has been attributed to them. Criticism may fairly dispute this point, the truth or falsehood of which it is equally impossible to prove. The invention of

[1] See Plessing, *Memnonium*, i. p. 341, etc.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 174, 175. [3] Ibid. i. p. 176.
[4] Hieroglyphic inscriptions are found as well in the vestibule of the pyramids at Assur, especially in the sanctuary, Caillaud, plate xli. xliii., as in the principal temple at Naga, Caillaud, plate xx. *Explications;* they cannot however be copied.

this kind of writing would be no where more easy than among a people with so decided a bias for the pictorial arts; nor the use and perfectioning of it more natural, than in a state whose government, next to religion, was founded upon trade.

A very interesting fact however is recorded by Diodorus; namely, that the knowledge of picture-writing in Ethiopia was not a privilege confined solely to the caste of priests as in Egypt, but that every one might attain it, as freely as they might in Egypt the writing in common use. Ought not this general use of it to be regarded as a powerful proof of its being applied to the purposes of trade? A great commercial nation altogether without writing surely could never exist; and however deficient hieroglyphics might be for the multifarious wants of our trade, yet it seems quite adequate for all the purposes of the caravan trade, whose regular course and simple merchandise demanded but few accounts.

The piety and justice of the Ethiopians, the fame of which spread to the most distant regions, even to the Greeks, requires little explanation! They are the first virtues which would be cultivated in a nation whose government was established by religion and commerce, and not by violence and oppression.

The progress this nation had made in architecture, and, to a certain degree, in the pictorial arts, is still one of the greatest problems, though one of the greatest certainties. The ruins of those colossal monuments, more or less preserved, still lie there, and will remain the everlasting proofs of the awful magnificence of their architecture.

It is however one of the worst errors, into which we but too frequently fall, to consider ourselves as the standard of what is or can be done by other nations, in other countries, and under other circumstances. Is it necessary that the band between science, architecture, and the plastic arts, should every where be as closely knit together as it is with us? Might not mechanical dexterity and handicraft be carried to a high degree of perfection on their own account alone? Is it not possible then that the powerful vigour of a nation might be drawn by circumstances to concentrate itself upon one point; and in that way might here have produced works which to us seem supernatural? Was not indeed the connexion between scientific and artificial improvement, in our own country, very different from what it was in the middle ages, when our forefathers

erected those lofty domes which we still gaze at but cannot imitate?

But with all these changes in particulars, how little, taken as a whole, do the nations of Africa differ from what they were. Temples and sanctuaries seem always to have been the object of their trading journeys, as they are in the present day. About those obelisks lodged at one time the caravans, pilgrimizing to the temples of Ammon, which now journey to the Caaba of the prophet at Mecca. The hand of time has altered the nature of the tie between trade and religion in these regions, but has never been able to dissolve it.

And thus then we leave the ruins of Nubia and Meroë, the sacred monuments of the earliest civilization! Under their shade its fruit once ripened, a fruit indeed only such as this soil could bear, but which in a more congenial climate mellowed into a softer and fairer form. It prospered better transplanted into the more fertile plains of Egypt. Bend we then from these sterile sands, that we may there survey it ameliorated and improved, again sprouting forth from a similar germ.

EGYPTIANS.

PREFACE.

THE history of ancient Egypt is in a particular manner connected with its monuments. It is only since these have become better known, and have been more closely examined, that a clearer light has begun to spread over the nation that erected them. A history, however, founded upon monuments, or rather blended with them, must in many respects assume a different character from those compiled from written authorities. Now, although I do not profess to give in the following researches a proper history of Egypt, yet as they are wholly upon historical subjects, and are in the most intimate manner connected with history, a further exposition of the peculiarity of such a history can be no where more in place than here; where indeed it seems required for the information of those whose notions are not very clear upon the subject.

The monuments which here come under consideration are principally monuments of architecture, to which sculptures and inscriptions, though they more or less ornament them, only appear as subordinate. We shall not leave these unexamined; but must first be allowed to consider the monuments themselves, unconnected with any other object, as sources of history.

That they in a certain sense possess this character cannot be denied. A monument bears witness of a fact more clearly and certainly than could be done by the statement of a writer. This fact is, that the people who erected this monument, had attained to a certain degree of civilization, without which they could not have erected it. But this degree of civilization we do not learn from a description; it is set forth in the monument, placed as it were before our eyes. It is true the monument does not display the whole of their civilization; but, if it be of any magnitude, it relates much respecting it, as it exhibits not merely a specimen of mechanical skill, but also of the taste, of the manner of life, of religion, etc. It supplies us with a certain rule by which to judge of the civilization of the nation that erected it.

A single monument may do all this. But where a series of them exists they do much more. We observe in them the progress and decline of art among the people, as well as of everything connected with it; they may therefore, to a certain extent, become authorities for the history of the civilization of a nation. To what extent? This depends upon their difference at different periods, upon their number and nature.

Monuments moreover become in another manner, and in another respect, the authorities for the history of a nation. Every monument, which is important from its magnitude and nature, is usually accompanied by a tradition, a mythus. As soon as it attracts attention, the beholder naturally desires and endeavours to learn its origin, its builder, its destination. And those are never wanting who believe themselves able, from whatever source they may have obtained their accounts, to give information respecting these matters. If the monuments are of a religious kind, temples or sanctuaries, (and these form by far the most numerous class,) there are specially attached to them appointed servants, the priests who preserve and communicate these traditions, which then become interwoven with the history of the nation. Even a part of the earliest Roman history rested upon such a temple-tradition; such as that of

Coriolanus upon the story of the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*. These are preserved in the memory of the vulgar: they may be varied and embellished; but nothing can justify us, without further examination, to consider them as mere fables. He who maintains this, must deny the possibility of a true account respecting the founder of a monument being ever preserved. And who will take this task upon himself? That, however, in making use of them the rules of sound criticism must be kept in view, I need scarcely add.

In the sense thus far given, monuments are to be considered as sources of history only so far as they are mere pieces of architecture. But they become so in a higher degree if they are likewise furnished with works of sculpture,—with representations of remarkable events; and still more so if they contain inscriptions. The works of sculpture are certainly of themselves intelligible, so far as to make known the nature of the subject which they represent,—warlike transactions, objects of worship, sacrifices, processions, etc.; but not the particular circumstances, unless these are clearly pointed out by some special token. This is done by the inscriptions, when they designate the persons, the place, and the time: how far they do this depends upon the paucity or copiousness of their details, and the whole upon their intelligibility.

From the principles here laid down, it is evident that the history of a nation may be so closely connected with its monuments, that these may become the chief source of it. But if we imagine a history resting entirely upon them, it will assume a peculiar character. Together with the monuments will naturally arise a series of traditions referring to them. The monuments speak by themselves, their language is strong, but vague and laconic. Tradition becomes their interpreter; but it goes no further than to the founders of the monuments, and the explanation of them where they contain pictorial representations. The monuments, however, only belong to individual rulers, the events only to single points of time. Even though a series of events or transactions be represented, as is found to be the case upon certain monuments, each recounts its own particular history. It therefore follows, that one of the chief characteristics of a history resting upon monuments, must be its being almost entirely made up of fragments. A tolerably continuous or complete narrative must not be expected here. To this is to be added, that tradition, although pro-

bably more communicative in earlier times, continually concentrates itself more upon the monuments; since in them it finds its chief support, and refers to the same hero or ruler what belongs to many. Hence it happens that we have a history of those rulers only who have left monuments, or are said to have left them.

We have laid it down as the first principal characteristic of a history founded on monuments, that it must, from its nature, be composed of fragments. Let us now add the second; which is, that (unless where the dates are expressly stated upon them) it cannot be strictly chronological. No doubt a certain order of time may be perceived in the progress and decline of art, in the events represented, and even in the greater or less preservation of the monuments; but a history founded upon monuments can at the best only reckon according to centuries—to attempt to bring it within one or even twenty years would be a fruitless undertaking, and only lead to error.

A third characteristic, finally, of a history resting on monuments, is, that it always borders on the marvellous. The monuments themselves, and this in proportion as they are larger and more extraordinary, lend it this character; and who can be ignorant of the inclination of mankind to exaggerate and embellish the facts comprised in the traditions of a nation? This is certainly closely connected with, and partly dependent upon, the poetry of a people; it will, therefore, of course, be less where this is confined to hymns and songs, as was the case, so far as we know, among the Egyptians.

This is the sum of what monuments may fulfil, without any other aid, as sources of history. Of this we have an example in the Mexican and Peruvian monuments; although here the destruction of the ancient priesthood has deprived us of their traditions. But the case is very different where the monuments can be compared with historians, even though these should be of no higher character than mere annalists. Here it is that these monuments appear to the greatest advantage, since they give, as it were, a reality to the narration. In how much clearer a light would the monuments of those American nations appear, and what light would they again have spread over those people, had their annals been preserved!

It was necessary to lay before the reader these remarks previous to the application of them to Egyptian history. This is also a history resting upon monuments; and although certain

writers in this case come to our assistance, it preserves, nevertheless, the peculiar character, that it is chiefly, and in the closest manner, connected with monuments, because even the statements made by historians almost entirely flow from this very source. Those of Herodotus do so altogether, those of Diodorus for the most part; and of the work of Manetho, drawn from the temple archives, only scanty extracts have been preserved. It follows, therefore, of necessity, that the history of ancient Egypt can only be fragmentary: and in this point of view it must be considered and treated. The truth of this remark will become so apparent in these researches, that I consider it would be superfluous to say anything more respecting it.

Moreover, a strictly chronological history cannot, with the means we now possess, be hoped for. Herodotus here gives us no determinate continuous series of dates; Diodorus reckons, indeed, according to generations; but we meet with many indefinite chasms; and in Manetho we have besides to contend with the numerous errors of transcribers in the numbers. And although upon the monuments certain representations have been preserved, bearing some reference to chronology, yet no continued train of dates has been discovered. Our only resource, therefore, is, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, by comparison, some of the principal events; and to arrange the order of others, preceding or following them, in a general way; not by years or by decades, but by centuries. Where there are no corresponding annals of other nations, this is all that is required; and history is not falsified by a variation of a half-century or a century in the date of particular events.

But, although they afford no determinate chronology, those vast monuments, which for centuries have stood forth as the dumb, yet convincing witnesses of the grandeur of the ancient Pharaohs have, as it were, now begun to speak, since the attempts to decipher the inscriptions have not been altogether ineffectual. The nature of this work demands that I should give my opinion upon the success of these attempts; and this is done in my preliminary discourse. The reader will there find the reasons which induce me to give my assent to the method of M. Champollion, and how far I agree with him, without pledging myself to the correctness of each of his interpretations; but at the same time I beseech the reader not

to pass unnoticed the great precaution with which I have made use of his decipherings. I have confined myself to the adoption of some royal titles or names in the second part of the chapter on Thebes, which in themselves are already known from Manetho; but which, as they are now read upon the monuments, give some clew for ascertaining the builders of them. For this purpose I have had recourse to the great work of Champollion, his *Précis*, and not to the scattered information in periodicals. Since this work appeared, the same learned writer has commenced the publication of a *Panthéon Egyptien;* which contains engravings with the descriptions of Egyptian deities. But I have already upon another occasion explained that these researches are foreign to my purpose. The accuracy or inaccuracy of the legend of the names of the Pharaohs, of which alone I have made use, is not connected with this subject. Even the opponents, therefore, of the interpretations of M. Champollion cannot charge me with having built my researches upon a method of interpretation not yet proved. Nothing is built upon it. Some of the results are brought forward merely as confirmations of points already ascertained; but from attempts at deciphering particular words and names I have altogether abstained.

The promised work (*Rudimenta Hierǒglyphices*) of a German scholar, Prof. Seiffarth of Leipsic, without which it would be rash to criticise any of his interpretations, has not yet appeared. But from what is stated above it is evident, that neither these nor any similar attempt can have the slightest bearing upon these researches, further than as regards the reading of the names of the Pharaohs. The *Adversaria*, published by the same scholar from the papers of my deceased friend Spohn, relate only to the deciphering of the demotic and hieratic methods of writing; and therefore have no connexion with the subjects upon which I have treated.

No other part of my works has, in the present new edition, (the fourth,) undergone so much alteration as this: nearly one half of it has been re-written. Every effort has been made, so far as my means and skill would allow, to improve it; and abundance of materials have been afforded me by the splendid works and travels which have appeared during the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of the last edition. I hope my readers will therein find the best, and—as by always quoting my authorities I have given them an opportunity

of judging for themselves—the most satisfactory answer to the violent attacks which have been made, and continue to be made, even by men whom one would expect, from their situation, to be interested in the promotion of science.

The appended ground-plan of ancient Thebes, as well as the map of Egypt and Nubia, as far as the second cataract near Wadi Halfa, (the remainder will be found in the map of ancient Africa,) are from the skilful hand of my friend Prof. C. Otfr. Müller. I need scarcely add, that these maps are constructed expressly for this work.

March 12, 1826.

No nation in the world has taken so much pains to transmit its memory to posterity as the Egyptians. In its marvellous and stupendous monuments, whether erected on the earth or excavated from its bowels, it has left behind not merely proofs of its greatness, but has endeavoured, by covering them with sculptured representations of its religion, its public affairs, and even of private life with its numerous occupations, to hand down the remembrance of them to the latest generations. Its endeavours have not been in vain. The attention of the present age has been strongly drawn towards it, and it is now, as it were, resuscitated from the grave, and lives before us. Notwithstanding this, the antiquities of no nation are wrapped in deeper obscurity. Even its emblematical representations are, in a great measure, to us so many problems. A more interesting matter, however, than even this, is the method by which that people expressed and committed their ideas to writing; and before we can venture upon the history and antiquity of the Egyptians, it is necessary we should throw some light upon this obscure subject, and explain what has hitherto been done, towards dispersing the mist in which it has so long been enveloped.

From what is said by ancient writers, and from the monuments themselves, no doubt can remain but that there was more than one kind of writing in use among the Egyptians. Herodotus distinguishes between the sacred writing and the popular.[1]

[1] Herod. ii. 36. Between γράμματα ἱερᾶ and δημότικα. An attempt was made, some time ago, by Zoega, to prove that the first included hieroglyphics, but not the hieratic writing: *De Obeliscis*, p. 428.

It would be sufficiently clear, that, by the first, the hieroglyphic or picture-writing must be understood; even if it were not established by that celebrated relic of antiquity the Rosetta stone, which exhibits both methods of writing. It must also be sufficiently evident that, if both kinds of writing were already in common use, in the time of Herodotus they must both have belonged to an age much anterior; and that, therefore, the popular writing was even then a writing dating up to the period of the Pharaohs. Hieroglyphic writing is of the greatest importance in an inquiry into Egyptian antiquities, because, in the time of the Pharaohs, it was certainly used in preference, and, as far as we know, exclusively for public monuments; not a single trace having yet been discovered of any other sort of writing, upon any monument belonging to that period.

Now, as the most interesting part of Egyptian history is closely connected with its public monuments, it becomes the more important, that we should be well informed respecting the writing found upon them; that we should clearly comprehend its nature, and the relation it bears to other kinds of writing. From the time of Kircher, Jablonsky, and others, there certainly has been no lack of attempts to decipher hieroglyphic writing. How little has been done by them is sufficiently shown by the confession of one, who devoted no small portion of his life to its study, the fruits of which are honourably preserved in more than one work, and particularly in his celebrated treatise on obelisks.[1] Yet he frankly and undisguisedly confesses, that in the interpretation of hieroglyphics, very little progress has been made. However different the means pursued, by which those men endeavoured to obtain this object, they all ended in one common supposition; namely, that hieroglyphical writing is merely an allegorical picture-writing, whose characters, not representing sounds, but merely ideas, are altogether of a different nature from our alphabetical letters. Could, however, a writing of this kind be imagined—which at best could only be very limited and incomplete—a key would be required for understanding it, which, if once lost, we cannot see where and how it could be recovered; for the little resemblance between the allegoric signs and the objects would by no means be sufficient. I do not, therefore, seem to have been wrong in the early opinion I gave, that if this be

[1] Zoega, *De Obeliscis*, p. 464.

admitted, though perhaps some hieroglyphics might, yet no general hieroglyphical writing could ever be deciphered.[1]

Does it, however, follow that the figures, composing hieroglyphics, are only and exclusively signs of ideas? May they not also, at least in part, as well represent sounds, and consequently letters? This cannot be contradicted; for there is no reason why a figure, say a hand, or a beast, may not represent a sound quite as well as a simple or complex line. It is solely upon the solving of this question, that the present study of hieroglyphics hinges. Should the conjecture be realized, should further researches lead to the discovery of an alphabet, we shall be able *to read;* and if we may venture to assume, that the language in which the hieroglyphics are composed is not entirely lost—that the ancient Egyptian language is, at least to a certain degree, preserved in the Coptic—we shall be enabled *to translate,* and consequently, *to understand.*

Although by these investigations the object of the inquiry may be rendered clear, yet we are naturally led to ask, in what way it first came to be conjectured, and then to be believed, that hieroglyphics are not merely allegorical picture-writings, but contain as well alphabetical characters? To those who would adopt the first system a difficulty opposes itself at the first step, which cannot be surmounted. The application of the hieroglyphic writing to monumental inscriptions would be impossible without the frequent occurrence of proper names, whether of deities, kings, or private persons. Now, what method is there by which proper names can be expressed by allegorical writing, when they happen to be void of signification? Such names as Lion, Wolf, and the like, may be represented by pictures, but how can those of Henry, Lewis, and such like?[2] But supposing, nevertheless, that names are to be sought for upon monuments, where are they to be looked for? How could it be demonstrated that exactly this or that group of hieroglyphic figures contains proper names?

Nothing but a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances could have led to a step beyond this. The famous Rosetta stone, now in the British Museum, contains a *trilinguar* (or

[1] *Ideen*, ii. p. 477, the earlier (*German*) editions.

[2] The *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 119, says, "Heeren, as far as we know, was the first who observed the impossibility of representing proper names by symbolic figures. Here, as elsewhere, necessity was probably the mother of invention. Signs may represent genera, and classes, and orders, but can scarcely discriminate individuals. The symbols of royalty, added to the sign of the man, designate the king. The victorious, or the wise, or the religious king may be distinguished from the weak or tyrannical; but what adjunct will show that we mean king George or king William, rather than king Henry or king Edward?"]

rather *bilinguar*) inscription in hieroglyphics, in the popular writing of the Egyptians, and in Greek. In this many proper names are found in the Greek character, of which, unfortunately, from the mutilated state of the stone, only one, that of Ptolemy, remains in hieroglyphics. Had the other names been preserved, a comparison of the signs of which they were composed would at once have led to a certain conclusion. Happily the basis of an obelisk was discovered at Philæ, containing likewise an inscription in hieroglyphics and some Greek writing, probably the translation of, or something relating to, what precedes it. This important relic was purchased by the late Sir Joseph Banks, and sent to England by the unfortunate Belzoni. Besides the name of Ptolemaus, expressed in the same signs as it is upon the Rosetta stone, there is upon this the name of Cleopatra.[1] These two names contain six letters in common; and by comparison it is found that the consonants PTL and the vowels AEO are represented in both by the same pictures. Hence these are concluded to have been signs of sound, and consequently letters; the signification of the remaining characters of the two names, after this, becomes easy; and a part of the hieroglyphic alphabet is of course deciphered. These signs are called *phonetic*.

But another very remarkable circumstance remains to be noticed. The two names we have just mentioned were, upon both the monuments, separated from the rest of the inscription by being enclosed in an oval border, or, as Champollion calls it, a *cartouche*. It is, therefore, evident, that the names of kings and queens were usually distinguished in this manner. Oval enclosures of a similar kind frequently occur upon Egyptian monuments. It certainly was not made out that they always contained royal names, and no others; yet it must be allowed, that it seemed to afford strong grounds for the opinion, that such at least was often the case. The next step, therefore, was to apply the alphabetical key, thus far discovered, to these cartouches; and a succession of names, borne by rulers of various periods, by Cæsars, Ptolemies, Persians, and even by Pharaohs, were speedily deciphered. Each of these cartouches was usually accompanied by a second, in which was soon discovered the title and surname of the kings, as they were adopted after known deities. This led to the conclusion, not only that this kind of writing must have remained in use, unchanged,

[1] See upon this subject the works of Champollion, hereafter quoted.

throughout the different periods of the Egyptian empire, but also, that some of those monuments which had heretofore been attributed solely to the Pharaohs, did not belong to them, but to the Ptolemies and Cæsars. It likewise established the most magnificent and ancient of the works to be due to the Pharaohs, whose names were legible upon them. A light has thus been thrown upon the history of those distant ages, and many parts of it verified in such a way as could hardly have been expected; the opinions of those who had ejected the Pharaohs from the page of history, and merely considered them as fabulous or symbolical beings, fell therefore at once to the ground; their monuments, with their names sculptured thereon, stand ready to confute them!

Every lover of Egyptian antiquities must be aware, that the first steps which led to this important and interesting discovery were made by the learned Dr. Young of Cambridge, who first seized the idea of *phonetic* hieroglyphics, and applied it to the names of Ptolemy and Berenice.[1] It is, however, to the exertions of a learned Frenchman, Champollion, that we are mainly indebted for its further progress, and for the results

[1] What share in the merit of the discovery must be ascribed to Dr. Young, as compared with his own, M. Champollion has attempted to show at the beginning of his work. To that and to the treatise of Dr. Young I must refer my readers, as the rising dispute upon this head has nothing to do with these researches.

[The translator cannot let pass this opportunity of stating, that, as far as he can judge, after a fair examination of the subject, there does not seem the slightest evidence to set aside Dr. Young's claim to the entire discovery of the phonetic system of hieroglyphics. "The method adopted by him for deciphering the enchorial and hieroglyphic texts of the Rosetta inscription is a masterpiece of ingenious contrivance; and he has the honour of having been the *first to demonstrate*, that in the latter as well as in the former, *certain characters*, whatever may have been their original import, *were employed to represent sounds*." This opinion of the Edinburgh reviewer, which is merely just to the fame of Dr. Young, has been echoed by the learned of nearly all Europe. M. Klaproth, one of the first scholars in Europe, says, "Le docteur Young, Anglais, est sans contredit le premier auteur de cette découverte. Le célèbre Zoéga avait déjà soupçonné qu'une partie des signes hiéroglyphiques pouvoit être employée alphabétiquement, mais l'honneur d'avoir démontré ce fait appartient au docteur Young ..... Disputer à ce savant la priorité de cette découverte serait aussi absurde que de vouloir soutenir, que celui qui le premier mêla du saltpêtre avec du souffre et du charbon n'a pas été l'inventeur du poudre, mais bien celui qui s'est servi pour la première fois de ce mélange comme moteur pour les projectiles." Klaproth, *Préfaces Collection des Monumens Egyptiens de M. Palin.*

That the fame of the first discovery indisputably belongs to Dr. Young, is fully made out in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 114, etc.; *Edinb. Review*, vol. xlv. p. 120, etc.; and *Encyclop. Metrop.* article *Hieroglyphics*, etc. The following circumstances seem to set this matter at rest. In the first place, there is the direct testimony of Dr. Young himself as to his claim, both in regard to *priority of publication* and *originality of discovery*, which M. Champollion has not yet answered. See *Edinb. Review*, l. c., where this is clearly shown. In the second place, there is the following proof equally unanswered. In the year 1821, after the discovery of Dr. Young had been made known, Champollion published, at Grenoble, a volume, *De l'Écriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens*, in which he distinctly states his conviction, that *the hieroglyphics are not phonetic*, "que les signes hiéroglyphiques sont *des signes de choses, et non des signes de sons.*" This volume has been withdrawn from circulation on the pretext that the author was actuated by "le crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses." M. Klaproth asserts, that there is positively nothing in the volume which could produce that impression; and that the real motive for its suppression was the unfortunate avowal which decides at once the controversy.]

to which it has led.[1] M. Champollion was well prepared for this, as he had ardently pursued the study of the Coptic language and literature almost from his infancy; one of his early works was the Restoration of the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs, with its ancient names, compiled from MSS. in the royal library at Paris,[2] a work which must have increased his knowledge of the Coptic language, and laid a foundation for new researches.

An important question here naturally occurs: *Are these phonetic pictures, or hieroglyphics, chosen arbitrarily, or are they subject to some general law?* In the first case, it could scarcely be hoped to apply them further than to the deciphering of names; the discovery of a general law led to the idea of a more general application. A knowledge, however, of the language would necessarily be the first step; as in this must be sought the origin of their signification; and it is only by the help of the Coptic that this can be attained. By this it was soon perceived, that it might be regarded as a confirmed conventional rule: *that signs, used as letters, representing certain sounds, are always the image of an external object, the name of which, in the old Egyptian language, begins with the letter which it represents.* Thus, for example, if we wished in our language to introduce a writing of this kind, a hand might represent the sound *h*, a dog the sound *d*, a staff the sound *s*, etc.

This rule, therefore, certainly furnishes us with a key for the further deciphering the hieroglyphic alphabet, to whatever extent we may be able to unlock it. As the explications of M. Champollion, however, may be known but to few readers, I judge it necessary, before proceeding any further, accurately to unfold them. I shall do this in a series of single propositions, as nearly as I can in the words of the author.[3]

"The writing of the Egyptians consists of three distinct kinds; the *hieroglyphic*, or sacred writing; the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests; and the *demotic*, in common use."

"A. 1. The hieroglyphic writing consists in the simultaneous use of three very distinct species of signs:—(*a*) of *picture signs*, or representations of the objects themselves, which they serve to represent: (*b*) of *symbolical, typical*, or *enigmatical signs*, representing ideas by physical objects, always bearing some analogy to the idea represented: (*c*) *phonetic characters*, representing sounds by pictures of physical objects."

"A. 2. The *picture* and *symbolical* signs, are employed in all the texts in a much less proportion than the *phonetic* characters."

"A. 3. The phonetic characters are real alphabetical signs, *letters*, which express the sounds of the Egyptian words."

"A. 4. Every phonetic hieroglyphic is the picture of a physical object, the name of which object begins, in the Egyptian language, with the vowel or consonant (*voix* ou *articulation*) which the sign itself is intended to represent."

"A. 5. The phonetic characters combine to form words in the same manner as any other alphabet, but they are often placed one over the other, and in various directions, according to the disposition of the text, either in perpendicular columns or horizontal lines."

"A. 6. The intermediate vowels of words written in hieroglyphics are often left out, as in the Hebrew, Phœnician, and modern Arabic."

"A. 7. Every vowel and consonant may, according to the principle laid down in A. 4, be represented by several different phonetic signs, all, however, representing exactly the same sound."[1]

"A. 8. The use of one phonetic character rather than another, representing the same sound, was often regulated by the material form of the character made use of, or by the nature of the idea expressed by the word to be written in phonetic characters."

"A. 9. The various hieroglyphic phonetic vowel signs had no more settled sound than the Hebrew aleph (א), the yōdh (י), and the vāv (ו), or the elif (ا) and the waw (و) of the Arabians."

"A. 10. Abbreviations of phonetic groups are often met with in the hieroglyphic text."

"A. 11. Phonetic characters, the necessary and inseparable elements of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, exist in the most ancient Egyptian texts, as well as in the more recent."

"A. 12. I have already determined the sound (*fixé la*

[1] Champollion the younger (his elder brother is *M. Champollion Figeac*, likewise celebrated for his researches into Egyptian antiquity) first gave, in September, 1822, a preliminary account of this system to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, in a letter addressed to the secretary, *M. Dacier; Lettre à Mons. Dacier, relatif à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonetiques*, Paris, 1822. This was soon followed by his greater work, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1824; second and improved edition, Paris, 1829, 2 vols. 8vo, and a volume of plates, which forms the basis of the following inquiry.

[2] *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, tom. i. ii.; Paris, 1814, with a map.

[3] [I have compared this with the last edition of the *Précis* of Champollion, and made such alterations as I deemed necessary. *Trans.*]

[1] [This is questioned by Heeren hereafter. *Trans.*]

valeur) of above a hundred hieroglyphic phonetic characters, among which are those that most frequently occur in the texts of all ages."

"A. 13. All hieroglyphic inscriptions found upon Egyptian monuments belong to one single and same kind of writing, composed, as we have said, (A. 1. *a, b, c,*) of three kinds of signs simultaneously employed."

"A. 14. It is proved, by a series of public monuments, that the sacred writing, combining the *picture, symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs, was in use, without interruption, from the nineteenth century before our era to the entire conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, under the dominion of the Romans, when the different Egyptian kinds of writing were displaced by the Coptic, that is to say, by the Greek alphabet increased by a certain number of consonants, taken from the old demotic writing of the Egyptians."

"A. 15. The same ideas are sometimes represented in the same hieroglyphic text, at one time by *picture* signs, at another by *symbolic*, and finally by a group of *phonetic* characters, expressing a word significant of the same idea in the language spoken."

"A. 16. Other ideas are represented, either by a *group* formed of a *picture* and a *symbolic* sign, or by uniting a *picture* or *symbolic* sign with *phonetic* characters."

"A. 17. Certain Egyptian bas-reliefs, or compositions formed of figures of physical beings, and particularly of representations of monsters, grouped and connected, do not belong to the proper hieroglyphic writing. These are purely allegorical or symbolical scenes, to which the ancients gave the name of *anaglyphs*."

"A. 18. A number of figures are, however, common to the proper hieroglyphic writing, and to this system of painting, or, if it must be so called, of writing, which produced *anaglyphs*."

"A. 19. These anaglyphs seem to be pages of that secret writing, which the ancient Greek and Latin writers tell us was known only to the priests, and to those whom they initiated in their mysteries. The hieroglyphic writing, on the contrary, was never secret, but known to all the inhabitants of Egypt at all educated."

"A. 20. Two new systems of writing sprung in time from the hieroglyphic writing, the *hieratic* and *demotic;* these were invented to facilitate the art of writing, and bring it more into common use."

"B. 21. The *hieratic* or *sacerdotal* writing, was merely a kind of short-hand way of writing the *sacred*, from which it was immediately derived. In this second system the form of the signs is considerably abridged."

"B. 22. It consists, properly, of *pictural, symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs; but the first two are often replaced either by groups of phonetic characters, or by *arbitrary* characters, which no longer preserve the form of their correspondent sign in the hieroglyphic system."

"B. 23. All the *hieratic* manuscripts extant, and we possess some belonging to the epoch of the Pharaohs, of the Greeks, and of the Romans, belong to one single system, however different the shape of the characters may appear at the first inspection."

"B. 24. The use of the *hieratic* writing appears to have been restricted to the transcription of texts relating to sacred or scientific matters, and to a few, but always religious, inscriptions."

"C. 25. The *demotic, epistolary*, or *enchorial* writing, is a system quite distinct from the *hieroglyphic* and the *hieratic*, from which it is immediately derived."

"C. 26. The characters used in *demotic* writing are merely simple characters borrowed from the *hieratic* writing."

"C. 27. It excludes almost all pictured signs."

"C. 28. It admits, nevertheless, a certain number of symbolical signs, but only to express some ideas essentially connected with the religious system."

"C. 29. The greater part of every demotic text consists of phonetic characters, or *signs of sounds*."

"C. 30. The number of characters used in demotic writing are much fewer than in either of the other systems."

"C. 31. In demotic writing the intermedial vowels are often suppressed both in Egyptian and foreign words."

"C. 32. The demotic, like the writings from which it is derived, may express every consonant or vowel by several signs, very different in form but entirely alike in sound. Nevertheless the number of these demotic same-sounding characters is not nearly so great as in the sacred and sacerdotal writing."

"C. 33. The demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic writing

have been simultaneously in use during a long series of ages in every part of Egypt."

These propositions, according to the discoveries of M. Champollion, form the basis upon which the Egyptian system of writing rests. The latter assertions, however, upon the derivation of the hieratic and demotic writing from the hieroglyphic, may be dismissed as not bearing upon the present subject. It may easily be perceived that this can only be decided by comparing and by giving specimens of the characters used in the different methods of writing. This has been done in the work to which I have above referred; and so far as I can judge from that, the author's opinion is fairly established. This, however, was not an original idea of his own; but it had, as he admits, been previously acted upon by a native of Germany, the learned Aulic Counsellor Tychsen.[1] It certainly seems the natural way in which the common writing would proceed from hieroglyphics, as soon as the latter contained phonetic signs; some such operation would indeed seem demanded by necessity, as writing ceased to consist of mere sculpture and came into common use. The fact, however, becomes clearly established thereby, that hieroglyphics could not be merely a secret writing of the priesthood, at least not in its whole extent; for the way to its comprehension must have been open in the demotic characters. This, however, might be, and no doubt was, subject to many limitations. But let this be as it may, the hieroglyphic writing is the only one for our consideration in the present inquiry; the key to which is the key to Egyptian antiquities.

In order to form a proper judgment upon this attempt to decipher hieroglyphic writing, the following questions seem to require consideration: How far does this method of writing correspond with the advances which man in general is enabled to make in the art of writing? Secondly, how far does it agree with the information which has been given us by the ancients, upon the Egyptian methods of writing? Thirdly, how far do the results already obtained by deciphering agree with history? —that is, in a general way, with what in the nature of things might reasonably be expected, and with what is known of ancient Egypt from monuments and writers still extant?

It will at the first glance be seen that this method of writing

[1] *Précis*, p. 20. Namely, in the *Bibl. der altern Litteratur und Kunst*, St. vi., in the treatise upon the alphabetical writing of the ancient Egyptians.

possesses peculiarities which essentially distinguish it from the merely alphabetical; namely, the mixture of symbolical with alphabetical signs. The course therefore which the nation took in the improvement of their system of writing was consequently somewhat peculiar; it is not, however, in our power to trace this course by historic documents; for, as upon even the most ancient monuments which remain, this writing seems completely formed, we can only raise such conjectures respecting it as the nature of things suggests. One of the first of these is, that the formation of this writing must certainly have taken place *gradually*. Its natural course could be no other: its first step was the mere representation of objects; and this explains how physical objects came to be adopted as signs in this writing. It must soon have been perceived that every object could not be represented by its proper resemblance, and this naturally led to the second mode of writing; people began to employ these signs from certain similarities, real or merely fanciful, in an allegorical sense; and in this way symbolical writing had its origin. But the most important step still remains, the representation of individual sounds by pictures,— that is, the adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics. The way in which this was attained, is a problem which can only be solved by conjectures. These phonetic signs, though, as being representations of natural objects, they belong to the same class with those which represent ideas, are yet, in their nature, inasmuch as they are signs of sounds, essentially different, and could not proceed from them. Zoëga, an early, profound, and skilful inquirer into the antiquities of Egypt, and who thought to find there the origin of letters, believed, indeed, he had discovered such a change to have taken place in a species of hieroglyphics, to which he at this time gave the name of phonetic; these were such as were not taken for the *likeness* of the object, but the *sound* of the word;[1] as, for example, if we should signify our word *hearty* by a *heart* and an *eye*. It must however be seen in a moment that these phonetic hieroglyphics are entirely different from those now under consideration, as they denote the sound of the whole word, and not the component sounds, as letters do. It therefore still remained unsettled how this step was got over. The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the want, which must naturally have been felt, of some means of expressing proper names, when

[1] Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 454.

these did not happen to have some signification, and which could in no other way be supplied, must have led to it. And if we take into consideration that the hieroglyphics were principally used for monumental inscriptions, in which the names of kings formed an essential part, it will add great weight to this conjecture. This want, especially if it led to phonetic signs in Zoëga's sense, might very well go on till the sound of the whole should be dissolved into its component sounds, and these with the same or like signs be denoted, as those which had already been in use in the picture-writing. This is all that can now be said upon the matter. The particular pains taken to point out the royal names, by enclosing them in a *cartouche*, or border, goes a great way towards proving, that the signs so enclosed were not symbolic, but rather of the phonetic kind, and to be read as letters.

The adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics, or making them represent sounds, would certainly overcome, in a great degree, the inconveniences which must render a writing composed of merely pictures or symbolic signs almost useless. For though by these a series of separate ideas might be represented, yet it is difficult to conceive how the connexion of these ideas, such as the modification of nouns and verbs by declension and conjugation, could be expressed. It seems impossible to write *connectedly* with such signs. And it therefore seems a very natural conjecture, that hieroglyphic writing was never much more than a formal writing for public monuments, on which, besides names and titles, short historical or religious sentences might be expressed.[1] The adoption of hieroglyphics of sound clearly indicates how, by them, the lesser parts of speech might be represented; and eventually even the variations of nouns. In fact, Champollion shows us, that the gender sometimes is denoted by means of articles,[2] and the case by means of *suffixes*. But how the verb, through all its moods, tenses, and numbers, is to be represented, it is indeed almost impossible to imagine, even if we were able to translate the greater number of the signs; and even up to the present time M. Champollion has only succeeded in discovering a representation of the three principal tenses, and the third person. The proposition therefore still may hold good, even after the adoption of hieroglyphics of sound, that this writing was mostly

[1] *Ideen*, ii. p. 476, former edition.
[2] [First discovered by Dr. Young: see *Edin. Rev.* No. lxxxix. p. 123.]

destined for set forms. All that is yet deciphered is strictly limited to such; and it must be still further explained, before we can judge of how much or how little was or could be written in it.

It seems therefore to lie in the nature of the Egyptian system of writing, that it must always have remained very imperfect. It never ripened to a complete alphabetical system. Human genius evidently made great efforts to reach so far; it attained not, however, its object, but seemed to have stopped half way. Why such was the case we can only conjecture; but the reason generally given is the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the priest caste, and the immutability of any system they had once adopted. As the matter now stands, two great obstacles come in the way, and render the reading very difficult.

The first is, that the same images were sometimes used as pictorial, sometimes as alphabetical signs, without there being any certain means of determining to which they belong: this, to be sure, in the deciphering of names, has hitherto occasioned but little embarrassment, as they are composed almost entirely, or altogether, of phonetic hieroglyphics. But whether, hereafter, in reading the larger hieroglyphic texts, greater difficulties will not occur, time and experience alone can show.

But another and a still greater impediment seems to lie in the manner of representing these phonetic hieroglyphics. This consists, as above, (A. 4,) in taking always for the sign of the sound which it is wished to represent, the image of some word, which in the common language of the people begins with the same sound. Thus, for example, if we wished in the English language to write London, we might take the picture of a lion to represent the sound of *l*, an oak for *o*, a net for *n*, a dog for *d*, and a nail for *n*, the initial sounds of which would spell the name of the British capital. The Egyptians, however, did not confine themselves to one sign for each sound, but made use of many; all that was necessary was, that the sign should be the image of some object, whose name, in the language spoken, should begin with the sound wished to be expressed; as for example the sound of *b* might be represented by a bird, a book, etc., *m* by a mouth, a man, etc., *p* by a pen, a pail, etc. The number of phonetic hieroglyphics therefore must have been very considerable; and certainly, according to my view, were increased without sufficient reason. This could not but embarrass the reader, and especially if we con-

sider that the signification or value of an image might easily become uncertain, when several words, not beginning with the same sound, might be applied to the same object; thus, for example, in our language, the image of a horse might be taken for an *h* or an *s*, just as one might happen to think of steed or horse. As the Egyptians spoke the language, they certainly would much more readily master this difficulty than the moderns, who have but a very imperfect knowledge of it; to read it, nevertheless, must still have been embarrassing even to them. One thing, however, may easily be supposed, and, indeed, seems highly probable, I mean, that the number of pictures thus made use of as letters were gradually diminished by custom, and that they could not be arbitrarily increased. The amount of these phonetic hieroglyphics, according to M. Champollion's discoveries, thus far, does not much exceed a hundred. Where everything was so firmly and unchangeably settled as among the Egyptians, the art of writing could scarcely form an exception.

The suppression of the vowels, whenever they were not the initial sound of the words from which the image was taken, cannot be surprising; it is the case in other Oriental languages, although, from custom, it may render the reading more difficult to us. It arises from the unsettled state of the sounds of the vowel-signs in use, the clearer and deeper of which are not so distinctly marked as in the European languages.

But admitting, after all that has been said, that writing was very imperfect, yet that will not warrant us to consider it as useless; and we shall be still less justified in rejecting the whole system, because we meet with a few difficulties, or even apparent contradictions. We do not yet know the whole alphabet of the nation. We shall perhaps find by and by that many signs, which M. Champollion in his alphabet has given to the same sound, may be found to represent different ones. What, indeed, do we know of their gutturals, their breathings, and their dentals? From our knowledge of the Coptic, it seems highly probable that the Egyptians had many sounds in their language which we have not in ours. Was it not found necessary, on the first application of the Greek alphabet to the Coptic, to add to it eight new characters? We scarcely know our letters, and can we expect already to read? It would be most unreasonable to demand so much, even from the discoverer himself. Here is a writing hitherto unknown (and such

a writing!); a language with which we are but very imperfectly acquainted. Of the orthography of the Egyptians we know still less; and in which many mistakes must have been made, notwithstanding the greatest care in the copyists;—how then can we hope not to meet here and there with a contradiction; how can it be expected that every letter should agree? This indeed would be the very thing to excite suspicion.

But another consequence incontestably results from this; and that is, that the Egyptians themselves were the inventors of this art, which in their *mythus* of Thot, or Hermes, they ascribe to him. A system of writing connected, in this peculiar manner, with the proper language of a nation could only be invented by the people who spoke it. This leads immediately to a second remark: this system of writing could not reach farther than the language was spoken; it neither was nor could be adopted by any foreign nation.

The second question to be examined, and a favourable answer to which is necessary to establish the theory of M. Champollion, is, does it, or not, agree with the information the ancients have left us on the Egyptian system of writing? Should it be confirmed by what they say, a great weight is at once thrown into the scale in its favour.

The Greek writers have said but little, that has descended to us, on the Egyptian method of writing, with which they certainly were but very imperfectly acquainted. The little that Herodotus, Plato, and a few others say upon it, gives us no information whatever.[1] Clemens Alexandrinus, a Christian Father, is the only writer, and he quite incidentally, who has explained himself somewhat more copiously. All who consider the matter, agree that his account is not only the most important, but that there is no other in which are precisely enumerated the different kinds of writing in use among the Egyptians. This, therefore, next deserves our attention. I shall only premise, that what this Father says, carries with it an additional authority from his having himself lived in Egypt, where it would be easy for him to obtain a clear knowledge of that which, to those at a distance, would still seem very obscure.

"Those who are educated among the Egyptians," says

[1] Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 426, has collected all these passages together. They all speak of only two kinds of writing, that of the priesthood, and that in common use. Only one besides Clement mentions three; Porphyr. *De Vita Pythag.* 11, 12, but without properly distinguishing them. See Zoëga, l. c.

he,[1] "learn first of all the method of Egyptian writing, called EPISTOLOGRAPHIC; secondly, the HIERATIC, which is employed by the sacred scribes; and finally, to complete all, the HIEROGLYPHIC, which is partly *kyriologic*,[2] by means of the first elements; partly *symbolic*. The symbolic expresses them either by imitation; represents them by tropes; or by certain enigmatic allegories. Thus, for example, if they wished to indicate the sun and moon, by the representing method, (by imitation,) they draw a circle for the former, and a *luniform* figure, or crescent, for the latter; but in the tropical method they represent objects by certain similarities, (or analogies,) which they alter, exchange, or completely transform. Thus, when they transmit the praises of their kings in their religious mythi, they describe them by means of anaglyphs (that is, by transpositions, or transformations of the hieroglyphs). Of the third sort, by enigmas, let this serve as an example: the oblique course of the other stars they represent by a serpent; but that of the sun by a beetle."

From this passage it is evident that St. Clement was acquainted with three different methods of writing, the *epistolographic*, or demotic, which was the one in general use for common affairs; the *hieratic*, employed by the sacred scribes, and which probably on that account came to be used in all their writings by the priests; and the *hieroglyphic*. I need not speak of the two first, as no doubt exists respecting them. But, with regard to hieroglyphics, he again subdivides them into the *kyriologic*, composed of first elements, and the *tropical;* which latter again is partly representative, partly symbolic, partly enigmatic. That the first was that which is usually termed hieroglyphic, or allegorical picture-writing, no one can well doubt, of which the enigmatic is only a higher description. The main question that remains for our consideration, is, what did Clement *understand by hieroglyphic writing by means of the first elements?*

The Greek expression is, *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων*, which is literally translated *per prima elementa*. The early commentators, who by hieroglyphics only thought of symbolic signs, found this passage embarrassing, as the second sort is expressly distinguished from the others by being symbolic. We may, for this reason, conclude with certainty, that the former, which

[1] Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, vol. iv. p. 555, *Sylb.* I only give a translation. The passage, with a commentary, will be found in Appendix I.

[2] [Or expressive of objects in a proper, not figurative or metaphorical manner.]

was composed of first elements, differed from this, or was not of a symbolical kind. Now the Greek word *στοιχεία*, as well as the Latin, does also signify *letters (elementa litterarum)*. Why should we not therefore at once conclude, that it should be so understood here, which would at once prove the existence of phonetic hieroglyphs, or hieroglyphic signs of sound?

The expression is thus understood by the learned Frenchman. But what does the adjective mean: by the *first* letters? Upon this point M. Champollion, wishing to have the opinion of a Greek scholar, applied to M. Letronne, who in a very learned manner explained it to mean the *earliest letters*, namely, the sixteen which Cadmus carried into Greece.[1] I cannot, however, see what end so far-fetched an explanation could answer; and much wonder, that two learned men should overlook what seems so obvious, and by which the method of explaining phonetic hieroglyphs is likewise so manifestly confirmed. Why should we not translate the expression *by the first letters:* BY THE INITIAL LETTERS?[2] Every one knows that the Greek word *πρῶτα* denotes as well the first in order of *place* as in order of *time;* just as it does in the inscription on the obelisk explained by Hermapion, where *πρῶτος στίχος* is translated the first row, or initial lines; and in a passage of Plutarch, easy to be turned to, *πρῶτον τῶν γραμμάτων*, the first letter. No grammatical difficulty, therefore, stands in the way; and the expression, otherwise so obscure, by this means becomes perfectly clear. According to this explanation, then, hieroglyphic writing consists of three sorts of characters: the first is composed of initial letters, that is, *phonetic hieroglyphs*, which are always taken from the initial sounds of the word, which the picture in the common language denotes; in scientific language, *kyriologic*. The second, the symbolic. This again represents either the object itself, by its picture, (*κατὰ μίμησιν*, *imitation* or *copy*,) or in a symbolic picture; it is therefore called the *tropical*, where a certain relation between the object and the picture is always found; or, finally, the *enigmatical*, where such a relation does not exist at all, or is no longer evident; and which, therefore, as it is the most difficult to comprehend, is very justly named.

[1] See his Letters at the end of the *Précis*, p. 405.

[2] I did not see till after I had written this, that it is shown in the reprint of the *Précis*, by the learned proofs brought forward, though only cursorily, that the same opinion has been there adopted. I thought it necessary to mention this, lest my explanation should be considered as taken from that.

Now if this interpretation of the first method of writing, *per prima elementa*, by INITIAL LETTERS, is just, then it follows that the manner of deciphering the phonetic hieroglyphs becomes confirmed by the testimony of a writer; and certainly of *the* writer who was the most intimately acquainted with it, and who has spoken the most accurately upon the subject.

I do not see what objection can be made to this interpretation of St. Clement, except, perhaps, that he has spoken somewhat too briefly and obscurely to warrant it. This we will willingly grant to be true in reference to us. But, first, he only touches upon this subject on its coming incidentally in his way; he by no means intended to give a commentary upon the Egyptian method of writing. Secondly, from the manner in which he speaks of it, we must conclude, that it was at that time a thing still well known in Alexandria, as the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was open, at least to every educated individual. And, lastly, the apparently obscure expressions, the kyriologic, the tropical, the enigmatical methods of writing, are not to be taken as terms invented by Clement himself; they are evidently the common scientific expressions, or technical terms, which were made use of in the Greek language, to denote these particular methods of writing; and which, in the eyes of the Father of the church, seemed to require no prolix commentary.

To these general proofs may be added one of a more direct nature, which, though it has escaped M. Champollion, appears to me to carry great weight, since it not only affords us the example of a particular phonetic hieroglyphic, but also evidently proves the accuracy of the interpretation itself, by the testimony of a writer of very great authority. Plutarch, in his Symposion, where speaking of the arrangement or succession of letters in the alphabet, makes Hermias say:[1] *Hermes is said in Egypt to have first invented letters. The Egyptians therefore consecrate to the ibis, as belonging to him, the first place in the alphabet.* That alphabetical letters are here spoken of, the context places beyond contradiction, as it speaks expressly of the arrangement and order of letters in the alphabet. Two propositions evidently follow from this; first, a hieroglyphic, the ibis, denotes a letter; secondly, this letter was the

[1] Ἑρμῆς λέγεται Θεῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γράμματα πρῶτος εὑρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων Αἰγύπτιοι πρῶτον Ἶβιν γράφουσιν, ὡς Ἑρμεῖ προσῆκουσαν. Hermes primus Deorum in Ægypto dicitur invenisse litteras. Itaque Ibin Ægyptii signum faciunt primæ litteræ, utpote Hermeti consecratam. *Op.* ii. p. 738.

first in the alphabet, consequently the A; for that is the object just before spoken of. Now, independent of this passage, Champollion, by *his* method, had arrived at the same result; that *l'épervier, l'ibis, et trois autres espèces d'oiseau s'emploient constamment pour A*, is what he states in his letter to M. Dacier; and he gives representations of them in a plate.[1] If, then, the existence of one phonetic hieroglyphic, with its signification, is proved by the testimony of Plutarch, can there be any doubt left respecting the existence of others,—respecting the existence of a hieroglyphic alphabet? If the Egyptians called one of their letters the first, does it not stand to reason that they must have had a second, a third, etc.

The third question now demands our attention: how much has yet been deciphered by this method, and how does what has been done agree with history? Before this question can be properly answered, it is necessary to make some inquiries respecting the language in which the Egyptian writings are composed. It is certainly conceivable, that when the signs representing sound are discovered, a writing, by the rules of artificial deciphering, may be *read*, without even a knowledge of the language; but it is impossible to conceive that it could without this be understood, where the writing is altogether, or even the greater part, composed of alphabetical letters.[2]

It is generally agreed, that the Egyptian inscriptions are composed in the language of the country—the ancient Egyptian. But what do we know of this language? Those who have most studied the subject are of opinion, that the key to it must be sought for in the Coptic. The next question that arises then, is, in what relation does this language (the Coptic) stand to the ancient Egyptian?[3] A question which has the greater claim to our attention, as it has lately been asserted, that the Coptic can give us no help in this matter.

The Coptic is no longer a living language, although the Copts still continue to form a distinct class of inhabitants in Egypt. Their former language (for they now speak Arabic

[1] *Lettre*, p. 38, plate iv.

[2] It is altogether different with Chinese writing, whose signs do not represent sounds but ideas, which every one, without even knowing the Chinese words, may read and understand in his language, as soon as he knows the signification of the signs.

[3] We already possess a full answer to this question in Etienne Quatremère, *Recherches critiques et historiques sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1808, in which the identity of the Coptic with the ancient Egyptian, in the sense explained in the text, is clearly proved. A still more important authority is given to it, in *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Recherches, etc., par* Silvestre de Sacy, 1808. The work of Quatremère carries the proofs principally through the various periods, by a number of testimonies from contemporary writers; it also gives a history of the study of the Coptic in Europe.

like the rest of the Egyptians) is only to be found in writings. We still know of three different dialects in which these are composed; the Saidic or Thebaic, which prevailed in Upper Egypt; the Bahiric or Memphitic, that of Middle Egypt; and the Bashmuric, upon which some uncertainty rests, whether it was spoken in Lower Egypt, or in the Oases, or in both.[1] All the Coptic literature with which we are yet acquainted, is entirely theological; it consists of translations of the Bible, homilies, lives of saints and martyrs, and the like;[2] nothing has yet been found in geography or history; one single medical tract is said to have been discovered.[3] The Coptic alphabet is borrowed from the Greek, with the addition, however, of eight signs, to represent sounds which could not be represented with the Greek letters.

We gather, therefore, from the Coptic literature itself, two distinct propositions; first, that it ceased during the time Christianity was professed in Egypt, consequently, before the Arabian conquest, and the introduction of Islamism;[4] and secondly, that the Coptic, up to that time, was certainly the language of the country, because these writings were composed for the people.

We have only therefore to ascertain, whether the language at that time spoken by the people was the ancient language of the country? But here we may ask, what else could it have been? It is true that the Greeks, and after them the Romans, conquered Egypt. But neither of these caused, or wished to cause, their language to be spoken beyond Alexandria, which, from the beginning, was a Greek city, any more than the English do theirs in Bengal. How, indeed, would this have been practicable, among a people remarkable for preserving their customs and habits, and whose language was already refined by a literature?[5] Neither would this have been possible

[1] See Quatremère, *Recherches*, etc. p. 147, etc.

[2] Quatremère, p. 115, etc., gives a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts so far as known. The great work of Zoëga had not at that time appeared; *Catalogus codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum, qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Romæ, 1810.

[3] H. Akerblatt notices such a one in the manuscripts of Borgia. Quatremère, p. 141; but it is not mentioned in Zoëga's Catalogue.

[4] Zoëga finds a Coptic manuscript of the year 802; and in the Vatican are some as late as the beginning of the tenth century. Zoëga's *Catalogue*, p. 171.

[5] That this did not happen under the Ptolemies or Romans, Quatremère has shown by a great number of proofs in section i. By the introduction of Christianity, the ancient religion, but not the ancient language, fell to the ground. The ancient writing, however, certainly fell into disuse with the religion, I do not say all at once, but gradually, as it was no longer of any service. The Greek took its place, according to Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 437, in the third century. This also, very naturally, became gradually adopted, hence the impossibility of an accurate settlement of the time. Quatremère, p. 18.

to the Arabs, had they not fixed themselves permanently in the country.[1] It cannot certainly be denied but that the dominion of the Greeks and Romans had some influence upon this language. Many Greek words must have been adopted to express ideas for which this language had no terms. The introduction of Christianity and Greek characters must also have wrought a considerable change. But still all this did not form a new language. All learned in the Coptic agree, that it continued to form a distinct language. The proportion of Greek words was very small; and of the Latin, which was rendered unnecessary by the spread of the Greek, no words at all were adopted. The Coptic, therefore, probably bears about the same relation to the ancient Egyptian as the modern Greek does to the ancient. And will any one hesitate to admit, that we might understand ancient Greek, even if we had no other way of obtaining a knowledge of it but through the modern? Surely, then, as this is a case in point, we may consider the Coptic as the key to the ancient Egyptian. Its very name, indeed, tends to confirm it, for *Coptic* is, by almost general agreement, regarded as merely a corruption of *Egyptic* (Αἰγυπτιος)![2]

Let us now return to the main question: how far do the results of what has been done agree with history; and how much has been thus far deciphered? Taking the first of these questions in its widest sense, it is equivalent to asking whether the interpretations already made, give us such information as might reasonably be expected from the nature of things in general?

What has been hitherto deciphered consists almost entirely of inscriptions upon public monuments, temples, palaces, and obelisks; together with a few upon mummies. We know, for a certainty, that these monuments were built by kings, in order to hand down their memory to posterity, and to obtain from the priest caste such advantages and concessions as their situation might make desirable.[3] We should therefore naturally be prepared to find the names of kings upon these monuments; and, appended to their names, the honorary titles conferred upon them. In the theocracy these honorary distinctions

[1] Quatremère, p. 29, etc., shows us how the Coptic gradually ceased to be a living language under the Arabian dominion. Till the year 718 (the 96th of the Hegira) the register of the divan at Cairo was made in Coptic, p. 32. From that time, at the command of the then governor, it has been entered in Arabic.

[2] The proofs are collected by Quatremère, p. 31.

[3] See p. 190.

could scarcely be other than such as had a reference to religion; they would express some relation to the deities to whose service they had devoted themselves, to which occasionally might be added some family connexion or occurrence, names of ancestry, that of the father or wives, etc. This is what might reasonably have been expected; and this is what has been found. The discoveries hitherto made go little beyond this. The presumption, that the names of rulers would be found upon these monuments, is not to be regarded as a fancifully conceived hypothesis. It is a supposition arising from the nature of things; and when such a one is confirmed, it can only excite a favourable opinion.

It was a great advantage that the names of kings were distinguished by being enclosed in an oval border (*cartouche*). For when this became manifest by the Rosetta stone, with the Greek translation, a great advance was made towards the deciphering of public monuments; especially, as it was soon established, that this border was conferred exclusively upon kings, and not granted to any other persons, or even to deities.[1] It gave rise to the hope, that if no further light should be thrown upon the inscription, the names of the kings alone would at least clear up many parts of the early history of Egypt.

That these oval enclosures, therefore, contain nothing but the names and titles of kings, cannot be denied, even by those who feel inclined to question the other discoveries of M. Champollion. Let us next examine how the names and titles deciphered agree with history.

With regard to the titles, they refer throughout to the worship of, and relation to, the native deities. "The well-beloved of Ammon, of Helios (Rhe); The approved of Ammon; The approved of Helios; The Ammon loving," etc.

We need not attempt to prove that these titles are just such as might be expected from our knowledge of the national religion, and the close intimacy of the kings with it. But a more direct proof still remains. The translation of the inscription on the obelisk of Hermapion, which has been preserved by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, contains a title of the king to whom it was erected, partly in the same words, and, even where it differs, it is quite in the style.[2]

And, finally, come the names of the Pharaohs themselves.

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 131, etc.

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. xvii. 4.

The greatest part and most important of these are preserved to us in the fragments of Manetho on the dynasties. What has been deciphered agrees as well with these as can be expected from the omission of the vowels according to the Egyptian orthography, and the Greek terminations.

To this may still be added another confirmation. The deciphered names upon public monuments mostly belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Manetho; none yet reach beyond the eighteenth, except one inscription, discovered at Abydos, which is said to contain some from the sixteenth.[1] With this eighteenth dynasty, however, commences the flourishing period of Egypt. It is the epoch at which Egypt, after the expulsion of the nomad conquerors, the Hyksos, became united into one empire; and which I have named after the most celebrated of its rulers, Sesostris.[2] We read the names of more than one Ramasses, (which Sesostris also bore,) though distinguished by different surnames; of more than one Amenophis, of a Thutmosis, a Sesonchis, and some others. None have yet appeared which are not confirmed by Manetho.

From what has been now stated, I think we are fairly justified in holding the method adopted by M. Champollion for the right one, till a better shall be discovered. It does not rest upon merely fanciful, arbitrary data, but upon reasonable and well-founded propositions. I say, however, his *method;* and by no means intend to assert that every one of his interpretations is established beyond a doubt. That indeed would be next to a miracle. We stand but on the threshold. Beyond names and titles (indubitably the easiest, because in the former there is no difficulty, and in the latter only little, occasioned by a few Coptic words which sometimes occur) scarcely anything has been yet attempted. What may be hereafter done by this method, in the interpretation of longer Egyptian compositions, it is impossible to determine; we shall be better able to judge when we have seen what changes the ancient Egyptian has undergone in the Coptic. But even if the course which has been pursued should lead to no such result, that would prove nothing against the validity of the given interpretations. The names and the titles, with the exception of a few words, are entirely independent of the language. Justice warns us not to require more than the means made use of will

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 246. We are indebted to Caillaud for the transcript of this important relief.

[2] *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 50, London, 1846.

fairly entitle us to expect. I have experienced, in giving an account of the deciphering of the arrow-headed writings, what unreasonable expectations are formed by some would-be critics,[1]—nothing less than what would be demanded in the interpretation of a Greek or Roman inscription.

After all this there yet remains the examination of the separate phonetic hieroglyphics, in order to see how far these are the initial sounds of the Egyptian words, whose sounds they are said to represent. This however presupposes a familiar acquaintance with the Coptic language, with which I cannot flatter myself, and must therefore leave it to those who have made that language their study. That M. Champollion applied himself with great ardour, even from his earliest years, to the study of that language, is proved by his early work on the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs, which has been already noticed.

The discoveries of a celebrated German traveller afford us an opportunity of comparing these hieroglyphics of Egypt with those of a very distant country, and separated from it by an immense ocean: I mean the Mexican.[2] Such a comparison cannot fail to be instructive, even though it should furnish nothing towards the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. It is the common failing of the lovers of antiquity, where they perceive certain similarities, to go back so far upon derivation and common origin, as seldom fails to lead to rash, and often specious hypotheses. A close inspection, however, of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics will prove that their origin was not the same, and that there is no similarity in their progress and use. The origin of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics was evidently in both cases local. There is nothing in the signs of the Mexican which points towards a foreign origin; the far greater part of the Egyptian are plainly stamped of native growth; and though this cannot possibly be the case with all, as among the members of the human body, yet I do not know of one that might not be of Egyptian origin. Besides, the pictures of the Mexican hieroglyphics are, for the most part, whole human figures; figures of beasts; or the heads of beasts, so portrayed, that the species is immediately recognised;—while the Egyptian hieroglyphics consist, with few exceptions, of merely separate parts of objects, limbs, implements, etc. Again: the hieroglyphics of Mexico evidently sprung from painting; they still closely resemble them; those of Egypt from sculpture. The Mexican hieroglyphics, with which I am acquainted, in the manuscripts at Rome, Vienna, Velletri, and those which Mr. Humboldt has deposited at Berlin, consist entirely of paintings; only one in relief was found and copied by the latter, and it is still doubtful how far that can be called a hieroglyphic.[1] The great influence which this difference had upon the whole character of the hieroglyphics need scarcely be pointed out. The greater part of the Mexican hieroglyphics were such as could not be represented at all, or only very imperfectly, in sculpture. Fourthly: the number and variety of Mexican hieroglyphics, provided we may venture to judge from the few monuments yet known, are much more limited than those of the Egyptians. When the signs are formed of whole figures, or outlines of whole figures, this must almost necessarily be the case. Hence therefore we deduce, that, upon the whole, the Mexican hieroglyphics had not attained near that perfection which the Egyptian had. It remained generally much nearer the mere image, their representations being usually half such images; while the Egyptian are evidently much farther removed from mere images, and become allegorical. Finally: let us add to all this the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics, altogether unknown to the Mexicans, and all appearance of similarity in the hieroglyphics of the two nations will almost entirely vanish.

A very important, and, as regards the hieroglyphics, very beneficial restriction, was imposed upon those of Egypt, from the use to which they were applied. All that remains to us of Egyptian antiquities, very plainly tells us that they were especially made use of for public monuments, buildings, and statues. I have already remarked, that upon all these monuments hieroglyphics *alone* are to be found, there is no where the least trace of alphabetical characters.[2] Notwithstanding,

[1] Although criticism upon single deciphered names may be ill-placed here, yet I cannot forbear to notice a single deciphering, which is equally interesting as regards the way of explaining both the arrow-headed and phonetic hieroglyphics. Upon an Egyptian urn at Paris made known by Caylus, is an inscription in the arrow-headed writing, and in hieroglyphics. In the first, M. Grotefend found, according to his method of deciphering, the names of Xerxes (*Ideen*, vol. ii. s. 350). When Champollion applied his method of deciphering to the second, he found exactly the same name. *Précis*, p. 180. How can such a coincidence be accounted for except by the accuracy of the methods? Any other way it is next to a miracle.

[2] De Humboldt, *Vues de Cordillères et Monumens de l'Amerique.* Livraison i. ii. iii. iv. and particularly v. and vi.

[1] Part i. plate 21. *Bas-relief Azteque de la Pierre des Sacrifices.*

[2] A single exception is found in a short inscription of one line at Philæ, plate xv. fig. 15, of the great work on Egypt. It is still, however, very doubtful whether these are letters;

therefore, that hieroglyphics may likewise be met with upon mummies, and that it should be granted that they are contained in some of the earliest sacred books of the priests, still it does not remain the less certain, that the principal use for which they were designed was inscriptions on public monuments; and accordingly we find, in the flourishing period of Egypt, (of which alone we can here speak,) but very few made use of in the writings upon papyrus, while they abound in sculpture. There is no doubt but it was this circumstance which preserved to them their proper form, and prevented their transformation into a mere arbitrary figure. This is always the case in writing, where contraction, combinations, and so forth, unavoidably lead to it. Sculpture, upon durable bodies, demands a more careful formation of the separate members,—the figures must be fully expressed; moreover, their destination, as public monuments, would naturally awaken the emulation and industry of the artisan. The latest researches give proofs of this. The hieroglyphics are found much more carefully and highly finished upon public monuments, where they are *sculptured*, than upon mummies, etc., where they are merely painted; Champollion, therefore, has divided them into two classes, according to the character of the workmanship, one of which he names the *pure*, and the other the linear.[1] The hieroglyphics, also, were the better preserved on another account; as they were sculptured on the ancient monuments of the nation, and belonged to its flourishing period, the epoch of its splendour and glory, they became sacred in the eyes of posterity, and continued unchanged and uninjured.

But this very fact leads again to another very important conclusion: the archæology of this nation was by themselves immediately linked to their public monuments. It was by these that was preserved the remembrance of former times,—the remembrance of their kings, their heroes, and legislators. This is the description which antiquity itself gives of the sources whence the priests derived their information, since they traced back, on those sacred pillars covered with hieroglyphics, all that Thot or Hermes, the symbol of human intelligence, as inventor of hieroglyphic writing, and, therefore,

and besides, the latest inquirers place the greater part of the monuments at Philæ in the Greek and Roman period.

[1] *Précis*, p. 357. *Hieroglyphes purs*, and *Hieroglyphes lineaires*.

likewise the protecting deity of the priest caste, had established. But these pillars, obelisks, temples, etc., were covered with hieroglyphics, and only with hieroglyphics. The more ancient history of Egypt, therefore, as related by the priests themselves, must necessarily have been a hieroglyphic traditional history, connected with these monuments, and extracted from them. The Egyptian history of Herodotus, as found in the latter half of the second book of his work, gives the most striking and irrefutable proofs of this fact. The father of history there relates to us those accounts which he collected from the mouths of the Egyptian priests; we may, therefore, flatter ourselves that he has preserved to us what they in *his* time knew,—before yet their country had passed under the dominion of the Greeks, not much above half a century after the fall of the throne of the Pharaohs,—of their ancient history, and the deeds of their kings, whose names he has rescued from oblivion. A single glance at this history, however, is sufficient to prove that it is a hieroglyphic history exclusively collected from public monuments. The nature of the matters related sufficiently evinces the truth of the latter, as they can only be understood allegorically, if they are to have a rational meaning at all.[1] The first is sufficiently obvious from the fact, that the monuments were instituted by *every* king, without exception, whose name they bear; but in order that no doubt should rest upon the subject, the writer adds, that the priests, besides, enumerated to him, from a papyrus roll, the mere names of three hundred and thirty kings, of whom they could relate nothing further, because they had left no monuments behind.[2]

[1] The passage quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus accords exactly with this. As a second sort of symbolical writing he mentions the tropic, which consisted of pictures that no longer were taken in a proper sense, and remarks, that therein were concealed, enveloped in sacred mythi, the narratives of the exploits of their kings. (He calls them *anaglyphs;* which expression is improperly referred by Champollion to the third kind, the enigmatic; *Précis*, p. 383.) These representations, therefore, were the principal sources of the sacred traditions (λόγοι ἱεροί) of the Egyptian priests, which are nothing more than picture relations of what we read in Herodotus, Plutarch, and other writers, partly of the gods, as of Osiris, Isis, Ammon, and numerous others, partly of their kings, as in Herodotus, of Pheron, Rampsis, and so on. These relations, however, contain anything rather than what we should call interpretations of these representations; no unfolding of the true sense which lies locked up within them; these remained the secret of the priest caste, so long as they chose, and the key thereto was not lost by them. And thus becomes explained why they could feel no great hesitation in imparting them to strangers, who succeeded in gaining their confidence. Many of them, indeed, became popular reports; namely, those which bore relation to the public feasts.

[2] Herod. ii. 101. Judging merely from this writer, should we not be fully justified in assuming, that *historical* written documents, besides the catalogues of kings, existed among the priests; and yet Herodotus inquired for them among the best informed at Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. It may however be, that the priests did not *wish* to give him any further information; and, therefore, I will not altogether deny the existence of such writings; others quote them, and Manetho drew from them, whose sources (as I and Zoëga

But if the knowledge which the priests had of the principal events depended on public monuments, on temples, obelisks, and colossi, what a striking effect this must have had upon what we call the history of Egypt! How defective it must be; of what mere fragments composed! Was it possible to prevent what was known from being connected with certain names? and then how would the deeds of certain kings, as is evidently the case with regard to Sesostris, become exaggerated? Will it still be attempted to prove that the series of those kings was uninterrupted, even allowing the priests to have represented it as such?

The names of numerous Ptolemies and Cæsars, which have been found upon the Egyptian monuments in hieroglyphic inscriptions, confirmed what was previously known from the Greek inscriptions; namely, that many of those monuments must date their origin in a later period than that of the Pharaohs. It becomes so much the more necessary to explain this, because there seems a desire—if only for the sake of novelty—to bring down the age of most, if not all of those monuments to a later period.

It evidently was a great advantage for the study of Egyptian antiquities, that those, who took an interest therein, began by carefully transcribing and collecting the *Greek* inscriptions which were there found on many of the monuments, and which had previously been almost entirely neglected. We are indebted to them for the important work of M. Letronne, upon the state of Egypt under the dominion of the Greeks and Romans, drawn from inscriptions.[1] There are two ways of determining the age of monuments; one from the style of the architecture, the other from the inscriptions. Only proficients in the art can decide it by the first; and it is no where more difficult than in the monuments of Egypt, because their style, altogether, has been subject to the least change. Besides, the age in this way can only be fixed to certain periods, not to years; nor can it be done from drawings or engravings, but the object must be actually seen, and carefully examined, before any judgment of its age can be given. By this means two celebrated architects, Gau and Hujot, came to the conclusion, that Egyptian architecture should be divided into three different periods: the earliest, to which belong many of the monuments of Nubia and Upper Egypt; the period of its complete splendour in the flourishing ages of the Pharaohs; and a third which reached down to the times of the Ptolemies and Romans.[1] This view, with regard to the last period, is completely confirmed by the Greek inscriptions, while it completely overthrows the opinion, which previously prevailed, that all the monuments built in the Egyptian style date earlier than the period of the Ptolemies, and belong to that of the Pharaohs. And if we fairly consider what we know of the state of Egypt under the Ptolemies and under the Romans, we shall hardly be able to conceive that the whole ancient temple architecture of Egypt could have ceased all at once. The religion continued; the priest caste continued; (policy, indeed, required that these should be favoured;) means could not be wanting in a country so rich, and which at that time was the emporium of the world; can we then believe that the two ancient arts of architecture and sculpture could suddenly fall into disuse?

Before, however, we attempt to decide, from the Greek inscriptions, (for, as their evidence is the safest, we shall only judge from them,) how far the monuments of Egypt belong to the Greek and Roman periods, we must take a glance at the plan and architecture of those stupendous monuments, which ancient Egypt, principally in temples, has left behind. Not merely the extent, but the plan also, of these gigantic buildings clearly shows, that every part of them was not raised at the same time; but that a long period, perhaps a succession of centuries, elapsed before they stood in their full magnitude and perfection. The proper interior sanctuary is but of small extent, but gradually widens, as the new buildings, the colonnades, saloons of pillars, the pylones, are added to it. In front of these sit the colossi; again, before these are placed the obelisks. An avenue of sphinxes, rams, or other animals, of a gigantic size, lead to these; and again, in front of all this stands a magnificent entrance; and, perhaps, even before this another alley of colossal beasts; and these leading to various sides. It might therefore be said, that such a vast structure could scarcely ever be completed; art could always find place for

(p. 433) believe, and as the latest inquiries confirm) could not be so inconsiderate and destitute of criticism as some of our later writers are disposed to make them. It is, however, highly probable that these writings, if such really existed, were nothing more than a commentary upon the hieroglyphic documents; these, therefore, still remained the primary and principal sources. It is, however, worthy of remark, that Clemens, *Stroth.* l. c., quotes no proper historical work in his classed catalogue of the sacred books.

[1] *Recherches pour servir à l' Histoire de l' Egypte pendant la Domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines, relatives à la Chronologie, à l' état des Arts, aux usages Civils, et aux Religions de ce pays; par* M. Letronne. Paris, 1823.

[1] Letronne, *Recherches*, etc. Introduction, p. xxv.

improvements or additions, without even offence to good taste. It was by these additional buildings, that monarchs endeavoured to preserve the glory of their deeds, to obtain a higher consecration, and to give splendour to their reign. It quite belonged, therefore, to the character of these buildings, and the purposes for which they were appointed, that continual additions should be made to them. Should there still be a doubt on this subject, so clearly proved by appearances, we have an historical proof of it in Herodotus, who tells us of the additions made to the principal temple at Memphis, and to that of Phtha, by a succession of Pharaohs.

The repeated researches that have been made leave scarcely a single Greek inscription on the Egyptian and Nubian temples, with which we are unacquainted; but their number is certainly not very considerable. Those that are known seldom extend to the whole building, but only to the particular parts, or additions, upon which they stand. These additions were mostly erected by the inhabitants of the nome, or by the troops, as votive offerings for the welfare of the king, or Cæsar;[1] and but few by these rulers themselves. To these belong the great eastern entrance of the small temple at Tentyris, as well as the vestibule (*pronaos*) of the great temple at the same place, as the inscriptions expressly state; and besides these, the propylon, or entrance, of the temple of Pan at Chemmis; and also that of the temple of Ammon on the great oasis. All these belong to the Roman period. From that of the Ptolemies we have the propylon of the temple of Isis and Serapis at Parembole, the station beyond Syene; the pronaos at Antaopolis, which was afterwards restored by the Antonines; the propylon at Little Apollinopolis; part of the great temple at Ombos: as a set-off to which the small temple at Philæ, dedicated to the Aphrodite, seems to have been entirely built by the second Ptolemy Evergetes. These are the monuments which, according to the Greek inscriptions, certainly belong to the later periods. By means of deciphering *hieroglyphic* legends, M. Champollion still adds to these the temple of Bahbeit; the great temple and the Typhonium of Tentyris; the portico of Esneh, and the temple to the north of this city; the temple of Ombos; the temple and the Typhonium of Edfu; and the great temple of Philæ.[2] But whether, allowing the deciphering to be accurate, the whole of these monuments, or only parts of them, belong to the later period, can only be settled by a further examination, which cannot be well made except upon the spot.

[1] Namely all those beginning with ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βασιλέως or Καίσαρος; as is shown by Letronne.

[2] *Précis*, p. 387.

Be this as it may, it is very evident that the discovery of later buildings under the Ptolemies and Romans, in no way opposes the representations, which have thus far been made, of the state of the nation under the Pharaohs. The vast monuments of higher antiquity, the ruins of the kingly Thebes, of the royal sepulchre, the temples and obelisks of Elephantis, Heliopolis, and others, are become more striking and certain evidences than ever of that wonderful period, now that we read upon their walls the names of the Pharaohs who erected them.[1]

From what has been said, a tolerably correct notion may be formed, of the point to which our knowledge of ancient Egypt has already attained, and of that to which it may yet be carried. That wonderful nation seems still to speak to us through its monuments; in a language, it is true, in which we have made but little progress, and which, indeed, we can scarcely ever hope completely to master. How little, indeed, do we know of those pictural representations upon its monuments! Our information has, indeed, been somewhat extended within a very late period, but only just sufficiently to open our eyes to the nothingness of what we know, compared with what still remains hidden. A long tranquil period would be necessary, and a host of artists to copy the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which cover the walls of the temples, and the still more instructive paintings which decorate the partitions of countless sepulchres. All that we yet possess of them taken together, are but paltry patterns![2]

It is not the object of the present work to explain Egyptian antiquities in their whole extent. I shall be satisfied if I can place before my reader a general view of the country and people, of their political institutions, and of their literature and science, so far as connected with them, especially in the kingly Thebes; and, finally, of the share which they took in the commerce of the world.

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, l. c.

[2] [Considerable information, however, of a most interesting nature, is likely to be obtained by the exertions of Champollion. He has caused several hundred drawings to be taken of the most curious paintings in the sepulchral excavations of Beni Hassan. Most of these relate to the domestic manners of the ancient Egyptians. They are arranged by Champollion under various heads, as agriculture, the farm-yard, arts and handicrafts, singing, music, dancing, games and diversions, navigation, zoology; besides the higher classes of religious and historical subjects. See Champollion's *Letters from Egypt*, particularly the fifth and sixth. *Trans.*]

CHAP. I. *General View of the Country and its Inhabitants.*

EGYPT IS A LAND OF MARVELS, AND EXCELS ALL OTHERS IN MIGHTY WORKS. HEROD. II. 35.

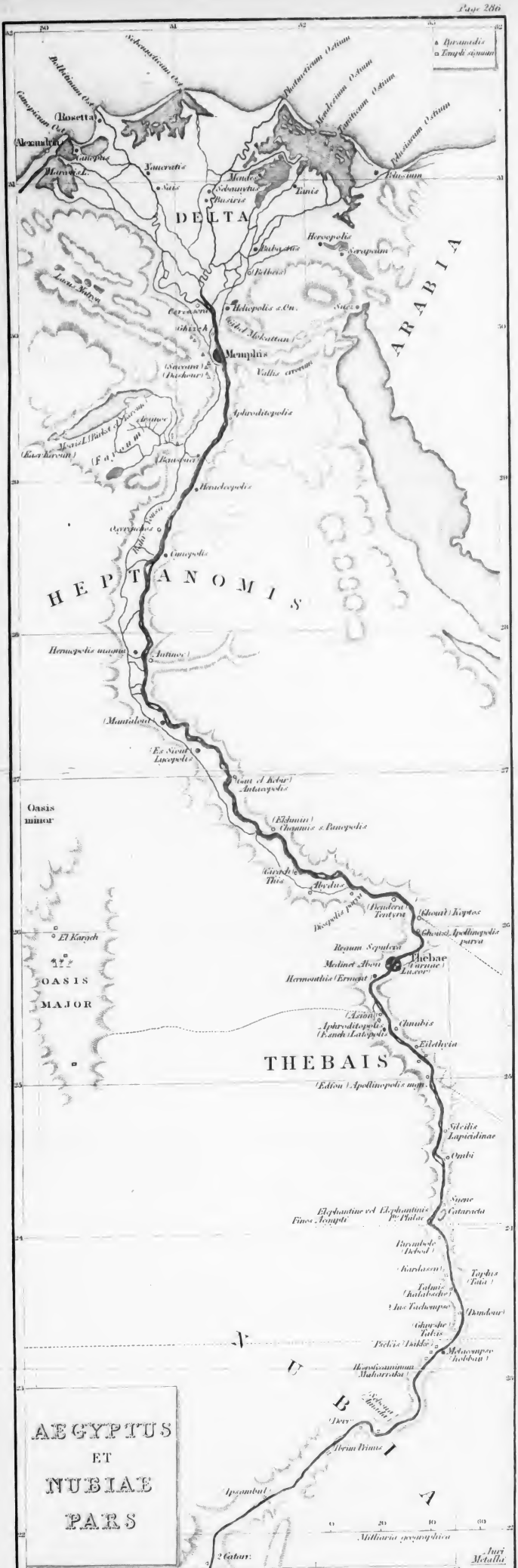
IF it be still possible to throw any general light upon the obscurity of Egyptian antiquities; the torch must be first kindled by a knowledge of the country. Had we been born and passed our lives on the banks of the Nile, many things would be evident and easy to comprehend, which are now doubtful and unsolved problems. There is no other people of the ancient world whose form and fashion bears so strongly the impress of locality as the Egyptian; or who is bound to his country by so many ties, or who so identified it with himself. As this country, then, differed in so many remarkable peculiarities from all others that we know of, ought we to be astonished if the nation differed also?

Egypt, taken in its widest extent, must be ranked among the countries of moderate size. If we compute its superficial contents at about 6000 square miles, it will not much exceed England.[1] There is scarcely, however, any other country so limited, in which appears so much internal variety, or so wide and marked a difference in its separate parts. The highest fertility immediately borders on the completely sterile and solitary desert; rich plains stretch between the barren hills of sand, and barren and rugged mountains. The image of life and of death continually float before the eyes of the Egyptian in his country; what we have to say will show how much they influence the whole range of his ideas.

From the earliest antiquity Egypt has been called a gift of the Nile; and whatever hypothesis may be adopted, with regard to the formation and growth of its territory, it justly deserves to be considered as such, in reference to the fertility of its soil. Although Lower Egypt is not altogether without rain, yet this so rarely happens, as we retire from the sea, that, under the constantly serene sky of Thebes, the whole period of man's life may pass away without the earth being refreshed from above with more than a moist dew. The irrigation and fertility of the soil, therefore, entirely depend upon the river, without which Egypt would have shared the fate of the rest of

[1] [*Encyclop. Metropol.* An exact computation is impossible, from the unsettled state of the western boundaries. *Trans.*]

REDUCTION RATIO CHANGE(S) WITHIN TITLE



Heeren Reflections on Africa

J. Fither, sculp.

Africa, and have been partly a sandy waste, and partly a stony desert.

The Nile flows in one undivided stream through Egypt, in almost an exact northern direction, till it reaches the city of Cercasorus, about sixty geographical miles from its mouth. It here divides itself into several arms, which enclose the Delta, or fruitful part of Lower Egypt. It is generally known that this river bears along a fat slime, which it deposits on the lands it waters with its flood, and thereby gives them a greater fertility than could be procured by the richest manure.

These yearly inundations of the Nile have not only improved the cultivation of the soil, but have had such a vast influence upon the life and manners, knowledge and religion, and indeed upon the general organization of the nation, that it will be of service, on more than one occasion, for the further progress of these researches, to stop here and take a glance at this interesting object.

The cause of this phenomenon was an object of much research even in ancient times. Herodotus formed many conjectures respecting it, and decided for the most reasonable of them;[1] Agatharchides, however, seems to have been the first to discover the truth.[2] The constant rains, to which the districts of Upper Ethiopia are subject during the wet season from May to September, swell all the rivers thereabouts, the whole of which pour their floods into the Nile, which consequently becomes the reservoir of this prodigious body of water. In the middle of June, about the time of the summer solstice, these first begin to enter Egypt, and the river there begins to rise. It continues to increase till the end of July, though still confined within its channel; but in the first half of August it overflows its banks, inundates the neighbouring territory,[3] and its waters continue, without intermission, to extend themselves till September. About this time, the torrents of rain in Ethiopia having ceased, the Nile begins gradually to fall, but so slowly, that the greater part of the territory of Egypt remains covered with its waters till the commencement of October; and it is not till towards the end of this month that they completely return into their bed.

The period of inundation, therefore, continues from the midst

[1] Herod. ii. 20, etc. [2] Agatharchid. ap. Diod. i. p. 50.
[3] It is usual to cut through the dams and open the canals on the 9th of August.

of August to the end of October; and during this time all the fertile valley of Egypt has the appearance of one vast lake, in which its cities jut up like so many islands. Ancient writers, indeed, are wont to compare it to the Ægæan Sea; where the Cyclades and Sporades offer a similar appearance on a larger scale.

The soil of Egypt, therefore, is fruitful as far as this inundation reaches, or can be made to reach by artificial means. The well-soaked earth, manured by a fat mud, or slime, requires only to be sowed, digging or ploughing being alike unnecessary.[1] Corn and pulse shoot up so quickly, that in some parts a double crop is grown every year.

The Nile, from the southern frontiers of Egypt to where the stream becomes divided, runs in one uninterrupted course through a valley, bounded on each side by a chain of mountains, which, though they sometimes approach nearer and sometimes retire farther from its banks, usually leave from nine to twelve miles between them and the river. This valley forms the chief part of the cultivated land of Egypt; it formed originally the bed of this river, from which it has in a great measure been rescued by art. This same valley was also the ancient seat of Egyptian civilization; in it were organized the first Egyptian states, and in it arose, one after another, that line of cities, temples, and colossal works of art, which ornamented both banks of the river.

Where this valley ends the stream divides, and forms, by its arms, the fertile part of Lower Egypt, which is called the Delta. Ancient naturalists rightly explained this territory to be a gift of the Nile, which, by the mud and slime that it bears along and deposits, gradually raises the soil, and when, in a long course of centuries, it had, by its annual accumulations, formed land where before only water existed, it still kept open for itself several entrances into the sea, which afterwards underwent various changes both of nature and art.[2]

These large plains of the Delta, every where intersected by canals, and the valley I have just described, constitute the whole of Egypt which admits of cultivation; it scarcely amounts to a sixth part of the whole territory, according to its estimated

[1] The use of the plough, however, in the cultivation of the soil, has not remained unknown in Egypt; it is met with on the monuments.

[2] Seven mouths of the Nile were known to the ancients, of which the Pelusiac was the most eastern and the Canopic the most western; but even at that time they were subject to many changes. The Nile at present has only two principal mouths, that of Rosetta and that of Damietta.

superficial contents.[1] However, the more the importance of the country concentrates in these districts, the more necessary it becomes that we should consider them somewhat in detail.

Although the narrow plain forming the valley of the Nile is reckoned to the fertile land, it is not equally so throughout. The stony mountain-chain which encloses it on the western side, presses in some places, especially in Upper Egypt, so close to the river, that the inundation reaches to its base. For the most part, however, and particularly in Middle Egypt, where the valley begins to widen, there is a barren sandy strip, from about a mile to two and a half broad, which intervenes between the foot of the chain and the land adapted to husbandry. This western chain serves in general to protect the valley of the Nile from the invasion of the sand of the desert, which whirled up, and impelled forward by the wind, would long since, without this barrier, have filled it up. Ancient Egyptian edifices, as well as single pyramids and colossal sphinxes, which are sometimes found buried to their middle in sand, plainly evince that this protection has not, at all points, prevented its entrance; but the more accurate information, which we have recently had the good fortune to obtain, respecting these regions, gives us proofs that this has only partially been the case, and that the valley of the Nile in general seems to have suffered but little from this destructive enemy. The cultivated lands are also highest close to the river, where the Nile deposits its riches in the largest quantity, and sink as they stretch towards the waste. The banks of the river in Upper Egypt are usually from thirty to thirty-five feet above the level of the water. The lower and more distant lands, therefore, by means of numerous canals, are flooded sooner than the higher and nearer; on which account the latter, from the quantity of water drawn off to inundate the former, run the risk of getting none at all; a misfortune, the more distant can scarcely fear.[2] Recent researches also prove beyond a doubt, (if indeed any proof was before wanting,) that this fertile soil has all been formed by the mud or slime deposited by the Nile, and is therefore entirely a gift of that river.[3] But, however nature may here be aided by canals and machinery, she herself

[1] [Quarterly Review, xxx. p. 95. Mr. Gerard, estimates the mean width of the valley, between Syene and Cairo, at about nine miles, and the whole area of cultivable soil, exclusive of the lateral valleys and the Oases, at about 11,000 square miles. *Trans.*]

[2] See proofs of this in Reynier, *sur l'Agriculture de l'Egypte*, in *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 6.

[3] Reynier, l. c.

has fixed a boundary which cannot be passed. Even in the valley itself, the separation of the fruitful soil from the solitary waste is distinctly marked; the empire of life borders on the empire of death; the habitations of the living, which cover the fertile plains through which the Nile pours its waters, are followed by the abodes of the dead, the sandy plain and the hills being filled with countless graves and sepulchres; and this seems to have contributed more than anything else to give that peculiar tone of mind and feeling to the nation, that peculiar character, which distinguishes it from all others.

The western mountain-chain, which bounds the valley of the Nile, consists for the most part of a stony ridge, covered with sand, whose western side descends into the great desert.[1] In this waste there are still two fruitful spots within the boundaries of Egypt, the Oases, so celebrated in antiquity, which are fertile, and possess water springs. In the researches upon the commercial routes of the Carthaginians, it has already been shown that such islands are not unfrequent in the great sandy oceans of Africa. Of the two Egyptian oases (only two were known to the ancients[2]) the larger, lying to the south, which has been visited by several travellers, is now called *El Wah*;[3] we have accounts of its monuments, consisting of many temples, of which we have descriptions and plates. The name of the smaller is now *El Gherbi*. The fertility for which the greater oasis was celebrated in antiquity appears to have been considerably diminished by the sand that has been driven into it from the desert; as large districts of sand are found between the few villages now scattered over it. Ancient geographers reckon all this part of Egypt to Libya; and indeed in these barren wastes there is no more a political than a physical definite boundary.

The eastern part of the country, from the valley of the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, is quite of a different nature. It consists of a stony mountainous tract, unfit for agriculture, though in many districts suitable for pasturage. These mountains, com-

[1] A description of this will be found in Browne's *Travels*, p. 253.

[2] Strabo, xviii. p. 168. I have already remarked, p. 104, that very probably the oases of *El Kargeh* and *El Dakel*, which are now considered as two, only together formed the Great Oasis of antiquity.

[3] First by Browne in his journey to Darfour. Since by Caillaud, Edmonstone, and others. See Caillaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, Paris, 1813, with the plates xv. xviii.; and Edmonstone's *Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt*, Lond. 1823. The smaller, without monuments, was visited by Belzoni. That of *Farafré*, and a few smaller, which have been mentioned by modern travellers, seem to have been unknown, and inconsiderable in antiquity. They are enumerated in † Ukert, *Geography of Africa*, p. 723.

posed of marble of the greatest variety of colours, of granite, porphyry, and similar species of stone, formed the inexhaustible magazines for the colossal architectural monuments of ancient Egypt, and in the granite quarries even now are sometimes found the forms whence obelisks and colossi have been hewn out.

The French expedition has thrown a clearer light upon this part of Egypt, which was before almost entirely unknown. The nature of these mountains has been examined by geologists, and the long prevailing error, that the large masses which the Egyptians made use of in the erection of their public monuments, were obtained from a long distance from the Nile, has been corrected. The mountains bordering on the valley of the Nile may be divided, according to their geological contents, into three districts.[1] In the south-east, near Philæ and the cataracts, rocks of Syenite or oriental granite prevail, from which the ancient Egyptians drew the stupendous masses required for their monuments of one piece, (*monoliths*,) obelisks, colossi, etc. The most northern district, reaching beyond Thebes, consists of mountain-chains both on the eastern and western side, composed of calcareous stone, of which therefore the pyramids were constructed. The middle district, extending from Syene to within a day's journey south of Latapolis or Esneh, forms the connecting link between the chalk and granite mountains, and consists entirely of sandstone. This sandstone—of which all the temples in Upper Egypt are built—is of various colours; grey, yellowish, pure white; veins also of bright pink, or rose colour, occasionally occur. The buildings, however, generally appear white or grey. The stone is not very hard, and therefore the immense quantity of sculpture upon the walls of the temples were the more easily executed. The stone quarries in these districts are largest and most frequent where the mountain-chain approaches nearest to the river; especially near Silsilis, the present Selseleh, which shows clearly enough the care that was taken to make the transport to the river as short as possible. It is particularly necessary to notice, in this geographical sketch, that these mountain-chains are intersected by many valleys, running from west to east, and stretching as far as the Red Sea. Some of

[1] For what follows see the essay of H. Roziere, *Description d' Ombos et des Environs*, sect. ii. in the *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. i. chap. iv. in the great work on Egypt. [The English reader will find a detailed account of the geology of Egypt in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* article *Egypt*, which seems to have been taken from the above source. *Trans.*]

these widen into plains, while others contract themselves into narrow ravines; the most northerly of them, the *Valley of Wandering*,[1] commences with an opening in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and extends to the most northern point of the Arabian Gulf near Suez. But the best known is the one through which the road passes from Upper Egypt to Cosseir.[2] Recent discoveries have shown that there were many similar ways, though at present they are but very imperfectly known.[3] To these belongs, in particular, one that leads southerly from Edfu to the emerald mines near Mount Zabara;[4] where is still found the remnant of an ancient city, and many mines. Closely connected with this subject is the still obscure inquiry respecting the situation and number of the ports on the Red Sea, in the period of the Ptolemies.

The rain, which not unfrequently falls in this stony mountain-region, gives it in places a degree of fertility. It is indeed incapable of agriculture; but the quantity of herbage which shoots up at certain periods in the valleys and plains fits them for pasturage; and the nomad hordes who wander over them find a necessary supply of water in wells and pits; while the strange shapes and various colours of the steep, naked, rugged mountains, give to the whole picture an appearance of complete sterility.

The valley of the Nile in its whole course (the upper part of which, down to Chemmis, contains the ancient Thebais or Upper Egypt; and the lower or northern, from Chemmis to Cercasorus, where the Nile divides, Middle Egypt) was covered with a succession of cities and monuments, which must have formed, with scarcely any interruption, one continuous chain; there is now, however, with regard to the remains of antiquity, a striking difference between the two. They increase both in number and importance the higher we ascend the river, those of Upper Egypt being by far the most numerous and interesting. In the whole of Middle Egypt, except a few quite decayed ruins,[5] and the antiquities of Arsinoë or Fayoum, not yet

[1] An accurate description of this valley will be found in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 360, etc. It derives its name from a tradition, that the Israelites wandered therein at their Exodus from Egypt. [2] Of this also the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 227, give an excellent account, which confirms that of Bruce.

[3] It is become very evident from these, that the ancient caravan road from Coptos to the Arabian Gulf, which may still be traced by ruins and ancient buildings, differed from the present. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. p. 264. † Ukert, in his *Geography of Africa*, i. p. 242, has noted down the course, and described the valleys which intersect the western mountain-ridge. [4] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 314. He did not find the ancient city here seen by Caillaud; probably because his guide lost his way.

[5] In the porticoes of Hermopolis. Denon, plate xxxiii.

sufficiently examined, the Pyramids are the only architectural monuments which now remain; while Upper Egypt, on the contrary, contains all those temples, which, however unintelligible the numerous inscriptions and representations on their walls, are far better calculated by their awful magnitude, their magnificence, and their altogether peculiar style, to give us some idea of what this nation formerly was. This series of monuments commences at Tentyris,[1] on the western side of the stream, where the temple, so celebrated for its zodiac, at once inspires the beholder with the idea of a gigantic and massive architecture, differing from what any other country on the globe has produced. A glance at this, however, only prepares the astonished traveller for the more magnificent wonders, which await him about twenty miles farther to the south, in the monuments of Thebes, the majestic capital of Jupiter, or the city of Ammon. The whole width of the valley, on both banks of the stream, forming an area of about nine miles from west to east, is covered with the ruins of the most ancient royal city of the world; and where the habitations of the living end, there begin the dwellings of the dead, which extend a considerable way into the western mountains. Temples, whose huge masses tower up like mountains, surrounded by colossi, sphinxes, and obelisks, whose magnitude insures their continuance, are scattered over the plain. Thousands of years have already passed over them; yet neither the hand of time, nor the destroying ravages of barbarians, have been able to overthrow them. The great temple of Jupiter yet exists at Karnac; the stately palaces of the Pharaohs are still standing at Luxor and Medinet Abou; the colossus of Memnon, one of the wonders of the ancient world; the other temples and colossi, whose number cannot yet be told,[2] and the royal sepulchres, with their paintings as fresh and uninjured as though they had received the last stroke of the pencil but yesterday, still remain. From this place to the southern boundary of Egypt, link after link of this chain of monuments follow in rapid succession. Thebes is scarcely quitted before the remains of the ancient *Hermonthis*[3] present themselves; about

[1] The present Dendera, lying almost exactly under 26° N. Lat. For a representation of this proud building see Denon, plates xxxviii.—xl. Modern researches bring it down to the Greek-Roman period. Champollion, *Précis*, p. 387. [It may be worth observing to the English reader, that he will find a very interesting account of this and the other monuments of Egyptian antiquity, here noticed, in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* and in the *Modern Traveller, Egypt*, vol. ii. *Trans.*] [2] Denon, plates xlv.—l.

[3] Denon, plate li. With *Hermonthis* ends the first *livraison* of the splendid work, *Description de l'Egypte*, which begins with Philæ on the southern boundaries. See plate xci.

eighteen miles farther is the beautiful temple of *Esneh*, the ancient *Latopolis*;[1] and on the opposite eastern bank of the Nile is what is left of the former *Chnubis*.[2] At nearly the same distance, still farther to the south, follows *Edfu*, the *Apollinopolis Magna* of former times, with the most perfect and magnificent of all the temples except that of Thebes;[3] and to this immediately follow the monuments of *Eliethya*,[4] *Silsilis*,[5] and *Ombos*,[6] all on the eastern bank of the river. At a short distance, scarce twenty-five miles farther, we come to the ancient confines of Egypt. It is here in particular that the nation seems almost to have outdone itself in the erection of monuments, as though it would impress strangers, at their first step into their territory, with an idea of their greatness and splendour. Still farther, on the north side of the cataracts, immediately following *Syene*, or *Assouan*, the ancient frontier town of Egypt, lies, in the midst of the stream, the island of Elephantis; and just beyond the rapids, about six miles to the south of Syene, is that of *Philæ*. Both, and especially the latter, are full of the proudest monuments of architecture;[7]

—xcviii. At Hermonthis, now Erment, is a temple of Typhonius; the exterior is much defaced, but the interior is in good preservation. On one of the ceilings are the signs of the zodiac. See the treatise of M. Jomard, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. viii.; and compare my critique in the *Gött. gel Anz.* 1811, pp. 94—98.

[1] Denon, plates liii. liv. At Esneh there are also many temples. Of the principal temple the portico, quite entire, is alone visible. This portico is said to belong to the Greek-Roman period. Champollion, *Précis*, p. 387. In order to restore the temple itself, which is probably just as well preserved, many houses must be pulled down which are built upon and about it. It is only with considerable toil that the portico can be entered, as the entrance is through a very narrow passage; the view of it however is sufficiently imposing to compensate amply for the trouble, and shows what the whole building must be. See the *Description de* Ms. Jollois et Devilliers, *Antiquités*, chap. vii., and compare the plates lxxii.—xc.

[2] Denon, plate lxxv.

[3] Denon, plates lvi.—lxviii. in the *Description, Antiquités*, plates xlviii.—lxii., with the treatise of M. Jomard. Modern researches bring down this temple to the period of the Ptolemies; Champollion, *Précis*, p. 388. Not however from the inscriptions, but from the style of the architecture. The flat roof of the great temple has borne for a long time a small Arabian village, of miserable mud hovels; and the windows, or openings, intended to admit the light, are now made use of as sinks. The temple, therefore, is made the receptacle of every kind of filth, and is now nearly filled up. The magnificent saloons are in this way become caverns; and of the colossal columns the capitals alone jut out above the rubbish. Notwithstanding all this the building is still so well preserved, that only the partition walls of the columns of the portico, and the upper border of the pylones of the external façade, (one hundred and ten feet high!) have suffered to any extent. Not a stone in any other part is out of order; and the sculpture work is as free from injury as the architecture. Adjoining the great temple is a smaller, whose ornaments leave no doubt of its having been dedicated to Typhonius. Near to the temples of the benevolent deities it was customary among the Egyptians to build that of the *evil* principle.

[4] Highly interesting from the two sepulchral grottoes found there, with paintings representing the domestic life of the Egyptians. *Description*, plates lxviii.—lxxi. I shall again return to these.

[5] Denon, plate lv. The present *Selseleh*. In this district are the quarries above-mentioned, (p. 291,) from which the materials were drawn for the construction of those immense buildings. See the treatise of M. Roziere, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. iv. sect. ii. plate xlvii.

[6] Denon, plate lxxv. The temples of *Ombos* (the remains of two are found) are nearly destroyed. A view of the ruins, as they now exist, is given, *Description*, plate xxxix.—xlvi.

[7] Denon, plates lxiii.—lxxii. See upon *Elephantis* the treatise of Jomard, *Description*, chap. iii. and plates xxx.—xxxviii. The remains of two temples are still found here of the

some of which, however, according to the latest discoveries, are said to belong to the Ptolemeian period. But certainly not all. For Philæ was one of the holy places where, in a remote sacred spot, is shown the tomb of Osiris.[1] The high antiquity of the monuments of Elephantis cannot be doubted. Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, have here erected buildings, which are all scattered in the dust; the monuments of ancient Egypt, some probably a thousand years older than the oldest among them, alone defy destruction; these stand prominent amidst the palm groves which surround them, eternal as nature!

It was absolutely necessary for the prosecution of these researches, to give a clear sketch of this land of marvels, of architecture, and sculpture; although a whole life might be spent over the delineations of these monuments, which now place them, as it were, before us, and over the accurate description of the most ancient and noble among them,—the monuments of Thebes, which we have reserved for a future chapter. A mere glance, however, at the sublime and majestic monuments—and how many others must have been levelled with the dust—contained within the confined strip of the narrow valley of the Nile, must at least produce a conviction, that there did exist a time when this classic ground was the central point of the civilization of the world, and when its inhabitants must have possessed all that constitutes an opulent and mighty, a refined and cultivated nation.

Middle Egypt also was like Upper Egypt, in having its fertility confined to the banks of the Nile; the valley, therefore, through which it flows, was exclusively the seat of culture. But this valley, which in Upper Egypt is always so contracted, begins here gradually to expand; though its whole breadth as far as Arsinoë, the present Fayoum, scarcely any where exceeds twelve or fifteen miles. A large canal, drawn from, and running parallel with the Nile, on its western side, for nearly one hundred and fifty miles,—well known by the name of Joseph's

smaller size; but there is strong reason for believing that a third, much larger, formerly stood here. In the island of Philæ also there were two temples, which are distinguished in the treatise of the deceased Lancret, *Description des Antiquités*, chap. i. plates i.—xxix., by the names of the great, and the western temple. According, however, to late accounts, the island contains the remains of no less than five temples. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 89. They do not rank among the largest temples, but are in fine preservation, and of the highest finish with regard to workmanship. According to the latest information, judging alone from the style, the largest belongs to the period of the Ptolemies; Champollion, p. 388. A Greek inscription has been discovered upon the smallest of the temples. Letronne, l. c.

[1] Upon a small island, which therefore bears the name of Abatos (ἄβατος); a name conveying the idea of a retired situation, and likewise that of prohibition to enter it, as it was a sacred place. Conf. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 304. Creuzer, *Commentationes Herodoteæ*, p. 187. So also the ancient temple of Ammon at Meroë, p. 207.

canal,—serves, as far as it goes, to extend the overflowing of the river. Near Fayoum, however, the valley opens (as the Libyan chain of mountains retires towards the west) and forms a very fruitful province, which is watered by a branch of Joseph's canal.[1] This part of Egypt, in distant ages, was celebrated for its stupendous works of art, the most considerable of which was lake Moeris, said, as a reservoir of the Nile, to have secured the fruitfulness of the province. A part of this remarkable lake still exists under the name of lake Kerun.[2] Modern research has here, however, confirmed the opinion previously entertained, that this lake cannot be regarded as entirely the work of man's hand, but that art here only assisted and brought into use the work of nature. A greater part of the province of Arsinoë formed a valley, that, by the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was of itself placed under water, which, on the fall of the river, again found a natural passage out, through a gorge on the south-west part of the valley. In this state of things it only required the construction of a few dams and canals, which are more or less still visible, in order to regulate these inundations. Not far from this lake stands one of the greatest edifices of ancient Egypt: the celebrated Labyrinth, of which Herodotus has given a description.[3] We learn, from more recent accounts, that many remains of ancient Egyptian building and art are still to be found here; even the pyramid of brick, mentioned by Herodotus, may still be discerned; but the whole of the buildings are now not only a heap of ruins, but seem, for the most part, to be buried in sand, which has been driven from the desert by the wind.[4]

To the north of Arsinoë the Libyan chain again returns to its former distance from the Nile, and, following the course of the river through the remainder of Middle Egypt, leaves the breadth of the valley, in most places, some where about nine miles. No buildings are found here as in Upper Egypt, although the city of Memphis, the more modern capital of the kingdom, which seems, indeed, to have emulated Thebes, and

[1] The ancient district of Arsinoë.

[2] We are indebted to Girard for the first accurate description of this remarkable part of the land in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 329, etc.

[3] Herod. ii. 148. He is the only writer who saw it entire. "All the buildings of the Greeks put together," says this far-travelled historian, "could not have cost so much."

[4] The ruins have been examined and described by Jomard; nothing is to be seen but immense heaps of rubbish. *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. ii. chap. xvii. sect. 19. Belzoni has since visited it, but found nothing but stones strewed about. He crossed the lake, and seems to have sought the remains of the Labyrinth in the wrong place. *Narrative*, p. 378, 379.

is not less celebrated for its temples and palaces, formerly stood here.[1] But if the monuments of the living have passed away, those of the dead still remain. The whole mountain-chain, as well as the sandy desert which runs within the valley at its base, is full of tombs, similar to those which are found in Upper Egypt. This district, however, is particularly distinguished by another species of monuments, which, by their prodigious massiveness, must for ever excite the astonishment of mankind —the Pyramids. These are situated sometimes singly, and sometimes in groups, on a strip about five-and-thirty miles long, reaching from Ghizeh, or Djizeh, opposite, in a slanting direction, the present capital, Cairo, to beyond Meidun. Many of these are so gone to decay that only uncertain traces of them can now be discovered, while others continue to defy the destroying hand of time, whence it seems evident that their number could at no time be stated with certainty. They all stand upon that great field of death—upon that sterile plain covered with sand and filled with sepulchres, at the foot of the Libyan mountain-chain. Those of Djizeh, opposite Cairo, which are generally understood when the Pyramids are spoken of, are the first and the highest; they are followed, about nine miles towards the south, by those of Sakkara, near the ancient Memphis, whose magnitude is evinced by the numerous sepulchres which are found in the waste. Farther on are discovered those of Dashour and others, all, however, more injured than those just mentioned, as far as Meidun.[2] However uncertain it may be whether they reached beyond this or not, it seems pretty evident that pyramids were never built in Upper Egypt, as there is no reason why they should have gone to ruin sooner than the large temples.[3] From recent discoveries it now appears that pyramid-architecture was by no means peculiar to Egypt; they still exist more numerously, though of a less magnitude, in what was the ancient Meroë.[4]

At the point where the Nile divides into two branches be-

[1] The name still exists in the village *Menf*, about twelve or fourteen miles to the south of Cairo, but it lies on the west bank of the river, while Cairo stands on the eastern. The latter, it is well known, was built by the Arabs.

[2] The number of pyramids is estimated at about forty; but they vary very much in size. The second pyramid of Djizeh was opened by Belzoni, and one of those at Sakkara by Minuoli: see their *Travels*.

[3] Or is the reason to be found in the difference of the stone which Upper and Middle Egypt produces? Does not the limestone, of which the pyramids are constructed, exist in Upper Egypt, where the sandstone and, farther on, granite prevails? See above, p. 291.

[4] See p. 200. They differ from the Egyptian by their vestibules, which the latter now have not. Nevertheless, the pyramid opened by Belzoni certainly had a temple before it. *Narrative*, p. 261.

gins Lower Egypt. The extension of its waters extends likewise fertility, which, before confined in Upper and Middle Egypt to the narrow valley, here takes a wider range, and stretches over the plains enclosed by the arms of the river. The western chain, which has hitherto narrowed it, here makes a bend into Libya; the eastern chain ends altogether just below Cairo with the mountain Mokattam. There is a tradition of ancient Egypt, which is mentioned by Herodotus, that the Nile at one time had a different course, and turned towards the Libyan desert. Now if this tradition should be rejected in its fullest extent, and it should not be believed that the *whole* stream took this direction, and that no branch of it penetrated through Lower Egypt to the Mediterranean, yet modern researches have placed it beyond a doubt, that at least a *part* of the stream formerly flowed towards Libya. The valley near the Natron lakes, (from which it is only divided by a ridge,) which, in the western side of Lower Egypt, is known by the name of the waterless sea, (*Bahr Bilama,*) gives very evident traces that it once formed,—though certainly long before the period to which credible history reaches,—the bed of the river.[1] The stupendous dam, by which the water was forced to take a more easterly direction, was ascribed by tradition to Menes, the first king of Egypt, and founder of Memphis;[2] and gave thereby at once a proof of the high antiquity and importance of this undertaking. In fact, it is easily seen that it was by this that the channels of the Nile were first driven into their present course, and the Delta rendered capable of being cultivated.

Although the fruitful land becomes much widened in Lower Egypt, yet it must not be taken for granted that all this part of the country possesses the advantage of fertility. It again fails towards the centre, or in what was called by the Greeks the Delta; and in the districts on both sides of it; in that of the east, which is now comprised under the name of Bahareh, and in that of the west, called Sharkeyeh. It is true that the western part enjoys the benefit of having on its coast the later capital, Alexandria; but even this city can only obtain its water by a canal from the Nile; and just before its gates opens

[1] See the admirable description of this valley and of the whole district, for which we are indebted to General Andreossi. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, i. 223, etc.

[2] Herod. ii. 99. According to his account, the damming was made one hundred stadia (eleven or twelve miles) above Memphis. Andreossi's conjecture, that there was a communication between the Nile and the Waterless Valley, through the valley of Fayoum, is opposed to this; it must have been through a more northern opening in the mountain-chain.

the desert, which swallows up the remainder of the province. The eastern part, which includes the cities of Heliopolis, or On, and Parbæthus, the modern Belbeis, fares something better; but here again the fertile soil ceases at a short distance from the river, and the isthmus of Suez follows, a barren and waterless waste. Only the country, therefore, between the two extreme arms of the Nile, that of Canopus and of Pelusium, or the Delta, can here come under consideration; and this still shows, in its present almost desolate state, what it must once have been. There can scarcely be a greater contrast than that which the short voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta affords the traveller.[1] Though he saw about that city only the silent desert, he now suddenly discovers, as he approaches Rosetta and the Nile, nature in her most luxurious abundance, and begins to comprehend how this country might once have been the foremost of the earth.

The numerous cities with which the plains of the Delta were once covered, of which it is enough for our purpose to mention Sais and Naucratis, sufficiently prove the high state of cultivation in which this portion of the country formerly existed. This, however, did not begin till long after Upper Egypt had been in a flourishing condition; and, perhaps, did not increase, to any extent, till the latter period of the Pharaohs; when Sais was the usual residence of the kings, and the foundation of Alexandria gave, and preserved to Lower Egypt, that superiority which Upper Egypt had previously enjoyed. But the vestiges of this splendour and greatness, except in the few monuments of ancient Alexandria, are all nearly obliterated; and even the land itself, along the coast, has undergone many changes.[2] Considerable portions of firm land, especially the districts so often mentioned under the name of fens, and inhabited by tribes who lived by tending cattle, are now become lakes, that are either supplied or enlarged by the stoppage of certain branches of the river.[3] The ancient lake *Sirbonis*, on

[1] A picture of it is drawn in Browne's *Travels*, etc. I purposely mention this writer here, because no one can less deserve the reproach of an embellishing imagination.

[2] A somewhat more accurate account of the interior of Lower Egypt was first given by the French expedition. The usual route of travelling has been from Alexandria up the canal to Rosetta, and thence up the Nile to Cairo. Scarcely any one saw the interior of the country.

[3] The most interesting illustrations of this part are contained in the classic treatise of General Andreossi, upon the lake Menzalé, in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, i. p. 165. It also decidedly and fully supports the opinion of Herodotus, that the Delta is a gift of the Nile. It is well known that lately this has been contradicted, not only by closet-writers, but even by travellers. The reasons of Andreossi, who was in a situation, from his knowledge of physics and hydrostatics, to go fully into the subject, places it beyond dispute, that the Delta was formed

the eastern boundary of Egypt, seems to be completely choked up with sand; on the other hand, the lake of *Tanis*, or present Menzaleh, into which three branches of the Nile—that of Pelusium, of Tanis, and Mendes—empty themselves, is now so much enlarged that it swallows up a fourth part of the whole northern coast; and the remains of the cities, which formerly stood on dry land, must now be sought for amidst its waters. The lake of *Butos*, or the present Bourlos, seems in a similar manner, by the flowing of the Sebennytic branch into it, to have much increased in size; but the land between it and the foregoing, where the ancient Bucolic mouth, under the name of Damietta, still discharges a principal branch of the river, preserves its ancient features. The coast to the west of the Delta, on the contrary, has been subject to the greatest changes. On the other side of the Bolbitine branch, or the present Rosetta mouth, the ancient branch of Canopus, which no longer reaches the sea, has formed the lake of *Edco*. This is only separated by a narrow strip of land from lake *Madieh* behind Aboukir, which again is divided from *lake Mareotis* by a still narrower isthmus; this latter lake, however, has not at present anything near the extent it had in antiquity. Lower Egypt thus gives us a striking example of the great changes which may be made in the features and shape of a country, not only by sudden and great physical convulsions, but by the mere decay of its culture. Where, indeed, was this more likely to happen than here, where the neglect of the canals and dams alone would be sufficient to cause such changes?

This general survey of the situation and features of the land, its gradual formation and cultivation, the great difference and completely opposite nature of its component parts, altogether, must naturally lead us to suppose, that the condition of its inhabitants must not only have been subject to great changes, but also that great dissimilarity must have continually existed among them. I shall now turn from the country, and take a glance at the nation itself; begging the reader's indulgence while I make a few preliminary inquiries concerning them.

The first object of inquiry is the colour, the figure, in short the whole exterior of the inhabitants, so far as it may enable us to unravel the intricate question respecting the race of mankind to which the ancient Egyptians belonged. A problem,

by the sediment of the river, with some assistance from art. The ancient therefore here, as usual, is right.

indeed, much more difficult to solve than the reader at first sight could possibly imagine.

There are two sources from which we may draw in our endeavour to determine it: ancient writers, and native monuments. Among the first, the testimony of Herodotus alone would seem sufficient to decide it. He, speaking as an eye-witness, expressly declares the Egyptians to be a black race, with woolly hair.[1] It easily appears, however, that these assertions must be limited in two ways; first, they apply only to the great body of the people, and not to the upper classes; secondly, the expression does not exactly signify a completely black, but rather a dark brown, nor the hair completely woolly (but rather curly). Another ancient writer upon the colour of the Egyptians determines this, where he calls them brown.[2] To me the Egyptians seem to have been exactly what the *Copts*, their descendants, now appear to the stranger who visits them. "I believe," says a modern, who has seen them,[3] "the ancient race of the Egyptians to exist in the present Copts; a kind of dark-coloured Nubians (*basannés*), much as they are seen on the ancient monuments; flat foreheads, half woolly hair, the eyes rather staring, high hips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips, placed rather distant from the nose, a thin and poor beard, few graces of body," etc. "The colour of the skin," says a later traveller, "is nearly the natural colour, if we assume that the Egyptians were of the same colour as their descendants, the present Copts, of whom some are as fair as Europeans."[4] However true, therefore, the statement of Herodotus may be, the reader must guard against giving it a meaning which it will not bear. Besides, few countries are so much exposed to the invasion of foreigners, and therefore to so many intermixtures, as Egypt, which is surrounded on three sides by nomad hordes; nor so much visited by strangers, as it has always been a principal place of trade. To this it may be added, that the question here respects a period comprising above a thousand years, (for so long certainly had Egypt been civilized before the time of Herodotus,) during which many changes must naturally have taken place.

The truth of this remark will be best confirmed by the

[1] Herod. ii. 104. He mentions this incidentally, in order to prove that the Colchians, who had this colour and hair, were truly Egyptian colonists.
[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16. Homines Egyptii plerique *subfusculi* sunt, et *atrati*, magisque mœstiores, gracilenti et aridi.
[3] Denon, i. 136. [4] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 239.

monuments of ancient Egypt which still exist; especially by those which have been lately discovered. A number of variously sized idols has hitherto been generally referred to, from which we should judge of the physiognomy of the people. I confess, that in the least of these I find something of the negro kind;[1] but then it must be considered, that we can neither fix the time when, nor the part of the land where, they were made; a question of the highest importance, because, as will be seen hereafter, every part of the country had not always the same fate with the rest. It is most agreeable to the rules of sound criticism, first to have recourse to those monuments—the temples and obelisks—of which we can with certainty pronounce, that they belong to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs. These are nearly all covered with works of art, which contain a great number of human figures, either of deities or men, and on that account deserve first to be examined. They acquire, moreover, a great additional value, from their clearly indicating an endeavour in the artists to copy nature, and from their faithfully representing the peculiarities of the different people, their features, nature of their hair, and so forth. The same proofs that this was the case are found here, upon the temples of the Thebais, as upon the ruins of Persepolis in Asia; necessity must have led to it, if the historical meanings were wished to be readily understood, and from this it probably became a rule of ancient art. It is impossible, however, to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been negroes, or anything like negroes. I appeal here to the great historical bas-reliefs upon the temples at Thebes, with which Denon has first made us acquainted.[2] The figure of the king comes before us at different times, and upon different occasions. It is always the same head; so that, according to the writer himself, it seems to be a portrait—or rather an idealised portrait. But it is so far from having the least appearance of African lineaments, that it seems rather to approach the Grecian profile.[3] Just as little resemblance is there to be seen of the negro in more than a hundred heads of his attendants, as well warriors as priests. I appeal as well to the other reliefs upon all the temples above Thebes, so far as they are made known to us in the great work upon Egypt. I appeal, finally, to the very accurately finished plate of the representations upon the obelisks, for which we are indebted to Zoëga.[1] Compare also the heads of the sphinxes and deities upon the top of the obelisk on Mount Citatorio, and the similar fragment of another in the museum of Cardinal Borgia, and see if there be anything to be found of a negro character!

[1] I refer here to the engravings in Caylus, *Recueil* V. plates i.—xxv.; as well as to Winkelmann, *Storia delle Arti*, etc. i. tab. iv. v. ed. FEA. Many of these, and other heads, no doubt represent the common Egyptian features, and are anything but beautiful, according to our ideas. In the ideal portraits, the sphinx's head comes the nearest, in my opinion, to the Egyptian profile; but I do not remember more than one of these which has anything of the negro cast, and that is, the colossal head at the pyramid of *Ghizeh*.

[2] Denon, plates cxxxiii. cxxxiv.; and after him, in numerous copper-plates in the great work on Egypt. [3] The correctness of the drawing is here so much the less subject to doubt because the artist has evidently enlarged the head of the king. Plate cxxxiv. No. 42.

Should even these proofs fail, the Egyptians have left us still another, in the pictures on the walls in their chambers of the dead. The colours in these are still so fresh and perfect, as to excite the astonishment of every one who examines them. The subjects mostly relate to the domestic life of the Egyptians; the human figure is consequently very frequent. Every thing else is faithfully copied from nature, and therefore it is fair to conclude that these are also. Bruce had already called the attention of the world to these pictures in the royal sepulchres of Thebes;[2] but it was the French expedition that first gave us a clear notion of them, by the labours of the learned who took the pains to examine them. The first striking specimen of them is given in the sepulchres of Eluthias in the Thebais, the true school for Egyptian antiquities, because they represent their whole manner of living, and almost every part of their domestic economy.[3] Women as well as men are here portrayed; "the men are red; the women yellow; the clothes white; the hair of the men is very dark, curled, but not short, as among the negroes."[4] Still clearer proofs are found in the royal sepulchres at Thebes, and, above all, in that most magnificent one which was opened by Belzoni. In these the light and dark men are expressly distinguished; and, indeed, in such a manner, that the former are represented as the victors, or rulers, and the latter as the conquered, or prisoners. "I remarked," says Denon,[5] "many decapitated figures; these were all dark, while those who had struck off their heads, and still stood sword in hand, were red." But the most decisive

[1] Zoëga, table ii. iv. [2] Bruce, *Travels*, i. plate iii. iv.

[3] See the coloured engravings in the great work of Denon, *Description de l'Egypte*, plates lxviii.—lxxi.; and compare the excellent treatise of Costaz, (containing more information than many a thick volume,) in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, p. 134—158.

[4] Costaz, l. c. p. 156. The Egyptians had, as is there remarked, only six colours, but understood nothing of mixing these together. We need not wonder, then, at their not being able to paint exactly the colour of the skin.

[5] Denon, *Voyage*, ii. 278.

proof is in that of Belzoni, where not merely the light and dark, but in the ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, the three principal colours, white, brown, and black, are distinguished from one another with the nicest accuracy.[1] Indeed, when Denon descended one of the openings which lead to these subterraneous abodes, he found art in a still more certain manner confirmed by nature. A number of mummies, which were not banded up, showed plainly that the hair was long and lank, and the shape of the head itself approximating to the beautiful.[2] There is no need, however, to journey to Egypt to be convinced of this; the descriptions, and the mummies preserved at Munich, are quite sufficient to insure conviction.[3]

To this body of evidence there are still documentary proofs to be added: two commercial contracts, of which the fac-simile of one is at Berlin, and the original of the other at Paris. We are indebted for their interpretation to Professor Boeckh,[4] and H. S. Martin.[5] They certainly both belong to the period of the Ptolemies, but the names which occur show that the persons were Egyptians. These, in both, are described according to their external appearance, and, of course, their colour. In the Berlin document, the seller, Pamenthes, is called of a *darkish brown* colour;[6] and the buyer, *honey-coloured* or *yellowish;* the same epithet is conferred on the buyer, Osarreres, in the Parisian one. The shape of the nose and face is also stated, but so as not to raise the least idea of a negro physiognomy.

Two facts may be deduced from all this, as historically demonstrated: one, that even among the Egyptians themselves there was a difference of colour; as individuals are expressly distinguished from one another by being of a darker or lighter complexion. The other, that the higher castes of warriors and priests, according to the representations on all the monuments

[1] Belzoni, plate vi.—viii. No doubt whatever can be opposed to the question, whether the Egyptians wished to give the proper colour of the skin in their paintings—as far as their colours would allow. Hence it is clear that they not merely endeavoured to represent the colour, but also the physiognomy of the nations in the truest manner possible. Who can mistake the Jewish physiognomy among the captives in plate vii.?

[2] Denon, ii. p. 314. Compare with all this, in particular, the sculptures from the tombs of *Silsilis*, in Upper Egypt, in Denon, plate lxxvi. No. 2—4. These are evidently representations of the deceased; and certainly No. 2 and 4 of whole families. They are, therefore, the best adapted to enable us to form a judgment of the national physiognomy.

[3] See the exact description of them in the treatise of H. D. Waagen, p. 14.

[4] Explanation of an Egyptian document upon papyrus, in the Greek cursive writing, of the year 900 B. C., by A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1821.—The fac-simile was sent to Berlin by Minutoli.

[5] In the *Journal des Savants*, Sept. 1822.

[6] μελάγχρως and μελίχρος. The word μελάγχρωες is also used by Herodotus; and is, therefore, properly translated, where he uses it, by *swarthy*, or dark-coloured, and not by black.

executed in colours, belonged to the fairer class. Their colour is brownish, something between the white and black, or swarthy. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that the colour was exactly the same as that appropriated to them on the monuments; but it was become a fixed and settled type, and how could it have become so if it had not followed nature, when there was no want of means to represent white and black colours. In like manner the yellow or yellowish complexion became the standing type for women. The deities, on the contrary, both male and female, had no general distinctive colour, but the individuals among them differ.

These proofs, which seem to me irrefragable, will unquestionably acquire still greater force, when these monuments shall have been more carefully examined and more completely copied. As it is, we may conclude, that, though it be allowed that there was a dark-coloured race in Egypt, it certainly was not the only one; but a tribe of fairer, though perhaps not completely white, (for with the limited number of colours of which the Egyptians made use, and these without intermixing them, it was nearly impossible for them to give very exactly the colour of the skin,) had, at least for a certain period, spread themselves over Upper Egypt. We may, moreover, conclude, that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests, and warriors belonged; and that the magnificent monuments of Egyptian art, in this district, were erected by them.

The case is very different, notwithstanding its connexion with the foregoing subject, when we come to examine into the descent of this fairer race, and to inquire whether it was of African origin or not. I have observed, upon another occasion, that this question cannot be determined from history. Can we, indeed, trace the origin of other nations, the Greeks, for example, or even our own, from public records? Recourse, therefore, can only be had to such arguments as may be drawn from the nature of the people themselves, both as regards their external appearance and their civilization.

While little or nothing was known of the valley through which the Nile holds its course, above the confines of Egypt, with its monuments and inhabitants, it was impossible to answer this question with any satisfaction. But since the obscurity which hung over this region has been cleared up, the matter has assumed altogether a different appearance. The

southern frontiers of proper Egypt form merely a political boundary; the whole strip of land from the distant Meroë to where the Nile pours its flood into the Mediterranean, appears like a world by itself, cut off from the rest of the globe.[1] Neither in their speech, their writing, nor their religion, have the inhabitants of this strip of land any thing in common with the rest of the world. The same deities which were worshipped in Meroë were worshipped down to this nethermost boundary. We recognise the same art in their buildings, their sculptures, and their paintings. We recognise just the same writing; just the same hieroglyphics upon the monuments of Meroë as upon those of Thebes; and if, as I have remarked, this writing could only be taken from the language which was spoken by the people, it may thence be concluded, that the same language was spread over this whole district.[2] To all this may be added, that the best informed travellers and most accurate observers recognise the same colour, the same features, and mostly the same fashions and weapons in the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley, as they find portrayed on the Egyptian monuments. It was upon these grounds that I was induced, in the foregoing volume, to express my opinion, that it was the race, of which we now discover the remains in the Nubian—though by loss of liberty and religion much degenerated—which once was the ruling race in Egypt.

How could this culture, bearing, as it does, in a much higher degree than the Greek the stamp of locality, have been introduced from some other quarter? Here we do know its progress, though we can form but a very confused notion of its origin. But can we comprehend how this valley of the Nile, every where surrounded by the desert,—this strip, which alone allowed the soil its produce, almost without toil, the father-land of agriculture, and of a religion every where referring to it,—how here a condensed population came pressed together, and with it a rising commerce, for which the stream, the only one in north Africa which deserves the name, offers its assistance? This race did not come from Arabia; their colour, language, and manner of life were different, and continued different, though Arabian tribes became native in Africa. The Indians,

[1] See the discussion upon Meroë in the former part of this volume.

[2] It is true, that we have no conclusive evidence respecting the ancient language of the Ethiopians in Meroë, and its relation to the Egyptian. But their close affinity is proved by a very remarkable passage in Herodotus. In trying to demonstrate that the Ammonians were a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, he says, *φωνην μεταξί αμιφοτερων νομιξοντες*. Herod. ii. 42. Would this have any sense at all, if the languages had been wholly different?

then, are now the only nation known to us, that is left, whence the Egyptians could have descended. But though it cannot be denied that some Indians found their way thither, of which indeed there is an historical proof;[1] yet, as this could not take place otherwise than by sea, single colonies at the most—the Indians themselves never had a navy—could cross over; but we see not how a whole nation could. And would not such colonies, instead of penetrating so far into the interior, even to the banks of the river, have established themselves, or been obliged to establish themselves, on the coast?

I shall not repeat, but refer to what is said upon this subject in the former part of this volume. It would be rash to deny that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted from India to Ethiopia; but certainly nothing more than shoots, in which every foreign trace was soon lost by their being grafted in a foreign soil and climate.

From what has been already said, it must appear very evident that the manners and habits of the people of Egypt could not every where be the same. Local circumstances rendered this impossible; for many districts of Egypt permitted only this or that particular sort of life, and would allow of no other. The inhabitants of the eastern mountainous regions necessarily followed a pastoral life, as did also the tribes in the fenny districts of the Delta; their soil was unfit for agriculture. Other tribes, close to the Nile, were fishermen and mariners, as the nature of their situation made it more profitable than handicraft. But it is very apparent, that the civilized part of the nation, dwelling in the plains of the valley, carried on all the chief branches of domestic business, in all of which they arrived at great perfection, which is ascertained from the pictures in the grottoes so often mentioned, where they are all found portrayed. Agricultural occupations — ploughing, sowing, digging, harrowing, reaping, binding, treading out the corn by oxen, and storing it; fishing, with the angle as well as nets, and salting the fish; hunting; the vintage and its various labours; cattle-breeding, and herds of kine, horses, asses, sheep; the navigation of the Nile, as well with sails as oars; the weighing of living beasts for sale—all this is here represented.

[1] Syncellus, p. 120, ed. *Venet.* *Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνασάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὥκησαν.* Æthiopes, ab Indo fluvio profecti, supra Ægyptum sedem sibi eligerunt. This migration, however, did not happen before the reign of Amenophis or Memnon, belonging to the eighteenth dynasty; consequently in the flourishing period of the kingdom of Thebes. Neither the origin of the nation, therefore, nor its cultivation can be derived from that. The expression *supra Ægyptum* must be taken in a wider sense.

This difference in descent and manner of life likewise sheds a light upon that celebrated institution, which this nation had in common with the Hindoos, with whom they seem thus early to have had some connexion:—the division into castes, or hereditary ranks, of which, according to the most creditable accounts, there were seven in Egypt. The two most honourable were the priests and warriors; the next, merchants and shopkeepers, and mariners; then two castes of herdsmen; to which must be added—but not till the latter period of the Pharaohs—the interpreters or brokers.[1] Although the origin of castes among these nations extends beyond the period of history, and strict historical evidence cannot, therefore, be deduced, yet it is exceedingly probable that the difference of descent, connected with the modes of life, first laid the foundation of it, and that the various castes at first were various tribes.[2] There is no doubt but policy, in the infancy of civil society, expected to find this rigid separation of professions a security for their preservation and perfection, and for their further extension; neither is there any doubt but that accidental causes might, and indeed did, give rise to new castes;[3] the only question here is, from what cause did this institution spring originally?

This general view of the country and people will in some measure clear the way for the following discussions. But it will be necessary to mention, previously to taking a single step on our journey, that we are venturing into a region where the clear torch of history is gone out, and only a dim glimmering is left. It is only general masses that the most careful examiner can hope to discover; he who should attempt to point out clearly particular objects, will give us an illusory *ignis-fatuus* instead of the steady light of truth.

[1] Herod. ii. 164. He here calls the castes γένεα, as he generally calls the various tribes of a nation, as for example that of the Medes in lib. i. 101, that of the Persians in i. 125. The accounts of Herodotus have certainly a much higher claim to belief than those of Diodorus, i. p. 85, who only enumerates five classes, (namely, the two more noble, the husbandmen, the herdsmen, and the handicraftsmen,) as they do not agree in themselves. The reader may compare the passage in Isaiah xix. 7—21, where the prophet enumerates the Egyptian classes according to their leading circumstances. The reader will easily perceive the classes of agriculturists, herdsmen, fishermen, or navigators, the trading class, and the priests. The mention of the warrior caste would have been contrary to his object.

[2] See the disquisition, Meiners *de Origine Castarum apud Ægyptios et Indos, in Comment. Soc. Scient. Götting.* vol. x. p. 184, etc.

[3] As to that of the interpreters in Egypt, in the reign of Psammetichus.

CHAP. II. *Political State of the Ancient Egyptians.*

AND I WILL SET THE EGYPTIANS AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS, CITY AGAINST CITY, KINGDOM AGAINST KINGDOM. ISAIAH XIX. 2.

A FULL inquiry into the political state of ancient Egypt necessarily comprises two questions: first, what general revolutions the country or nation had passed through, in a political point of view, previously to the decline of the throne of the Pharaohs? Secondly, what was the state of things, with regard to the organization of the government, and the internal relations of the state, in the flourishing period of the Egyptian empire?

The origin of states usually takes place long before the period of authentic history; how much more then is this to be expected in a country, which, if not the first, was certainly one of the first in which states became formed. No more, therefore, can be here expected than that we should follow the obscure traces which history has left of its origin.

According to its own traditions, Egypt was originally inhabited by savage tribes, without tillage or government, who lived upon such fruits as the earth spontaneously brought forth, and upon fish, with which the Nile plentifully supplied them; while its buildings merely consisted of a few huts made of reeds! The mode of life of a part of its inhabitants, the shepherd and fishing tribes, in later times, evidences the truth of this account.[1] The history of the political growth of Egypt, however, does not depend upon the history of these tribes; but, as the still existing monuments evince, upon a race of different descent and colour; who, settling among these barbarians, in the fertile part of the land, especially in the valley of the Nile, became the builders of cities, the constructors of those proud monuments, and the founders of states; joining those ruder tribes more or less to themselves, or bringing them under their subjection. Thus they established a dominion, not so much by force as by superior knowledge and civilization connected with religion. The Egyptians themselves express this, when they ascribe the foundation of their civilization to their gods, particularly to Osiris, Isis, and Ammon.[2]

But if in the whole range of Egyptian antiquities there is to be found one proposition less open to contradiction than an-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 52. Isaiah xix. 8—10.

[2] Ibid. i. p. 55.

other, it is, that civilization in general, and therefore more especially political improvement, did not spread from the sea inland, but rather from south to north. According to the proper accounts of the nation, Upper Egypt was more early civilized than Middle Egypt: and there was a time when the name of Thebais was generally synonymous with the civilized portion of Egypt.[1] It is equally certain that Lower Egypt was not cultivated till after both those portions: this observation is of more importance, because it marks a *successive* progress in the civilization of Egypt, and confutes an opinion which long prevailed in history. There was a time when Egypt was considered, even from its origin, as one great kingdom, which, through a long series of centuries, had endured without revolution, or at least without division. The tone in which many ancient writers, in other respects very worthy of belief, especially Herodotus, speak of Egypt, seems to justify this opinion; and although the fragments of Manetho, and later writers who borrowed from him, would seem, by containing catalogues of Egyptian princes in various states,[2] to contradict this, yet the learned are rather inclined to consider

[1] Herod. ii. 15.

[2] Towards a review of these sources, I offer the following remarks: When the Ptolemies ruled in Egypt, the study of the history of the country flourished, among the other branches of learning which they patronized. Ptolemy the Second caused an Egyptian priest, Manetho, to compile, from the archives of the priests, a history of Egypt; and in the execution of this task he has been accused of frauds, of too grave a nature for it to be possible for them to have been committed in so enlightened an age as that was, although slight mistakes might have crept in. His work received some additions from Eratosthenes, who arranged the succession of the ancient Theban kings. Other Greeks also, about the same time, made similar attempts; but the fruit of their labours, as well as that of Manetho, has been for a long period lost. Fragments, however, were preserved by Josephus in his Discourse against Apion. These writings, however, were made particular use of by the Christian writers, in their endeavours to arrange the chronology of the Bible; only, indeed, according to their hypothesis. This is first observable in Julius Africanus, in his *Chronicon*, composed in the third century; and by Eusebius, who again made use of them in the fourth. The work of Julius Africanus is likewise lost; of the Greek original of Eusebius we have only some fragments; but of a Latin translation by St. Jerome, we have the second part, or the Canons. The chronicles of both however were again made use of, at the beginning of the ninth century, by Georgius Syncellus, a monk, in his Chronicle, which in this manner became the principal source. But in this matter, the last ten years has supplied us, very unexpectedly, with a great treasure. The Chronicle of Eusebius, complete, as well as the first book, or the *Isagoge*, was again discovered in an *Armenian* translation at Constantinople. The first edition of this, but interpolated, appeared at Milan; and shortly after, the genuine edition, with a literal Latin translation, critical notes, and a preface giving all the explanation required, by the learned monk, Aucher, *Eusebii Phamphili Chronicon bipartitum, nunc primum ex Armenico textu in Latinum conversum, adnotationibus auctum, Græcis fragmentis exornatum, opera* P. Joannis Baptistæ Aucher, *Ancyrani, Monachi Armeni;* Venetiis, 1818, 4to. This edition is what I used. We there have the statements of Manetho at best only at second or third hand, and, without doubt, often disfigured in particulars, though not, on that account, upon the whole. The first modern who endeavoured to compile from these sources a chronological history of the *different* states, which often flourished in Egypt at the same time, was Marsham, in his *Canon Chronicus*, Lond. 1672; a work which displays as much acuteness as learning. In later times, Gatterer, in his *Synchronistischen Universalhistorie*, has endeavoured to reduce the *Dynasties of Manetho* to a better order; without, however, even satisfying himself, †*Weltgeschichte nach ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 16. While our means continue so scanty, it will always be a hopeless task to settle here an accurate chronology in particulars.

these as spurious or uncertain, than to give up the commonly received opinion.

These ideas require now no further confutation. The researches of more modern writers have placed it beyond a doubt, that Egypt in its earlier period contained *many contemporary kingdoms or states*, but which, nevertheless, became united, somewhat later, into one great empire. And if a single doubt had remained upon this head, it has been entirely done away with, from the time we have possessed the complete Chronicle of Eusebius, by his single testimony, that many dynasties must be considered as contemporary, and distinct from one another.[1] But further: this is proved, by a passage in Josephus, to have been also the opinion of Manetho himself; for, according to his own account, the Hyksos were expelled by the king of Thebes, and the *other* kings of Egypt.[2] The question here, however, extends over a period of at least eighteen centuries, during which, previous to the Persian invasion, Egypt was governed, for the most part, by native kings alone. How many changes might have come to pass in this long period! How many states might have arisen and fallen in this long lapse of ages, without history having preserved even the remembrance of their name! How many, indeed, *must* have sprung up and declined, unless we give to their institutions a firmness and durability, which is no longer the lot of human things!

The dynasties of Manetho, unfortunately, contain but little beyond mere catalogues of kings, but they are, notwithstanding this, of the greatest importance for Egyptian antiquity; not only because they lead us to correct notions respecting that, but, more particularly, because they likewise make known to us the names of the cities in which these kings reigned; and, consequently, point out the places where the most ancient Egyptian states were founded. In a nation, whose whole being, government, and civilization were so much formed according to the locality, these give the first ideas, the foundation, upon which all further inquiry must be built. The most

[1] *Porro si quoque valde auctus temporum numerus reperiatur, tamen et illius diligenter rationem scrutari oporteat; forte enim iisdem temporibus multos reges Ægyptiorum simul fuisse contigerit. Siquidem Thinitas aiunt et Memphitas, Saitasque et Æthiopes regnasse, ac interim alios quoque; et sicut mihi videtur alios alibi; minime autem alterum alteri successisse; sed alios hic, aliosque illic regnare oportuisse.* Eusebii, *Chronicon*, p. 201, 202.

[2] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γίνεσθαι φησιν (ὁ Μανεθὼν) ἐπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας. *Reges Thebaidos et reliquæ Ægypti invasionem fecisse dicit Manetho contra pastores.* Joseph. c. *Apion*, i. p. 1040.

ancient Egyptian states, according to the unanimous tradition of Manetho and others, were altogether in the valley of the Nile, on both sides the river. The nature of things determines this, because, in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, the soil itself was not formed till afterwards. The kingdoms of Upper and Middle Egypt, mentioned by Manetho, are, beginning from the southern frontiers, the state of *Elephantis*, of *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, of *This*, afterwards called *Abydos*, of *Heracleopolis*, and of *Memphis*, not far from the place where the Nile divides. States in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, are not mentioned till towards the end of his dynasties, namely, the states of *Tanis*, *Bubastus*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, and *Sais*.

None of these states appear, according to his account, to have continued without interruptions; the successions of their kings are broken off and renewed; revolutions, of which we know nothing, destroyed and suppressed them, till, under more favourable circumstances, they again arose and flourished. Yet, however little our information may be respecting the vicissitudes to which these states were subject, they cannot appear extraordinary, if we bear in mind that the narrow valley of the Nile, as well as the Delta, in which these states were situated, was every where surrounded by barbarous nomad hordes, whose inroads and wars must have occasioned many revolutions. An accurate chronology, showing how far they were contemporary, or followed one another,—were interrupted, and again continued,—lies beyond the scope of these researches; all that could be said upon the subject, with any show of probability, has long been published;[1] it appears, however, from the whole, as most evident, that Thebes and Memphis were the mightiest and most durable among them.

The way in which those earliest states of Egypt were formed, and to whom they were indebted for their origin and civilization, will become the first objects of my attention.

I venture, however, to hope that the groundwork for the settlement of these points has been already laid, in Ethiopians, chap. iii. It has there been shown how one religion, that of Ammon and his kindred gods, connected with their temples, spread over the whole valley of the Nile. We have there become acquainted with an extensive commercial intercourse, comprising the southern portion of the globe, from India to Africa; we have there pointed out certain places, which were,

[1] Gatterer's *Synchronistische Universalhistorie*, p. 301, etc., and also his later *Lehrbucher*.

at the same time, the chief seats of religion and trade; we have already seen examples in Meroë and Ammonium, that the sanctuaries which were erected at these places became likewise the central points of states, where, very naturally, from this very cause, a priest caste became the ruling order; finally, we have seen that the extension of religion and trade, by the foundation of new sanctuaries in distant, but suitable and convenient districts, was no uncommon circumstance.[1]

A general glance at ancient Egypt will suffice to convince the reader that these ideas are equally applicable to it, and that much happened there in just the same manner. Did not the whole civilization of the people also there depend upon a ruling caste of priests? And are not traces of this at all times visible, notwithstanding the numerous revolutions which have taken place? Does not Egypt exhibit, in the period of her highest civilization, the form of a complete hierarchy; in which every germ, that in a less fortunate soil must have perished, by favourable circumstances, in various ways shot forth?

History also adds its mites, which evidently extend and explain this view of the subject. Thebes, as well as the states in general of Upper Egypt, are called, in the proper annals of the priests, colonies from Meroë in Ethiopia;[2] and at Thebes the service of Jupiter Ammon, whose temple was the common centre of the state, gives of itself a striking proof that such was the case. Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. It lay just at the point where the river became navigable without interruption; and where navigation must have assumed a new shape, "as portable vessels were no longer required."[3] Memphis, whose situation was so remarkable from the dams and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes.[4] The other cities of Egypt, likewise, derive their descent—directly or indirectly—from Ethiopia, of which they

[1] I trust I shall be excused for referring here to the very remarkable circumstance, (of which Burkhardt has informed us, without thinking of antiquity, and therefore not at all with a view to confirm my opinion,) that there now exists, almost on the very site of ancient Meroë, a completely similar *priestly trading state*, in the small state of *Damer*, which is described above, p. 219, note. Can there well be a better commentary upon antiquity?

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 175, 176.

[3] The objection, that so small an island as Elephantis could not have formed a state, is very easily removed; as it is only said here, that it became by its sanctuary the central point, to which many of the neighbouring districts might have belonged. In the statements of Jomard, *Description*, chap. iii. p. 18, it is rendered probable, that the name Elephantis was only a translation of Philæ; as *Fil*, or *Phil*, in the Ethiopian language, is as much as to say, *elephant*; and this name might have included the small islands in general, which all together might have formed a state. I leave this undetermined, but it is important to remark, that what Herodotus, ii. 28, says of Elephantis is necessarily to be understood of *Philæ*.

[4] Diodorus, i. p. 60.

considered themselves as colonies, and of which their religion and institutions furnish abundant proof.[1]

From this body of evidence, then, we come to the conclusion, that the same race which ruled in Ethiopia and Meroë, spread themselves by colonies, in the first instance, to Upper Egypt; that these latter colonies, in consequence of their great prosperity, became, in their turn, the parents of others; and, as in all this they followed the course of the river, there gradually became founded a succession of colonies in the valley of the Nile, which, according to the usual custom of the ancient world, were, probably, at first, independent of each other, and therefore formed just so many little states.[2] Though with the promulgation of their religion, either that of Ammon himself, or of his kindred deities and temple companions, after whom even the settlements were named, the extension of trade was the principal motive which tempted colonists from Meroë to the countries beyond the desert; yet there were many other causes, such as the fertility of the land, and the facility of making the rude native tribes subservient to themselves, which, in a period of tranquillity, must have promoted the prosperity, and accelerated the gradual progress, of this colonization. The advantages which large streams offer, by facilitating the means of communication, are so great, that it is a common occurrence in the history of the world, to see civilization spreading on their banks. The shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, of the Indus and Ganges, of the Kiangh and Hoangho, afford us as plain proofs of this as the banks of the Nile.

This view of the subject is not only consonant to the nature of things in general, but there are other proofs, derived from the *political division of the land*, under the later government of Egypt, which confirm it.

The fertile portion of Egypt, for example, was divided into certain *nomes* or *districts*, which are found mentioned, upon various occasions, even under the Ptolemies. It was, however, a primeval institution, which had descended from the times of the Pharaohs,—for the Egyptians themselves imputed it to Sesostris;[3] and this division continued both during the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans.

It requires, however, but a passing glance at the history of

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 175.

[2] This outspreading, nevertheless, must not be understood to have taken place, step by step, in exact geographical order. That there was not, indeed, even a mutual movement, or reaction from Egypt upon Ethiopia, is by no means denied, I have already stated above, p. 220, to which I now refer

[3] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

Egypt, to perceive, that although this continued as a whole, it was yet subject to numerous alterations in particulars. Scarcely any two writers agree respecting the number of nomes; and the confusion becomes still greater when we attempt to compare their separate names with one another. D'Anville has collected together, upon his map, fifty-three of them, and yet this does not include all that are mentioned by Herodotus. Strabo[1] enumerates thirty-six; Pliny, and others, various numbers: differences which cannot astonish us when we consider the number of political changes which Egypt had experienced with regard to its boundaries.

I shall leave it to some future historian to trace out the extent of these changes. For the present discussion, the only material question is, how did this division arise, and what was its original form?

On these points Herodotus again becomes the only historian from whom we can expect any information. When he visited Egypt, many lesser parts of this system might very possibly have been changed; but it had not yet given way to a Greek or Roman division into provinces. Traces of what it had originally been must have been preserved, or were at least too easy to be obtained, to have escaped the observation of so minute an inquirer as Herodotus.

One fact, which a little attention to the subject alone places before us, and which necessarily leads to still further conjecture, is, that this division into nomes was, in a certain degree, connected with the objects and form of worship in various parts of Egypt. In this nome, he says, was this or that deity reverenced, were these or those animals held sacred; while in another it was otherwise. This remark at once leads us to adopt the idea, that in this, as well as in almost every institution, religion and state-policy were most intimately united. The following passage from Herodotus, conjoined with what has already been said upon the formation of the Egyptian states, will, I think, place the obscure question respecting the origin of nomes, which D'Anville held it impossible to solve, in its fullest light.[2]

"Those," says Herodotus, "who have founded the sanctuary of the Theban Jupiter, *or* belong to the Theban nomes, abstain from sheep, and slaughter goats; but those who have estab-

[1] Strabo, p. 1154. See also Diodorus, l. c.; cf. Plin. v. 9.

[2] D'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 34.

lished the sanctuary of Mendes, *or* belong to the Mendean nomes, abstain from goats and slaughter sheep instead."

This testimony of the historian seems to me so clear, precise, and certain, that I think no further doubt can remain upon the origin and earliest form of the Egyptian nomes. They evidently, at their origin, were appended to the temples. Every new settlement of the priest caste, with the territory that formed it, constituted one of these nomes. And every such nome was distinguished from the others by the form of worship introduced into it, which was every where modelled according to local circumstances.

At their first origin, therefore, these Egyptian nomes were just so many independent states of the priest caste; and this division into nomes could never become the general division of the country, till the whole of Egypt, or the separate states of which it was composed, should be united into one large kingdom. It is, therefore, in this sense that the Egyptian tradition ascribes this division to *Sesostris;* because he was sole monarch of all Egypt.

Thus, therefore, we here arrive, by another, and assuredly by a more certain way, according to history, at the same conclusion to which our foregoing researches have already brought us, namely, that "The most ancient states of this country were originally settlements of the priest caste, who, by accustoming the inhabitants to fixed dwellings, and to agriculture, by the introduction of a religious worship formed according to the locality, and supported by local circumstances, wove a political band by which they connected these rude tribes with themselves."

The central point of such a state, therefore, was always, in the first place, a temple, about which a city became formed. "A nome," says an Egyptian Father of the Church, "is a name given by the Egyptians to a city, with its surrounding territory, and the villages lying therein."[1] Even the names of the Egyptian cities afford a proof of this; as we know, from many examples, that such cities had two names, one sacred, which was given it by the priests, and taken from their protecting deity, the other profane, adopted from some accidental cause. Thus Thebes was also called the City of Ammon; Memphis, the City of Phtha; Heliopolis, the City of Rhé, or

[1] Cyrill. *ad Jes.* 19, 11. Νομὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἑκάστη πόλις, καὶ αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῆς, καὶ αἱ ὑπ' αὐτῇ κῶμαι.

Helios of On, etc.[1] Nevertheless, these double names, so far as I have been able to discover, were never conferred upon any cities, except the capitals of the nomes containing the chief temple, and consequently forming the metropolis of the state.

The particular fortunes of these little states, their rise and their fall, are quite unknown. In the common course of affairs, some would flourish while others declined, and the more powerful obtain a dominion over the weak; so that it is nothing extraordinary to find two of them, Thebes and Memphis, elevating themselves above the rest, and swallowing them up. It happened in Egypt as in Phœnicia, where the various cities, likewise colonies of one another, formed at the beginning so many small independent states; but the mighty Tyre, gaining at last a predominance, maintained, to a certain degree, an authority over them: without, however, suppressing entirely the other kings, whom she only held in dependence. But notwithstanding all this, some states must still have remained weak in proportion to the others, and this explains another circumstance connected with the highest events of Egyptian history: the tedious and often repeated *struggle with the neighbouring nomades*, by whose conquest the flourishing period of the Pharaohs was brought about.

The countries in the vicinity of Egypt were almost entirely inhabited by nomad hordes, and certainly, for the most part, by very powerful nations. Besides the African tribes of Libyan and Ethiopian descent, there were the Arabians close at hand, to whom the rich grazing districts of Lower Egypt must have been particularly attractive. Thus, as the civilization of the Nile valley extended farther north, an encounter with these nations became unavoidable, who, for their part, felt just so much more inclined for war as the opulence of the valley increased. It follows, from the nature and habits of these nations, who only flee to recruit their strength and renew their attacks, that these wars must have been very frequent and tedious. The more ancient Egyptian history, in which they are comprised under the name of *Hyksos*,[2] is, even in its fragments,

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 337. The Greek names of these cities, therefore, were translations of those given them by the priests, according to the comparison of the Egyptian gods with theirs.

[2] The name Hyksos is explained by Manetho to mean shepherd-kings; as in the ancient Egyptian language *Hyk* signified king, and *Sos* shepherd; according to which it would not be the name of the people, but only of their rulers. After another interpretation, it is said to mean *captives*. Joseph. p. 1038.

full of accounts respecting them; and from these it is evident, that although Egypt was assaulted on various sides by these tribes, yet, those coming from the east, *the Arabs*, were by far the most formidable among them.[1] They overran Lower Egypt, and pressed forwards into Middle Egypt, where they took Memphis; they overthrew cities and temples, and built a strong place surrounded with walls, at *Avaris*, near Pelusium, at the entrance of Egypt, as a place of retreat in case of necessity. They thus founded a kingdom, which comprised the greatest part of Egypt, and which, governed by a succession of monarchs, whose names will be found in Manetho,[2] continued for a considerable period. The victors, as is almost always the case with nomad conquerors,[3] appear to have adopted many of the customs of the conquered. They established themselves in Lower and Middle Egypt; Memphis was the capital of their empire; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that their kings should be enumerated in the series of Egyptian dynasties. From the little that is said of them by Herodotus,[4] it is not altogether an improbable conjecture, that they were the builders of the pyramids, a sort of monument peculiar to Middle Egypt, where they ruled, and which, from their huge size, seem to betray the taste of a semi-barbarous people, who found, among the conquered mechanics and labourers, the means of prosecuting such stupendous undertakings. However this may have been, the power of the conquerors began to decline, probably from the same causes that have usually operated upon other empires of the same kind in the East; and, as they seem never to have been completely masters of Upper Egypt, where at least the kingdom of Thebes maintained itself during their dominion, though perhaps sometimes dependent, they became at last expelled by the rulers of that state; and Egypt delivered from their oppression. The glory of being the restorer of Egyptian independence, is attributed to Thutmosis, king of Thebes; the first who, in alliance with the *other* kings of Egypt,[1] attempted to shake off the yoke of the Hyksos. After a long struggle, the latter were at last driven to their strong-hold at Avaris; and, as this could not be taken by force, they were reduced to a capitulation by the second king after Thutmosis, by which they agreed to evacuate this and all Egypt.

This expulsion of the Hyksos became, by its consequences, one of the greatest events of Egyptian history.[2] As it brought the nation again to depend upon itself, it laid the foundation for the consolidation of the various petty states under one ruler, which, though perhaps not immediately, followed soon after, and led to the commencement of the brilliant period of the empire. How deeply the remembrance of these victories was impressed upon the nation, is plainly evinced in the remains of their annals; and scarcely anything was to be expected, from the nature of their monuments, but that these glorious deeds should be immortalized upon them. The few specimens, which

[1] The following accounts are taken from Josephus, *contra Apion. Op.* p. 1036, etc., who has here preserved us copious extracts from Manetho.

[2] Josephus mentions six of these kings, who reigned for one hundred and sixty years. The whole continuance of the Hyksos in Egypt, he states at five hundred and eleven years; but if this statement be adopted, there is no doubt but it must be understood to include the long and repeated wars which preceded, as well as those which followed their actual dominion. The proper dominion of the Hyksos in Egypt, from the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho, continued, according to his statement, only one hundred and three years. Euseb. *Chron.* p. 214. Manetho places the elevation of Joseph within this period; and the favourable reception of his family, leading a shepherd life, will be certainly most explicable during the sway of a shepherd dynasty.

[3] As, for example, the Mongols and Mantchues in China.

[4] The builders of the pyramids were represented by the Egyptians themselves, as oppressors of the nation, and enemies of religion. Herod. ii. 144. They would not willingly speak of them, and called the pyramids the work of the shepherd Philitis, who hereabouts fed his flocks. Should even this, as Zoëga (p. 389, note 8) has conjectured with much probability, be only a figurative representation, and Philitis signify the ruler of the lower world; yet this does not at all weaken the other reasons for this opinion. Various reports, however, were current in Egypt itself respecting the antiquity and builders of the pyramids; Diodorus, i. 75; a certain proof of their being then very ancient. Since we have become acquainted with the pyramid architecture in Meroë, since we observe there in miniature what was carried to such a wondrous extent in Egypt, can anything be more probable than that the Egyptian pyramids were also the work of Ethiopian conquerors, of whom, indeed, (Herod. ii. 100,) not less than eighteen are said to have ruled in Egypt, long previous to the flourishing times of Egypt, under the Sesostridæ. I shall leave it to others to do justice to this conjecture; and shall only now add, that, according to the passages cited from Diodorus, there was still another tradition in Egypt, which referred the building of the pyramids to the reign of a king Amasis, or Ammosis, who is described as a tyrant, but was overthrown by an *Ethiopian* conqueror, Actisanes.

[1] This is the expression of Manetho in Josephus. That many small states existed during the dominion of the Hyksos cannot be strange: the victors, as is usual, might be satisfied with making them tributary.

[2] Although chronological disquisitions lie beyond the scope of this work, yet clearness requires that the *principal epochs* should be determined, so far as this is possible in a history where we are compelled to reckon by centuries instead of years. We shall distinguish four periods. The *first*, from before the year 2000 to 1800 B. C.: period of the colonization of the Nile valley and of Lower Egypt, where numerous small states were formed in the manner above described, and Thebes and Memphis already attained to considerable importance. Abraham, about 2000 B. C., found a kingdom in Lower Egypt; and, two centuries later, in Joseph's time, 1800 B. C., the state in which *he* acted so great a part, probably Memphis, was so powerful, that it comprised Middle and Lower Egypt. The *second*, from 1800—1700 B. C.: period of the *Hyksos*, who subjugated Middle Egypt. The native states, however, still continue to exist, (though more or less tributary,) especially the kingdom of Thebes. The victors mostly adopt the manners of the conquered, but gradually lose thereby their warlike character. Period of Moses.—*The third*, from 1700—700 B. C.: period of Sesostris and of the Sesostridæ, who, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, ruled over all Egypt. Hence this formed the *brilliant period* of the kingdom, in which the greater part of its mighty monuments were erected. Towards the close of this period, however, from about 800 B. C., the kingdom began to decline, partly through the conquests of the kings of Ethiopia and Meroë, and partly from intestine troubles; so that a dodecarchy became the consequence, till Psammetichus established himself at Sais as sole monarch of Egypt. The *fourth*, 700—528 B. C., from the reign of Psammetichus to the Persian conquest. The chronology of Egypt chiefly depends upon fixing the *period of Sesostris*; upon which I shall say more in the next chapter.

we have now obtained, of the historical representations upon the walls of their temples, seem, as I shall make manifest in the next chapter, to leave no doubt of this fact. Indeed, it is easily perceived that the reliefs upon one of the great temples at Thebes, namely, that of Karnac, are devoted to the history of this war; for the whole circle of events, from the moment in which the king obtains his weapons from the deity, in order to march against the enemy, till he again, as conqueror, delivers them back to the deity, is placed before us. The peculiarities of the people warred against, as well as the designation of the locality, and the manner of the fight, are all so many proofs of this fact. The hostile nation have a peculiar physiognomy, altogether different from that of the Egyptian. All belonging to it have long beards and long garments; every thing, indeed, pointing them out as Arabs. Still clearer proofs are given in the representation of the battle and flight. The slain and flying enemy is here portrayed as a nation, whose riches consist in its *herds* of cattle and horses, which are seen taking to flight with their armies. The circumstance of place is pointed out by a lotus flower and bush, a proof that it was a marshy region. In the back-ground is observed a long, strong-posted wall or fortification; which, in connexion with the other circumstances, obviously brings to our mind the strong-hold of *Avaris*, the point to which the shepherds had reached in this very district of Lower Egypt.

Although this important event laid the foundation of that national power and greatness which seemed immediately to follow, yet it also seems explained by the foregoing narrative, how these revolutions came to have so little effect in changing the national character, and the principal features of government. We know explicitly, that the state of Thebes continued during the foreign dynasty, as did probably many of the others, by paying tribute. The form of this state, therefore, remained the same; the dominion of the priest caste was shaken, but not overthrown; and if the sanctuaries, as the priest informed Herodotus, were closed for a hundred years, they were nevertheless reopened; the foreign dynasty was chased from Upper Egypt; independence was here re-established, the national spirit revived, and the various states were consolidated into one kingdom. Can we then be surprised to see in Egypt, thus united, the same principal form continued, and the kingdom in its most flourishing period assume the appearance of a vast hierarchy?

This brilliant period began, according to the most probable settlement of the chronology, between the years 1600 and 1500 B. C.; at a time when we have as yet heard of no great empire in Asia; when, as yet, Phœnicia possessed no Tyre, nor the commerce of the world; when the Jews, after the death of Joshua, remained without a leader, weak and inconsiderable; and when the obscure traditions of the Greeks represent that nation as but little removed from barbarism. There can be no doubt, therefore, but Egypt ranked, at this time, as the most civilized country of the known world, at least as far as the Indus; and for succeeding centuries no one could enter the lists with her, or cause her any dread; and thus, through a long period of tranquillity, she continually increased and prospered, till she attained that pitch of greatness, which is not only set forth in the narratives of antiquity, but displayed in her own monuments. The first symptoms of decay are discernible towards the beginning of the eighth century before the Christian era, the period at which a little light breaks into her history; and we therefore may conclude, with much probability, that this golden period lasted from seven to eight centuries. What I have to say respecting it will be reserved for the following chapter.

Egyptian tradition makes the departure of some of the foreign colonies, as, for example, that of Danaus for the Peloponnesus, to have happened during the revolutions, to which the expulsion of the Hyksos gave rise. How much the foundation of colonies, not only within, but also beyond the boundaries of Egypt, was in accordance with the notions of the Egyptian priests, may be gathered from the statements of Diodorus. According to their own traditions, Egyptian colonies were founded in the most opposite regions of the world: in Greece, Colchis, Babylon, and even India. But, in the foundation of these colonies out of Egypt, there was always a view to the extension of Egyptian civilization. Even the whole mythus of the expedition of *Osiris*, as found in Diodorus,[1] is nothing more than a figurative representation of the spread of Egyptian religion and civilization, by the planting of colonies; as was that of Hercules, as I have shown in its place, among the Phœnicians. It is the highly figurative language of eastern antiquity. No one will think of finding in it strict historical truth; nevertheless, it will plainly evince, that this extension by colo-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 22.

nies of priests, as we have laid it down, was by no means a strange idea to the Egyptians themselves, but a well-known common circumstance.

It also seems pretty certain, that in this flourishing period, the *division into castes*, as a political institution, received its complete formation; and those strict boundary lines were fixed, to which difference of descent and manner of life had already laid the foundation. So long as the country remained divided into numerous small states, this institution, though certainly existing, could scarcely come to maturity. The priest caste was without doubt distributed through all the states, which were excellently formed and governed by them; but in each of these states there could hardly be found some of all the other castes. Thus a warrior caste could not possibly become important in small states, if they had already existed in some of the larger for any length of time. But after the consolidation into one kingdom, institutions of this kind, the ground having been laid for them before, must naturally have become extended. The more, therefore, this regulation formed the foundation of the whole government, the more necessary it seems that we should take a glance at the separate castes; as well the noble, (the priest and warrior castes,) as the others enumerated by Herodotus.

The difficulties of the inquiry respecting the *priest caste* are increased, because the writers, to whose testimony we must have recourse, did not live till a later age, when it must already have undergone great and essential internal changes. Every revolution must have reacted upon this body, or rather struck it first; as already that of Psammetichus, who by foreign aid had won the sole dominion of Egypt. This event, though it did not destroy, must have greatly diminished their political influence. By the changes which ensued in Egyptian policy, it is probable, that, without violent concussion, they became gradually reduced to what they appeared in the time of Herodotus, when little more seemed left of their former dominion and power than their documents. These changes were still further increased by the Persian yoke. These foreign conquerors were the natural enemies of the ruling caste, and it becomes a matter of surprise, that the repeated shocks which it had to endure did not entirely destroy it.

Herodotus, therefore, and still more the writers from whom Diodorus borrowed, saw only the shadow of their former glory.

Still, however, there were left many manifest traces of what had formerly been, and sufficient may be collected from what these writers tell us, to enable us to form, with tolerable certainty, some conclusions respecting the earlier state of this caste.

It was completely in accordance with Egyptian institutions, that branches of this great priest stock should be spread over all Egypt. In every Egyptian city this caste seems to have been native; but the great cities, which formerly had been the capitals of the Egyptian kingdoms, Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais, still continued their principal seats; it was likewise at these places that the great temples were found, which are so often mentioned in the narratives of Herodotus and others.[1]

Every Egyptian priest was obliged to enter into the service of some particular god; that is to say, he was obliged to belong to some particular temple. The number of priests for the service of any deity was never fixed; according to the whole system, it must have been a matter of chance, for, as the priesthood descended in families, its number must have varied. It was not, for example, merely the priest caste *generally* that was hereditary in Egypt; but again, *especially* the priesthood of this or that deity. The son of a priest of Vulcan at Memphis, could not enter, as member, into the college of priests at Heliopolis; nor could a son of one of the latter enter into the former.

However strange this regulation may appear to us, it is quite natural. Every temple had large estates, the revenues of which were drawn by the priests belonging to the same, whose forefathers had formerly built this temple, had formed the neighbouring tribes into subjects, and had made these fields arable. It was therefore a natural inheritance, which might become so much the more unalienable, as it not only referred to the income, but also to the territory of every priest colony.

The priesthood belonging to each temple, were again, among themselves, strictly organized. They had a high priest, whose office was likewise hereditary, and the disposition of the rest was made according to the state of affairs.

It scarcely needs to be mentioned, that these offices of high priest, in the metropolitan temples of Egypt, were the first and highest in the state. To a certain degree they were hereditary

[1] The proofs of what next follow will be found in Herod. ii. 36, 37, 42, compared with Diodorus, i. p. 48.

princes, who ranked next to the kings, and enjoyed nearly equal advantages. Both Memphis and Thebes had, at the same time, high priests and kings, so long as they flourished as separate and independent states. The Egyptian title was *pyromis*, which, according to Herodotus's interpretation, is equivalent in signification to *noble and good*[1] (καλὸς κἀγαθὸς); but which, perhaps, did not refer to the moral character, but to nobleness of descent.[2] Their statues were erected in the temple. Whenever they are mentioned in history, even in the Mosaic period, they are represented as the highest persons in the state. When Joseph became elevated in Egypt, the first step he took was to connect himself by marriage with the priest caste: he married the daughter of the high priest of *On*, or *Heliopolis*.[3]

The organization of the inferior priesthood was perhaps different in different cities, according to the size and wants of the locality. They did not continue the ruling race, merely because from them were chosen the servants of the state, but much rather because they monopolised every branch of scientific knowledge, which was entirely formed by the locality, and had immediate reference to the wants of the people. The reader must banish the idea, that their sole, or even their most usual employment, was the service of the gods, an idea which the few following callings of priests will much tend to expel. They were judges, physicians, soothsayers, architects, in short, everything in which any species of scientific knowledge was required.

It is evident from the whole course of Egyptian history, that every great city in this country had originally one principal temple of this kind, which, in succeeding times, always remained the high temple, and the deity who was worshipped therein the chief god, or protecting deity of the place. The priests of Memphis were always called (according to the Greek way of naming them) the priests of Vulcan; those at Thebes, priests of the Theban Jupiter; those at Sais, priests of Minerva; those at On, priests of the sun, etc. These temples were the earliest settlements of the priesthood at each place, and to each of these likewise was knit the whole dominion of the state, which grew up and increased around it; it scarcely needs to

[1] Herod. ii. 143.
[2] That this may be the sense of καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, is shortly set forth by Welker, in his introduction to *Theognidis Reliquiæ*, p. 24.
[3] Genesis xli. 43.

be mentioned, that this in no wise prevented the priesthood from founding numerous temples to other deities, in proportion as their body increased, and changes of time and circumstances wrought occasion for them. The number of deities, however, to whom temples were dedicated, seems, at least in Upper Egypt, always to have been very limited. We have only yet heard of temples here to Ammon, Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. In Middle and Lower Egypt this circle seems afterwards to have been extended; it was still, however, confined to deities of the family of Ammon.

It will now also be easier to answer another question not less important; that touching the *income* of the Egyptian priests. The erroneous idea has been long entertained, that these were a class of men *paid* by the king or state; an idea which even those writers who have most raised themselves above the common notions respecting this remarkable caste seem still inclined to favour.

From what has already been said upon the colonies of these priests, it naturally follows, that they must have been the first proprietors of lands within their territory. It surely cannot, therefore, seem strange, that they are represented by Herodotus as being the *principal landed proprietors* in Egypt, a privilege which, according to Diodorus, was only possessed besides by the kings, in respect to their domains, and, though only under certain restrictions, by the warrior caste. It is, however, contrary to probability and to history to represent this latter regulation as uniformly and uninterruptedly existing in all the states of Egypt; to probability, because it would be difficult to conceive that the priest caste, where a state became greatly augmented, could preserve in its full extent, and exclusively, the proprietorship of land; to history, because as early as the time of Joseph, there appear to have been proprietors of land in the state over which he was governor, besides the priest caste and king, who, when compelled by the famine which then distressed them, could part with it to the king for corn.[1]

But whatever changes may have taken place, it is still certain that a considerable, perhaps the largest and fairest, portion of the land always remained the property of the priests. Ac-

[1] Genesis xlvii. 18—26. A very remarkable passage, which, besides showing us the power of the priests at that time, likewise gives us an example of the increase of the royal power in an Egyptian state!

cording to Herodotus and Diodorus, it was managed in the following manner:

To each temple, or to every settlement of priests, were attached extensive estates: these formed the original territory of the settlement, and therefore belonged to the whole body in common. They were accordingly farmed out at moderate rents, and the revenue which they produced formed the common treasury of the temple, which was under the charge of a person, or steward, appointed to manage it, who likewise appertained to the priest caste.[1] Out of this common fund the necessaries of life were supplied to the priests and their families belonging to each temple; they and their households living at free tables. "So many dishes," says Herodotus "were furnished daily, of those kinds of meat of which by their laws they were allowed to eat, and with them a certain quantity of wine (for they had the privilege of enjoying this luxury, which was forbidden the lower castes). Thus there was no need for them to contribute anything from their private means towards their support."

That besides these public and common benefits, each priest, or family of priests, (for it need scarcely be remarked that they married,) possessed also, or might possess, their private means, and consequently private estates, would be sufficiently evident, even if Herodotus had not expressly said as much in the passage just quoted. The families of priests were in reality the first, the highest, and the richest in the country! The priests had, indeed, exclusively the transacting of all state affairs; and carried on besides many of the most profitable branches of business. They formed, in fact, to a certain extent, a *highly privileged nobility*.

The highest degree of cleanliness in their person and clothing, was a very peculiar trait in the character of the Egyptian priests. There is no doubt but the nature of the country and climate had a great influence in this respect, as well as in determining the whole of their diet; but they seem likewise to have known very well the decided influence that external cleanliness has upon the civilization of a people.

They not only themselves set a most perfect example in this respect, but also deeply impressed it upon their subjects. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "are in nothing so careful as in always wearing clean linen clothes."

[1] Herodotus expressly mentions the steward of the college of priests at Sais, ii. 28.

The other classes throw woollen garments over these; the priests, on the contrary, clothe themselves entirely in clean linen,[1] and wear shoes of *byblos*. They shaved carefully their head, in order to secure themselves from vermin, and bathed twice a day. Could the higher classes in any country easily distinguish themselves by their clothing in a more simple and judicious manner?

Among the writers and Fathers of the Church who flourished in the first centuries, many accounts are still to be met with concerning the Egyptian priests; mostly, however, relating to the internal regulations of this caste.[2] They are there divided into *prophets*, *pastophori*, *neocori*, etc. These divisions are certainly confirmed by what is found upon the monuments, and by the Rosetta inscription; in other respects but little critical value can be placed upon these later accounts, where the question refers to the government of the *ancient* Egyptian priests. This class of men, once so respectable, and so active in the cultivation of the nation, had degenerated into charlatans; they nevertheless still continued to live upon the income derived from the temple property, and had become proportionately pompous in external dignities, as their power and influence had decreased.

Next in rank to the priest caste, was, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, the *soldier caste*,[3] or the race of Egyptian warriors. An object of inquiry not at all less interesting, but respecting which the difficulties are still more appalling.

It seems reasonable to suppose, that, in the political changes which took place in Egypt, and more particularly in its transformation into one kingdom, the effects upon the internal organization of this caste must have been as great, or greater, than upon the priests. The question naturally presents itself, whether in the earlier periods each state, or the greater part of the separate states, had their warrior caste, and if they had,

[1] Under which, however, it seems probable that *cotton* is to be understood as included. Conf. De Schmidt *de Sacerdotibus Ægypt.* p. 26. This fashion in dress seems to me also to argue for a southern descent. But, not to dwell upon this, the account given of them is completely confirmed by the representations of the priests upon the monuments. They always are portrayed here in long garments, and with heads closely shaved, where they have not a particular head-dress on. This head-dress seems to mark the distinction of ranks, but probably had as well some other religious reference. A more accurate study of the clothing and ornaments of the head would perhaps give a key to the great variety of representations of them in Egyptian antiquity.

[2] The most complete collection of them will be found in the learned treatise, De Schmidt *de Sacrificiis et Sacerdotibus Ægyptorum*. Compare with them Zoëga *de Obeliscis*, p. 513, etc.

[3] Herod. ii. 164, 166. Diodorus, l. c.

how they afterwards became transformed? Here again, unfortunately, our accounts only reach to the later periods. I will sketch a picture of them as accurately and fully as I can from Herodotus and Diodorus; and afterwards add what I think I may call probable conjectures.

The Egyptian warriors, according to Herodotus, were a race, and, certainly, as well as the priest caste, one of the most distinguished races of the nation. They were subdivided into the *Hermotybi* and the *Calasiri;* and both these possessed certain nomes or districts, which are mentioned by name in Herodotus. The *Hermotybi*, at the time of their greatest power, were 160,000 men strong; the *Calasiri* 250,000. Neither one nor the other durst carry on any trade; they were destined to war alone, and this destination descended from father to son. Their pay consisted of the produce of their estates; for they, as well as the kings and priests, were large landed proprietors. Each man had twelve acres of land, the acre being reckoned at one hundred Egyptian ells.[1] One thousand of the Calasiri and one thousand of the Hermotybi, were appointed every year for the king's body-guard; and these obtained, in addition to their estates, a certain allowance of meat, bread, and wine. They are made landed proprietors, adds Diodorus, in order to induce them to marry, and thereby to insure an increase of their number, and to give them a greater interest in the protection of their country.

According to these accounts of Herodotus, therefore, the Egyptian warriors were a native Egyptian tribe, settled in a particular province, and to whom, by an accurate admeasurement of the soil, a certain portion of landed property was given. This is evidently the notion which, from the whole, must be formed of them.

Respecting how far the two classes, the Calasiri and the Hermotybi, differed from one another, and in what relations they stood, history is silent; the answering of this question is a matter of mere conjecture. It seems, indeed, most probable that they were originally different tribes. Had they still in different provinces of Egypt their separate dwellings?

Herodotus has expressly named the Egyptian nomes in which both of them were quartered. It is evident, from his statement, that nearly the whole of the Egyptian forces were

[1] The Egyptian ell, according to D'Anville, makes twenty-one and a half Paris inches. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, p. 27.

concentrated in Lower Egypt: four nomes and a half were possessed by the Hermotybi within the Delta, and twelve others by the Calasiri; while each of them had only one single one in all Middle and Upper Egypt; namely, the districts of Chemmis and Thebes.

This striking fact is easily explained by Egyptian history. From the time of Psammetichus downward, Egypt was in almost continual dread of powerful attacks from Asia, and from that quarter alone; thence, indeed, she was several times invaded. Probably, therefore, this settlement of the Egyptian warrior caste was the work of later monarchs, who had absolute power, though the earlier wars with the shepherds might also have occasioned it.

Should the reader, however, prefer the other way in which this is accounted for, and rather consider these tribes as originally native in the nomes in which they dwelt in the time of Herodotus, there is no want of probability in this view of the subject. In the Mosaic period the warrior caste first appears in Lower Egypt. The rapidity with which the Pharaoh there mentioned, probably a ruler of Memphis, could assemble the army with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them.

Of their internal organization, of their officers, of their military tactics and discipline, and so forth, we know but little. Something is said upon these matters in the following chapter.

They must have undergone great changes in consequence of the number of canals made in Egypt.[1] The Egyptian forces consisted principally, in early times, (as in the period of Moses, for example,) of cavalry and war-chariots;[2] but these could be but of little service when the country was every where intersected by canals.

Further, it scarcely need be noticed that they were by no means the *only* inhabitants of the districts in which they resided. It is equally erroneous to suppose that they durst transact no other business whatever except military. Handicraft trades were forbidden them, because they were considered debasing; but there is no proof that they were interdicted agriculture, and particularly the cultivation of their own estates; although, according to the statements of Diodorus, these were

[1] Herod. ii 108; Diodorus, i. p. 67. [2] Exodus xiv. 9.

certainly, in general, as well as those of the kings and priests, farmed out.[1]

They must, however, have been called upon duty in the interior of the country at a distance from their places of abode. There were establishments of them at the places upon the frontiers, as at Syene and others, which were from time to time relieved. They formed, moreover, as we are told by Herodotus, the body-guard of the king; every year, a thousand from each class—the Calasiri and Hermotybi—went to court, and there enjoyed free quarters.[2] The neglect to relieve these as usual, was, according to Herodotus, one of the causes which led to their migration into Ethiopia.[3]

According to the opinion of a modern writer,[4] there could have been no soldier caste at all in Egypt, after the time of Psammetichus; for he believes that at that period the *whole* caste migrated into Ethiopia. This view of the subject is not only entirely destitute of proof, but is very easily contradicted. Herodotus speaks of them as a caste *still existing*, during his abode in Egypt; though he at the same time gives us to understand, that they were not then nearly so numerous as they had been; and in the wars of the later Pharaohs they are expressly spoken of.[5]

All writers agree, then, in making the priest and warrior castes the two highest in rank; in the enumeration of the others there is no particular order observed by Herodotus; it is not indeed known whether there was any or not; except that the shepherds, or herdsmen, were placed in the lowest rank. It is, therefore, quite indifferent how we range the remainder.

Let the first, then, be the caste of *trading citizens;* for so I translate the Greek expression of Herodotus, κάπηλοι, a word to which lexicographers have already given the same meaning. It must, therefore, have been one of the most numerous castes, comprising the mechanics, (handicraftsmen,) artists, chapmen, and merchants; and in this way Herodotus himself seems to explain it in another passage.[6] It lies in the nature of things, that this caste could only be formed by increasing cultivation; the tribe, or tribes, which belonged to it, could not have a capacity for these affairs till after they had made a manifest progress in civilization.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 85. [2] Herod. ii. 168. [3] Ibid. ii. 30.
[4] De Pauw, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, ii. p. 331.
[5] Herod. ii. 169. Also Zoëga, p. 570, thinks it very probable that the migration into Ethiopia is much exaggerated; nevertheless it must, from the cities they founded there, have been very considerable. [6] Herod. ii. 141.

It is a doubtful and obscure question whether these separate trades were again hereditary, and thus this caste included a great number of subdivisions; or whether each individual was at liberty to follow any one that might be considered a citizen's business, or handicraft. Although I have elsewhere declared myself in favour of the latter opinion, yet there certainly seems to me now many reasons to strengthen and confirm the former. The statements of Diodorus, whether the result of his own inspection, or copied from earlier accounts, can in no other way be understood. He states expressly, that the son was bound to carry on the trade of his father, and that one alone.[1] It must, therefore, be assumed, that the trade caste contained a great number of subdivisions, which is also the case in India, and that each under-caste had its particular branch of trade. The Egyptian documents, which have lately been discovered in Upper Egypt, and published, seem to confirm this opinion; as the guild, or company, of curriers or leather-dressers is found therein.[2] The Egyptians considered this regulation the cause of the high perfection to which the different branches of trade had attained among them; whether they were right or not we cannot pretend to decide.

The most important difference between Herodotus and Diodorus in the division of the castes, consists in the latter making a separate caste of the husbandmen, which the other does not mention. Must we suppose that he comprised them under the trading caste? This is a very difficult question, and is connected with the inquiry respecting the manner of holding landed property in Egypt. According to Diodorus, all landed property was in the hands of the king, the priests, and the warriors.[3] According to Herodotus, Sesostris is said to have divided all Egypt, giving to each individual an equal quadrangular portion, determined by lot, and from these allotments his own revenue proceeded.[4] The idea of landed proprietorship, however, is very ambiguous. There is full proprietorship, and there is, as in the case of vassalage, a conditional proprietorship. In the East the kings are usually regarded as the lords paramount of the land. In the state where Joseph lived, it became the king's by his management. Previous to that time, the possessors seem to have been full

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 86. So also Plato, *Op.* ix. 294. Bipont.
[2] Boeckh, *Explanation of an Egyptian document upon Papyrus.* Berlin, 1821, p. 25.
[3] Diodorus, i. p. 84. [4] Herod. ii. 109.

proprietors.[1] If indeed Sesostris, at a later period, divided all the lands of Egypt, according to a strict measurement, it follows, as a matter of course, that he considered himself as chief proprietor. It is certain that Sesostris might have had the distribution of a good deal of land, because he completely expelled the Hyksos who had appropriated it to themselves. And that the account which the priests imparted to Herodotus was limited to this, seems most agreeable to the nature of the thing altogether. It seems also evident, that he left or restored again to the temples and priests, the land belonging to them. Diodorus's account, that all the land was the property of the kings, priests, and warriors, cannot well be taken in the strictest sense,[2] as from the merchants' contracts, lately discovered, (certainly, however, not older than the period of the Ptolemies,) it appears that the cities had their land-marks.[3] All then that we can conclude with certainty is, that if not all, yet at least the best and largest portion of the land, did belong to the three proprietors above mentioned. It is, moreover, certain that these estates were cultivated by farmers; but by what tenure these held their lands, whether as copyholders, leaseholders, or yearly tenants, it is impossible to determine. Their condition may perhaps have been similar to that of the present Fellahs,[4] who are by no means independent landed proprietors. There can, however, be no doubt but that the cultivation of the soil, if not altogether, yet principally, was carried on by farmers. These consequently formed the Egyptian peasantry, of whose manner of life Herodotus has furnished us with an accurate description, to which I shall presently return. Many of the other classes of the trade caste, however, might cultivate land; and the husbandmen in general could not form a distinct caste, because, according to the ruling maxim of the priests, this employment was, as far as possible, to be common to all the citizens. They, therefore, in general belonged to the caste of tradesmen.

[1] Genesis xlvii. 18—26.

[2] A remarkable account of the landed property in Egypt is preserved in Stobæus from Aristotle (*Eclog. Phys. et Eth.* ii. 1, p. 332, my edition). It is there stated, that among the Egyptians the lands of private persons (τῶν ἰδιωτῶν) were so distributed, that every one had one portion of his property in the neighbourhood of the city, the other at a distance from it. This shows that every city had a certain extent of territory belonging to it, which was distributed among the citizens according to the principle described above. The statement is borrowed from Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 10. It is only doubtful, then, whether it likewise refers to the Egyptians alluded to before; but from the context it appears very probable.

[3] Boeckh, l. c. 27. Compare St. Martin, *Notice sur quelques Manuscrits Grecs, apportés d'Egypte*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1822, Sept.

[4] Compare the charming account of them in Reynier, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 24. And in the same *Economie politique et rurale des Egyptiens et des Carthaginois*, p. 97.

A caste of navigators has greatly embarrassed some writers, because it is generally known, that in ancient Egypt, previous to the time of Psammetichus, there was no navigation; for what is said respecting the fleet of Sesostris cannot be brought into consideration, when the question relates to a constant, lasting division of the people. These doubts arise, however, merely from an ignorance of Egypt; for if this country in these early periods had scarcely any sea, it had, for that very reason, the greater *river navigation*. It will be our object to speak of this more fully, and of its extent and its importance to Egypt, in our inquiries into the internal trade of this country. This caste was not composed of seamen, but of the *navigators of the Nile*. Herodotus gives us no particular account of the tribes belonging to it; but it is very probable that they were the primitive inhabitants of the banks of that river, who, according to the traditions of the Egyptians themselves, had formerly, before the formation of any states in Egypt, lived there upon fish. The innumerable quantity of passage-boats, and ships of burden, which covered the Nile from Syene to the Mediterranean, may give us some idea of the number of this caste.[1] There were certain feasts, at which nearly every inhabitant of Egypt was upon the river.[2] When Amasis wished to remove the rock-temple of Minerva (a single excavated rock, one and twenty yards long, fourteen high, and eight broad) from Elephantis to Sais, two thousand of these sailors were employed in the transport, which Herodotus states to have occupied three years;[3] a distance which would otherwise be performed, with a common passage, in less than twelve days. It will, however, be easily perceived that this caste also owed its existence to local necessity. During the periodical flood, navigation is the only means of communication;[4] and besides, at this time the connexion with the interior of the land is rendered easy by the numerous canals.

The caste of interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς) is, in several respects, remarkable. It arose in the period of Psammetichus, and is the only one of whose origin we have any accurate historical account. Psammetichus, wishing the nation to adopt the Greek manners, left a considerable number of Egyptian children in Greece to have them instructed in the Greek language and manners. Their posterity, according to Herodotus, formed the caste of interpreters.[5]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 52. [2] Herod. ii. 96. [3] Ibid. ii. 175.
[4] Ibid. ii. 97. [5] Ibid. ii. 154.

All that is extraordinary in this event becomes immediately accounted for when the national dislike to these innovations is considered, and especially that of the higher castes, one of whom almost entirely emigrated in consequence of them. The children who thus received a Greek education were no longer regarded as forming part of the nation. No one afterwards would reckon them to any native caste; and thus nothing was left for them but to form a separate caste of themselves, to which the name of the business that they usually followed became attached. After this period Egypt swarmed with Greeks; not merely with strangers who came to satisfy their curiosity, but with merchants who settled in Naucratis and other places.[1] A class of men therefore, who, like these, understood both languages, who managed the affairs of the Greeks, and who might effectually serve strangers as interpreters, became indispensable, and must have grown very numerous. These interpreters were all this, and probably many of them brokers, and even merchants; nevertheless, having been once excluded the nation, they could never find admittance again into one of the other castes.

The *herdsmen* still remain to be noticed; Diodorus reckons them one caste, while Herodotus divides them into two, which may perhaps be considered a subdivision of the former.

In this way Herodotus and Diodorus will be made to agree, especially if the classes of agriculturists and artificers of the latter may be considered the same as Herodotus's class of tradesmen. Though Diodorus will always be subject to the reproach of omitting altogether the castes of navigators and interpreters.

However this may be, Herodotus is our guide; but he unfortunately is extremely short and unsatisfactory respecting these castes. The *neatherds*, the most numerous among them, he scarcely mentions; and upon the others we cannot but perceive the want of accurate information.

I have already frequently remarked, that a portion of the inhabitants of Egypt must always remain nomades; those who dwell, for example, in the mountains and marshes, where the land is unfit for tillage. But even of those who had subjected themselves to fixed abodes, many still made the tending and breeding of cattle their principal, or perhaps their sole business. This was the case with those dwelling on the

[1] Herod. ii. 178, 179.

east border of the Nile valley, at the foot of the Arabian mountains, which regions still abound in excellent pasturage, and are now covered with villages and numerous herds of cattle. I here present the reader with a picture which a modern traveller has drawn, as well of the country as of its inhabitants; a picture to which I am the more desirous of engaging his attention because it is evidently applicable to ancient times.

"From the banks of the Nile to the mountains," he says,[1] "which bound the fruitful plains of Egypt, one often meets with nothing, for many days' journey together, but green meadows. These plains are every where covered with large townships and villages, most of which are adorned with public buildings, and do not contain less than from two to three thousand inhabitants."

"Besides these Egyptian inhabitants, with settled abodes, there are, on the plains bordering the desert, wandering tribes, dwelling in tents, who change their station according to the seasons and the supply of pasturage. Some abide in the mountains, far from villages and cities, but always in places where they can conveniently obtain a supply of water; others pitch their tents in the vicinity of inhabited districts, where, for a trifling tribute, they obtain permission to graze their cattle. The inhabitants even give them a little land to cultivate for their own use, in order to remain at peace with them. For, in fact, they have only to march a day's journey into the wilderness to secure themselves from all retaliation; where, by frugality and their knowledge of the springs, they find no difficulty in living for some months. There can be no finer prospect than to see, in the months of November, December, and January, these vast meadows,—in which the grass grows nearly as tall as a man, and so thick that an ox can lie down the whole day and graze without rising,—covered with villages, tents, and herds. About this time the nomad hordes advance a few hundred miles, in order to let their herds of camels and horses graze, for which they pay a trifling tribute in wool, or a few sheep, or young camels. After some time they retire again into the desert, where they journey, by ways known to them, towards other districts."

This distinction of the Egyptian *husbandmen*, who dwelt in villages and open places, and made the tending of cattle and agriculture their business, and the *nomad herdsmen*, was the

[1] Maillet, p. 54.

same in antiquity. Herodotus describes the manner of life, and the state of each of them ;[1] according to his account, they were a strong, healthy people, who observed that mode of life which had been prescribed to them by the priests. They lived upon the flesh of those animals not considered sacred, on fish, on bread made of bran and beer.—The nomad herdsmen are merely mentioned by Herodotus incidentally ;[2] but Diodorus assures us that they continued, in his time, unchanged, the same kind of life which they had always led from the earliest ages.[3]

The caste of neatherds naturally included those Egyptian tribes who possessed landed property, and made the breeding and tending of cattle their principal business. Whether the nomad herdsmen were also reckoned among them is a question which can scarcely be answered in the affirmative. They did not in general belong to the Egyptian nation, as they were of Arabian or Libyan descent. The extensive table lands, which they inhabited, were seldom subject to the Pharaohs, probably never ; and the dominion over nomad hordes, from their very nature, must at all times be very uncertain and variable.

From their whole manner of life, they can scarcely be considered otherwise than as natural enemies, which must be borne with, because they cannot be got rid of. To this, therefore, we may attribute the hate and scorn in which they were at all times held, and which the ruling priest caste carefully strove to nourish. " The neatherds are to the Egyptians an abomination," was said in the Mosaic period,[4] and traces of the contempt with which they were regarded are found in Herodotus.[5] There is no proof, however, that this disgrace attached to those cultivators, who, being proprietors of land, made the tending and breeding of cattle their business. Black cattle were by no means unclean in Egypt; the cow was sacred to Isis, and oxen generally served for food and sacrifice ; it is not, therefore, likely that the management of them should have caused defilement. It was not so much the keeping of cattle,—which in fact was equally indispensable with agriculture,—as the nomad life, which was directly opposed to the views and policy of the ruling caste.

Besides, to this caste seems to have belonged the tribes which had taken up their abode in the *marshy plains* of the Delta. According to Strabo,[6] these were especially assigned

[1] Herod. ii. 77. [2] Ibid. ii. 128. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 52.
[4] Genesis xlvi. 34. [5] Herod. ii. 128. [6] Strabo, p. 1142.

by the ancient Pharaohs for the abode of the neatherds. The tribes which dwelt there had nevertheless, as we are told by Herodotus, adopted Egyptian manners ;[1] but they still remained half barbarians, and even robbers, for the thickets of reeds not only supplied them with the materials for their huts, but likewise protected them from the approach of strangers.[2] Heliodorus draws a similar picture of them.[3]

On the other hand, the caste of *swineherds*, which Herodotus expressly distinguishes from the neatherds, were despised, and held as unclean.[4] They consisted, according to his account, of a native tribe, who were strictly interdicted all communication with the others, and against whom even the doors of the temples were closed. Swine were not less an abomination in the eyes of the Egyptians, than they were to the Jews ; a superstition which no doubt had its rise in some local circumstance with which we are unacquainted, or at least cannot account for with certainty. An ancient custom, however, followed from it, which was, that at a certain feast a hog was offered up in every house to Osiris ;[5] the Egyptians, moreover, were accustomed, when they sowed their lands, already soaked by the Nile, to drive a herd of swine over the fields, in order to tread the corn into the earth.[6] This race, therefore, however despised, was indispensable to the Egyptians ; but must have lived in a state of degradation, not very unlike that of the *Parias* in India.

Such were the castes into which the Egyptian nation was divided. It is often objected to this complete classification of the people, that it obstructs the progress of those among whom it is introduced, and must make it impossible for them to advance beyond a certain point. For the founders of an institution, which evidently was formed in the infancy of policy and civilization, this is not a very grave charge ; but an impartial development of its advantages and disadvantages, can perhaps only be made by one, who has fairly considered its consequences upon a people among whom it still exists, as among the Hindoos. So long as the *learned sciences* are made exclusively the property of a certain caste, scientific information cannot so easily be spread among the great body of the nation as elsewhere ; this extension, however, must always be limited ; and in the caste itself, the scientific cultivation which has once

[1] Herod. ii. 92. [2] Diodorus, i. 52. [3] Heliod. *Æthiop.* i. 5.
[4] Herod. ii. 47. [5] Ibid. ii. 48. [6] Ibid ii. 14.

been admitted, can scarcely ever decline, or be altogether lost, as is seen by the Bramins and Parses. But it may seem more problematical how far such an institution could promote the improvement of all mechanic skill, as in handicraft, trades, and arts, where all these callings are hereditary; although the Egyptians, according to Diodorus, securely referred to it as the cause of their perfection.[1] However this may be, there can remain no doubt, that the handicraft and mechanic arts were brought to a degree of perfection by the ancient Egyptians, which was never surpassed, perhaps never equalled, by any nation of antiquity. They themselves have transmitted us the proofs of it in the paintings in their sepulchres, in which are represented all their household utensils, their couches and chairs, their vases, their cupboards, their musical instruments, etc.[2] In elegance of form these are like the Greek: in many there is much display of talent in the design, and a high degree of luxury; we are assured by Denon, that Indian wood can be plainly perceived in the seats and wooden furniture.[3] How much reason then is there to be cautious in judging of the effects of an institution which we only know so imperfectly!

But the most important consequence of this organization of society, was, beyond dispute, the limitation of the kingly power by the priest caste. The relation in which these stood to one another, the portion which the priest caste had in the government, the manner in which they exercised it, furnish the groundwork of the Egyptian government, and demand, above all, an ample and circumstantial inquiry.

It is evident that the kings of Egypt for the most part did not belong to the priestly caste,[4] any more than are the Rajahs from the caste of Bramins. Probably the royal race, in which the dignity seems always to have been hereditary, belonged originally to the warrior caste; for what could be more natural, than that the leader of the army, to whom was confided the defence of the land, should be taken out of it? That the command of the armies was a royal privilege, is evident from the testimony of all historians, as well as from the scenes portrayed upon the public monuments. And from this it again becomes clear, that the power of the kings, however determined by custom and law, could not be always the same. The va-

[1] Diodorus, i. 86.
[2] See Denon, Tab. 135, and numerous engravings in the great *Description de l'Egypte*.
[3] Denon, ii. 276.
[4] Sethos, the priest of Phtha, who obtained the throne, was considered an usurper.

liant and fortunate conqueror, the active and ambitious ruler, will always become more powerful than a quiet sluggish prince, even though they change nothing in the form of the constitution. But only thus far, more or less, was subject to variation; the power of the priests was established upon impressions far too deep to be erased; and even upon necessities too much felt to be done without.

The priests were the proprietors of all learning and science, for they were in possession of the writings and sacred books which contained them; they were the best informed and cultivated part of the nation. Considered in this point of view, they were indisputably best fitted to govern; for it is right and just that the more experienced should rule over the ignorant, and not that the strong should domineer over the weak. Let it be admitted, that a portion of their knowledge consisted of error and superstition, and it would still be unreasonable to contend that the whole mass contained nothing better; for it is impossible that the whole civilization of a nation should be founded in error; at least where everything, as in this case, is conformable to the locality, and so well adapted to it. There is nothing wanting but a little knowledge of the East, in order to see the whole in its true and proper light.

Religion is here, universally, the mainspring of scientific education, and it was the same in Egypt. Philosophic systems are also systems of theology; laws, and the administration of justice, are preserved by its sanction; astronomy and mathematics, in general, are closely connected with it; medical science springs immediately from religion. All these, as well as many other branches of knowledge, bear an immediate application to practical life, either in the affairs of state, or private ranks; it follows therefore, of course, that those who possessed this knowledge, and who, consequently, were anything rather than a mere speculative *literati*, must have exercised an influence over both, not easily to be shaken, and which made them indispensable.

The religion of the Egyptians consisted in the rites of certain deities, who, with the exception of Osiris and Isis, were only local gods, and were worshipped in the high temples of the cities and districts.[1] Notwithstanding a difference observable in particulars, there is a uniformity in the whole which cannot be mistaken. If they were not the same deities, they

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

were yet very similar, probably mere modifications of the same principal gods; and the religion of Egypt preserved a certain general impress, which was very naturally stamped upon it by the general spread of the priest caste. But this worship was every where connected with a number of ceremonies, which not only the priests, but the kings likewise, had to perform, and which are partly represented upon the walls of their temples. By this means the priests held the kings almost entirely in dependence; as a strict ceremonial was formed, by which were prescribed daily regulations (accurately described by Diodorus[1]) for their whole life. None but the sons of the chief priests, according to his account, could be about the king's person. The time for the affairs of state, for sacrifice, the regulation of the royal table, and other matters of private life, were all precisely fixed. But they were especially careful in limiting the judicial authority of the monarch; as he could not sentence to punishment according to his own will and pleasure, but only according to law. What is to be gathered from all this, but the early struggle of the people to oppose a barrier to despotism? If this barrier was not exactly of *that* kind which matured judgment would desire, can we cast that as a reproach to so early an age?

The inquiry respecting the religion of Egypt has by nothing been so much entangled and rendered difficult, as by the not making a distinction between the religion of the priests and that of the people. Although common sense seems to tell us, and especially judging from the manner in which the formation and progress of the Egyptian nation took place, that, without denying the reaction of one upon the other, such a difference must have existed. If this nation, as it appears in its flourishing period, had grown up by the union of rude and civilized tribes, does it not stand to reason, that these rude tribes must have retained a portion of their original superstitions, of their deities, of their opinions and customs, which by this union, though certainly much modified, could not be annihilated? I shall return again to this subject; let me here be allowed to dwell a little longer upon the religion of the priests:

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 81, 82. Early in the morning state affairs were first transacted. The king then attended the sacrifices and the public prayers. After this the praises of the king and his virtues were proclaimed, not in order to compliment and flatter him, but in order, in this way, to remind him of his duties. For the same purpose the history of the great men of earlier times was read from the sacred books. The remaining, private life of the kings was so settled, with regard to amusements, meats, and drinks, that nearly the whole was prescribed.

that is, upon the extent of the knowledge they acquired by education, which, by its immediate application to practical life, was the foundation of their dominion.

Astronomy has been by many considered, and with some justice, as the most important part of their learning; some, indeed, have carried this notion so far as to believe, that their whole system of theology was nothing more than a symbol of this science. What advance they had really made in a knowledge of the stars, is a question I must leave to astronomers; but its importance is evident from the application which was made of it, both to astrology and to the formation of a calendar for the regulation of agriculture. Astronomy and astrology were likewise inseparably connected by the other eastern nations; but it would be exceedingly difficult to find another nation upon whom it exercised so great an influence in practical life.[1] Upon the birth of a child, its horoscope was immediately taken; it was then foretold what its fate would be; when and how it would die; and what would be its temper and disposition.[2] No public affairs, therefore, nor even private undertakings, could be begun until the stars had been first consulted. Conceive, then, the amazing influence which a caste must possess under such circumstances; and observe that at the outset they thereby secured themselves the direction of affairs? Whether this belief in astrology was, in the eyes of those who delivered the oracles, mere superstition or not, is a matter of no importance; the political object,—the limiting the power of the king, and insuring the dependence of the people, was, in either case, equally attained.

Still greater advantages indisputably accrued from the application of astronomy to the settlement of the seasons, and to the regulation of agriculture, so far as it depended upon them. Nothing seems more evident, from the whole tenor of Egyptian antiquity, than that it was perceived here in very early times, that agriculture was the foundation of all political culture, and that the ruling caste had, therefore, made it the leading principle of their policy; this is discovered, again and again, in almost every one of their institutions,—in every part of their religion and mythology. How could it be otherwise

[1] From what is said by Gatterer, *Commentat. Soct. Gött.* vol. ix. p. 60, etc., it appears probable, that the Labyrinth, with its twelve palaces, was nothing more than a symbolic representation of the yearly course of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, and wholly appropriated to astrological observations.

[2] Herod. ii. 82; Diodorus, i. p. 91, 92.

in a country where nature, in the features of every part of it, so loudly called it to their attention!—in a land where the highest degree of fertility was immediately followed by complete sterility!—where, in the fruitful valley of the Nile, states were seen to rise and prosper, while, only just beyond, lawless hordes were wandering about the desert! The first founders of the Egyptian states, therefore, must soon have perceived, that it was only in this way that a lasting dominion could be established; hence they left no means untried that religion and policy afforded them, to stamp the love of agriculture as deeply as possible upon the national character.

There is scarcely a single Egyptian deity who bears not some relation to this object. The sun, the moon, the earth, and the Nile, which, as so many various parts and powers of nature, became, under the veil of divers symbols, objects of worship, became so scarcely at all on their own account, but only so far as they promoted increase and fruitfulness. Osiris is a representation of the Nile, when he steps forth and manures the earth; in like manner, the representation of the sun, so far as he returns yearly to bring back fecundity to the land; and becomes thus, in general, the symbol of civilization, so far as it is founded upon agriculture; Isis was the image of the fruitful earth; and it would be easy to enumerate a series of other symbols, if their further explanation and unveiling did not lie beyond the scope of my subject.

This design is no less visible in the ruling political notion of the people. How deeply rooted was their national antipathy to the pastoral life, which, even in the time of Jacob, is exhibited in its whole strength,[1] and still, when Herodotus lived, continued in equal force, at least with regard to the swineherds.[2] They were considered unclean; no intermixture with them by marriage could take place; they were constrained to remain a distinct race, and were held in about the same state of degradation as the lower castes now are in Hindostan. A very natural, and, to a certain degree, necessary policy, if the founders of the Egyptian states wished to remain true to their principles.

Traces of this are not unfrequent in the history of the Egyptians. We have only to remember the adventures of the Israelites in Egypt. They had entered Egypt by a special licence, and obtained, not without difficulty, permission to live

[1] Genesis xlvi. 34; compare xliii. 32. [2] Herod. ii. 47.

there as nomad herdsmen. But after the very first change of ruler, the Egyptians wished to retract this permission, and to compel them to build cities, whereupon their natural antipathy to this change of life made them resolve upon emigration.

The promotion of agriculture, then, and the accustoming the nomad hordes to fixed dwellings, was the natural object which the founders of the Egyptian states had at heart. This object was greatly promoted by the fact, that nature had here, more than in any other part of the world, relieved them of the labour and pains it required to attain it. However difficult it may be to explain the passing from the nomad life to the agricultural in other parts, it could at least be no where more easy than in Egypt, where the labours of the field are scarcely required, and man has little more to do than to scatter the seed in order to obtain a harvest.[1]

Again: In a country where the fertility of the soil depended upon the periodical overflow of a river; where it therefore was of consequence to know the exact epochs at which this would take place, in order to prepare for it beforehand; where in general the business of agriculture mostly turned upon the knowledge of the seasons, and the correct determination of the year and its parts, the construction of a correct *calendar* must have been of the greatest importance. It was the foundation of husbandry, and, with that, of political civilization and the dominion of the priest caste. The extraordinary assiduity which they bestowed upon it; their efforts to determine precisely the solar year; all the observations and research which this led to; indeed, even the foundation of many of the largest and most costly buildings, which, there is reason to suppose, were nothing more than figurative representations of certain astronomical cycles, and are said to have been a means of preserving the knowledge of them,[2] cannot therefore excite any astonishment. In this way their astronomy became intimately connected with

[1] Upon the management of agricultural affairs in Egypt, some most interesting particulars have been obtained by the French expedition into Egypt. See in particular the treatise of Girard, in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. p. 13, etc. The ancient manner of scattering the corn over the irrigated soil, and then causing it to be trodden in by cattle, still exists in the province of Siouth, p. 37. It is quite certain, however, that in ancient Egypt the state and manner of husbandry was not every where the same. The *plough* and other farming implements are found clearly exhibited in their pictures. Denon, plate cxxxv. It seems extraordinary to me, that, upon the Egyptian monuments, the sower should walk along before the plough, instead of behind it. See *Descript. d'Egypte Antiquités*, vol. i. plates lxix. lxxi. It seems, therefore, that the use of the plough here was the same as that of the harrow is with us, namely, to cover the strewed seeds; as is still the custom in Egypt, by *under ploughing* (a way of covering with earth by ploughing). Minutoli, *Travels*, p. 242.

[2] As in particular the Labyrinth and the Memnonium. The golden circle of Osmandyas, Diodorus, i. p. 59, was evidently nothing more than a calendar, representing the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days.

the physical history of their country; and very naturally occasioned the names even of the deities to indicate the original parts and powers of nature, as symbols of astronomical divisions of time. Modern writers,[1] to whom I must here refer, have further developed this subject with much acuteness and learning, and have shown that the names of the Egyptian deities were made use of to denote the years, months, weeks, etc. From this they wish to draw the general conclusion, that the *whole* Egyptian mythology was *nothing* more than the Egyptian calendar. But however undeniable it may be that such an application of the names of Egyptian deities has been found, and that the Egyptian mythology was adopted to denote the signs in the calendar, it is equally certain that it does *not* thence follow that it was *only* used for that. Since Heyne has taught us to take deeper views of mythology, every interpretation which would limit it to *one* object, will appear, if not absolutely false, always very partial. Did not the mythology of a nation comprise the whole mass of knowledge which it possessed in its infancy; though, from poverty of speech and writing, it could only set it forth in figurative language, probably only in pictorial writing, and perhaps not always even in that? Is it conceivable that this mass of knowledge was strictly confined to astronomy? is this, in particular, conceivable of the Egyptian priest caste, who we positively know prosecuted the study of other sciences? Had they not also their systems; did they not require a separate *terminology?* Surely, then, the names of these deities, which were adopted into astronomy to signify astronomical objects, might have served a similar purpose in other sciences. If it be granted, therefore, that in the astronomical system of the Egyptians, Osiris signified the year, Mendes the week, Theut the first month, it does not necessarily follow, that, out of this system, they might not signify something else quite different. This, in fact, is indisputably manifest of several of them. Can it be doubted that this same *Theut* is, in another sense, the symbol of human understanding, as the discoverer of writing; that this very *Mendes* is the symbol of the universe; and this very *Osiris* the symbol of agriculture and civilization?

[1] See, above all, Dornedden, *Introduction to a new theory, according to which Egyptian science and mythology may be satisfactorily explained; in his new Explanation of Greek Mythology*, p. 70, etc. As I think I have explained myself sufficiently clear in the text.—I regard this treatise as one of the most acute, and sensible, and learned, upon Egyptian antiquity, but can only conditionally agree with the author.

Geometry was the daughter of husbandry, and born in Egypt, where the overflowing of the Nile frequently made new measurements of the land necessary.[1] This study, therefore, arose from the nature of the country; and while, on one hand, it induced the priests to extend their mathematical knowledge, it was, on the other, the indispensable arbitrator of disputes, which must frequently have occurred respecting the possession of lands.

The medical science of the Egyptians, which was likewise in the hands of the priests, was closely connected with their astrology; because they believed that the different parts of the body had a reference to the astronomical deities, and to each of them a particular member was dedicated. In this way, probably, the regulation took its rise, which also affords us another proof how rigidly the subdivisions in the castes were kept separate, that there should be physicians for particular members of the body, and for the diseases to which these were liable.[2] However, their medical practice consisted generally rather in dietetics than in medicine. Even among the lower classes, especially the peasantry, a certain prescribed form was observed in eating and drinking, and in the use of purification,[3] of which, without a most accurate knowledge of the place and climate, it is impossible to say how much arose from mere prejudice, or was founded on actual experience. That the whole, however, answered well the end desired, is plain from Herodotus's assertion, that the Egyptians, next to the Libyans, were the *most healthy* of the nations that he had seen.

It may be readily inferred, from what has been previously said, that the study of the law, and the possession of all the offices connected with it, was entirely confined to the priest caste. Where religion and legislation were so inseparably interwoven, where the latter derived its authority from the sanction of the first, and where the former, in its whole form, is a ceremonial law, what could be expected but that it should be found in the hands of the priests; that they should become the administrators of justice, and occupy the chair of the judge? The joining together the judicial and executive power in the person of the king, was one of the earliest sources of despotism, which, after a little reflection, would scarcely be tolerated; hence it seemed almost a necessary consequence, that attempts should be made either to separate them entirely, or at least to

[1] Herod. ii. 109. [2] Ibid. ii. 84. [3] Ibid. ii. 77.

limit one of them. From everything we know of Egyptian antiquity, there can remain no doubt but that the principal branches of legislation had attained a high point of perfection in Egypt, perhaps higher than in any other country of the East. There requires no further proof of this, than the fact that the Mosaic legislation, which took place prior to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs, was (without questioning how much or how little might have been taken therefrom) formed upon the Egyptian model. Some of their kings, Bocchoris in particular, are celebrated as great legislators;[1] and though it may have happened that the work of many centuries and many philosophers was unjustly ascribed to individuals, it does not the less prove that it existed. I shall return to this subject in the following chapter.

Finally, the historical learning of the priests was, as I think I have already sufficiently proved, principally founded upon public monuments, and it must on that account have been esteemed. It depended therefore upon art; and this leads to another very interesting question in the political antiquity of Egypt, which requires at least a few observations—What was the state of the arts?

Even a mere glance at the various kinds of artificial labour which they have left behind, leads to the conjecture, that art with them was of a different nature from what it was with the rest of mankind. The same glance almost leads to the general conclusion, that art here stood in a much closer relation to practical life; and that though it often assumes a massive and majestic character, representations of the *beau ideal* were not, or could not be, its aim. This, indeed, could not be possible in a nation that made art, from its origin to its highest perfection, the foundation of their policy and learning; among whom, therefore, it must have attained a high importance; such an importance, that if we were in a condition to write their history, with it must be given, to a certain degree, the history of the higher cultivation of the nation, which, in a great measure, was founded upon it; but which, on this very account, could not have the same scope as among other nations, where it remained entirely unfettered, because *it was carried on for itself alone.*[2]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 90. To Bocchoris, in particular, are ascribed the laws relating to trade and commerce.

[2] I say nothing here of Music; though, as among the representations, musical instruments, especially the harp and guitar, are conspicuous, *Descript. d'Egypte, planches* ii. 44, 91, as well as flutes, and even a double flute, i. 70, it is certain the Egyptians did not neglect it. See the treatise in *Descript.* vol. i.

There were only *two great branches* of art in Egypt, *Architecture* and *Sculpture*. These were not only branches of the same stem, but were so intimately connected, that it would be scarcely possible to speak of one without the other; and it remains doubtful whether sculpture was the mistress or handmaiden of architecture. The whole sum of the history of Egyptian art may be compressed into a simple sentence: "The pictorial arts in Egypt depended upon hieroglyphics; these were portrayed by sculpture; but again, sculpture required the public monuments as a fitting place for its representations; and these public monuments, partly in themselves, and partly by the labours of the sculptor, formed the basis upon which the fabric of religion and the state equally rested."

I believe that the foregoing researches do not fall short of proving, that the Egyptian architecture, from its beginning to its completion, on its own account, without any reference to the sculpture which covered its walls, stood in the closest connexion with the state. If the earliest states which were formed in Egypt were priest states, whose central point was a temple or sanctuary; if they preserved this character not only during their growth, but also after their union into one great empire, —braving all previous revolutions;—must not these edifices, by this alone, have obtained a great importance? The existence of the state, in a great measure, depended upon them; because everything within it referred to them, and to the religion to which they were dedicated. If even the Jew knits the idea of the continuance, the decline, and the restoration of his state, with that of the stability, overthrow, and rebuilding of his temple, how much more must this have been the case with the Egyptians, where the priest caste had even still greater influence than it had among the Jews! Ought we then to wonder that the building and preservation of these monuments were so much attended to? Besides, let it be borne in mind, that the whole architecture of the nation must, to a certain extent, have been concentrated in their erection and enlargement; as the climate, particularly in Upper Egypt, left but little necessary with regard to private dwellings. Architecture, as a fine art, could scarcely be applied to these in Egypt, where they were built far too lightly for any part of them to be preserved; hence its application only to public edifices, temples, and pa-

laces. They were destined for very numerous purposes; and even the temples, from their whole arrangement, could not well have been intended, exclusively, for religious worship. The proper sanctuary is only a kind of chapel of moderate extent;[1] but this chapel is surrounded by stupendous buildings of different sorts, colonnades, courts, saloons, etc. Upon their use history affords us no precise information; yet who can doubt, but that in them the assemblies of the priests and state officers took place; that they formed the palaces, though not the mere dwellings, of the kings; the places also for the reception of the people bringing tribute, for the audience of ambassadors, for the tribunals of justice, for the holding of banquets given by the kings, etc. etc.? Can there be any doubt that the whole public life of the Egyptians was connected with these state buildings and temples?[2]

Formerly these Egyptian monuments were known by little more than dry descriptions; since the appearance of the great French work upon Egypt, however, they are placed as it were before our eyes. In great works on architecture, it pre-eminently happens that the impression they excite depends very materially upon the size of the plates in which they are portrayed; the colossal, therefore, to be effective, must appear in colossal representations. How much our ideas are raised by these engravings respecting the opulence, means, knowledge, and taste of the nation who could erect such monuments,—just as highly finished as they are stupendous! To what inferences will they not lead upon the early history of the world; upon the splendour and might of ancient nations; and the relations and connexions of states! According to these should the nation be judged of by posterity; and however numerous the problems (perhaps unsolvable problems) which may still remain, we cannot easily err very widely respecting the whole: too many inlets are open, by which we may penetrate into the interior of their character, of their knowledge, and of their whole existence.

The architecture itself has undergone a close examination, both with regard to its mechanical and æsthetic qualities, by many who are capable of criticising it, and of forming a correct judgment respecting it; and certainly by such as from their early education were rather prejudiced against it than

[1] Denon, ii. p. 164.
[2] Compare the statements of Denon, ii. p. 255, upon the great temple of Karnac.

prepossessed in its favour. It has not only stood this test as a whole, but appears more correct, and richer, and more perfect, in proportion as the examination is carried into its details.

That a theory, whose rules were invariably followed, must have formed the groundwork of this architecture is manifest. How else shall we account for everything about it being so well adjusted, so nicely adapted to the end proposed? The plan once laid down at the foundation, seems to have been invariably followed in every temple, for each forms a finished whole, though the building of it perhaps took up centuries. By this means this architecture always preserved the same character, and perhaps underwent less change in the course of a thousand years than that of the Greeks in a century.

The plan and the regulation of these sanctuaries seem, notwithstanding the differences in their size, and some lesser matters, to have been in their main points so much alike, that the general rules are easily recognised in them, by which public architecture in Egypt was indissolubly bound. The first entrance was to be composed of masses, filling the mind with awe and veneration by their magnitude; hence those immense pylones, or blunted pyramids, peculiar to Egyptian architecture, between which the entrance was placed.[1] Through this they passed into an open court surrounded with columns, which had partition walls, half or two-thirds of their height. These courts, with columns, seem to have been intended for the congregation of the people, in order that they might see the holy ceremonies and processions from a certain distance. Everything, therefore, was so regulated and calculated, that this might be done conveniently. To this court followed the great portico, supported by three or four rows of immense columns, to which a second portico very often succeeded. From these was a way into the saloons, of which there were three or four behind one another, probably intended for processions, as they are often portrayed on the walls, and other ceremonies; the last of these saloons formed the proper sanctuary. This consisted of a niche of granite, or porphyry, in one piece, which contained the sacred animal, or even the statue of the deity, who was here worshipped. On both sides of the saloons, as well as behind, were corridors, which led into chambers and apartments, the dwellings or abode of the priests. The whole was again surrounded by an enclosure; so that the

[1] See above, p. 283, sqq.

number of walls effectually prevented the entrance to the sanctuary from being violated by the profane. All here was of stone, without cement; everything, therefore, was estimated to endure by its own massiveness, so that even time could do but little against these edifices. What still remains standing, stands fixed and immovable; man and fire have here and there expended their fury upon them; the shock of earthquakes is unknown in Egypt.

The most imposing of the separate members of this architecture, are those huge entrances, and the prodigious masses which help to form them. They have been examined within as well as without; and seem to have served not only to increase the general magnificence, but to have had a particular end; and a very probable conjecture has been started, that their terraces were made use of for astronomical and astrological observations.[1]

But above all, it is the pillars and their capitals which most excite astonishment. It is in these that the great magnificence of the Egyptian architecture displays itself, notwithstanding its simplicity, in so wonderful and admirable a manner. The ornaments of the capitals are evidently borrowed from a few native plants,—the lotus, the palm, and some others. Who would have believed that fancy could have found a sufficient field in these for the production of such an astonishing and endless variety? The Egyptian pillars are in this respect unlike the Grecian, as the capital of every pillar has its own peculiar ornament; though not without reference to the dimensions of the other parts, so that the effect of the whole is not thereby injured. The monuments, moreover, lead to enlarged views respecting the history and antiquity of the architecture. The cursory inspection of the temples of Thebes, Philæ, and others, by Denon, enabled him to mark the progress, and to trace the gradations of architectural science;[2] and his views have been confirmed by the minute examinations of Gau and others. Though some of the temples at Thebes may betray even the infancy of the science, yet those of Apollinopolis Magna and Tentyra display it in the highest perfection which it ever obtained in Egypt. It might perhaps have taken centuries to bring it to this maturity; and even the few fragments,

[1] This seems confirmed by the modern discovery, that the windows in the pylones are so arranged that a person can only look upwards and view the heavens, they do not allow one to look upon the earth. Minutoli, p. 44.

[2] Denon, ii. p. 91, 107, and particularly 161.

which may be gleaned of Egyptian history, strengthen the belief, that the erection of one of those stupendous monuments was not the work of *one* but of *many* generations. How many kings were there, according to Herodotus, who added to the temple of Phtha at Memphis before it was fully completed? But what will be our ideas of the antiquity of this art, when we are informed of the discovery made at Elephantis, Edfu, and other places, that even these ancient monuments were, in part, built of the materials of other monuments, which were then just as ancient?[1] What a long succession of centuries must have passed away, during which Upper Egypt remained the central point of the civilized world!

But in Egypt, the sister art, *sculpture*, is almost inseparably connected with architecture, a science which, though naturally dumb, speaks with the tongue of her sister! A passing glance at the Egyptian monuments teaches, beyond contradiction, that the principal application of sculpture was to portray hieroglyphics and the subjects to which they refer, was the representation of sacred rites, adorations, offerings, and processions. But as it is undeniable that hieroglyphics continued the principal support of sculpture, and with it of all the pictorial arts of Egypt, this explains, in my opinion, in a great measure, the course which the art took in this country.

Hieroglyphic writing borrowed its characters from the objects of nature and art which it portrayed. If in these representations the artists aimed to attain merely perspicuity, it was necessary that the objects they represented should be immediately recognised. Accuracy and precision of outline, and mechanical skill in the detail, would effect this; and in these respects the pictorial arts of Egypt excelled, even when not applied to hieroglyphics. They portrayed subjects at rest rather than in motion,—military pieces excepted;—expression of the passions was completely beyond their sphere. If, however, the representations of objects at rest rather than in motion be acknowledged to be the proper end of sculpture, then it will appear that it remained in Egypt true to its character; but as it was so little anxious to give expression to the *beau ideal*, it must, upon that account alone, notwithstanding the great perfection it attained to in other respects, be ranked a grade below the highest efforts of the art.

The immense number of sculptures with which the partitions

[1] *Description d'Egypte*, cap. i. p. 59.

and walls are decorated, is the first thing to excite the astonishment of the beholder. After all that the united industry of the French artists have given us in their engravings, they still remain no more than so many specimens. It formed part of the completion of an Egyptian temple, that its walls, its columns, as well as the ceilings, should be *wholly* covered with sculpture; the long narrow reliefs of the cornices alone excepted, which always remained clear. They were so disposed, however, according to settled rules, as not to interfere with the general appearance of the building, neither were they allowed to interrupt the massive forms of the architecture. According to these rules were regulated the size and order of the reliefs; and, consequently, nothing here seems overcharged, though all is covered with sculpture. But when it becomes manifest, by the more accurate examination of the stone, that the facility of working upon it with the chisel was very great, this opulence becomes in some degree accounted for.—What a number of artists, therefore, must ancient Egypt have contained, in order to perform all this labour!

Upon the subjects of these sculptures a tolerably clear light has lately been shed; so much so, that we can at least now judge of them in a general way, although but little advance has been made in the explanation of particulars. Proper hieroglyphics form but a small part of them; the principal are the great reliefs, or pictures, which represent religious rites, the deities, and their worship. These consist, in a great measure, of offerings of various kinds; sometimes also sacrifices, among which human victims are scarcely to be mistaken. I have stated, in the preceding part of this volume, that I do not by any means consider these works of art as merely ornamental, but that I believe them to have an historical sense, as representations of offerings made by the Pharaohs in homage to the priests, who, in return, conferred upon these monarchs honourable distinctions and privileges.[1] But as similar, or even the same, pictures are so often repeated, one would suppose the pictorial art to have been limited by law to certain subjects. Besides these, there are representations of processions, among which those of the sacred ark, already described, are most frequent, though with many variations.[2] In the following chapter it will be seen, that sculpture was by no means confined to

[1] See p. 193, sqq.

[2] See in particular the one portrayed upon the temple of Karnac at Thebes, *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plates xxxii. xxxvi.

these religious subjects, but that the chisel was sometimes employed, at least on the palace walls of Thebes, to portray and perpetuate pages of history. Near the religious representations are found inscriptions, wholly composed in hieroglyphics, which evidently refer to them; but nothing similar has yet been discovered near the historical reliefs.[1]

But what must have heightened in a wonderful manner the effect of these sculptures, and the general appearance of these temples, was, that all these sculptures were likewise paintings. Probably all those on the outside were painted as well as those of the interior.[2] In this operation only four, or, reckoning the white, only five colours were made use of, that is, yellow, red, blue, green, and the white, but no intermixture of them. The application of these colours to the various objects was subject to fixed rules. The same gods were represented in the same colours; as, for example, Ammon usually blue. It is difficult to imagine the impression made upon the beholder, by this display of colours upon these huge buildings; eye-witnesses affirm, that what they have seen of it completely harmonizes with the general character of the whole.[3] But we can easily conceive, that this use of colours might have a striking effect upon the great mass of the people. Besides this, these paintings were made use of for embellishing the walls of the rock-sepulchres; and these representations are, as near as possible, exact copies of the objects and affairs of common life, and are highly finished. Precision and correctness of outline seem to have been duly observed; but what they are most distinguished

[1] Besides the accounts which have been published by the French literati and artists, the narrative of the British Captain Burr, who was attached to the Indian division that was sent to Egypt, is deserving of attention; it will be found in *Bibl. Britannica*, vol. xxxviii. *Literature*, p. 208—221. He certainly visited only the temple of Denderah; but it cannot be uninteresting to hear the observations of a British traveller, more especially when just come from India, upon the same object which had just been examined by the French, as it will, at least, serve to convince us of the credit due to the statements and observations of the former. In the drapery of the figures he recognises the costume which still prevails in India. "Often," says he, "have I conjectured, and this conjecture was never so much strengthened as by the view of this temple, and the sculpture with which it is ornamented, that a greater resemblance in manners, and consequently a closer friendly connexion, must formerly have existed among the nations of the East, when they were yet united by the same worship." It is, therefore, *only* a resemblance, and not an exact likeness; it is not of mutual descent, but of mutual intercourse, of which he here speaks. "The Indians who accompanied us," he adds, "regarded these ruins with a mixture of wonder and veneration; the effect of a resemblance which many of the figures they saw here bore to their own deities; and still more of the opinion that this temple was the work of a Rakschah who had visited the earth." In confirmation of what is stated (p. 239) from Alvarez respecting the statues of lions, as fountains, at Axum, I see that Burr mentions the same at Denderah; namely, couchant lions, whose jaws serve for water-spouts. This therefore is ancient Egyptian taste; and confirms what is said upon the antiquity of Axum, if indeed that requires any confirmation.

[2] The illuminated leaf, with the temple of Karnac, affords a lively impression of this remarkable sight. *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plate xxxiv.

[3] *Description d'Egypte*, cap. v. p. 18.

by, is the freshness and durability of the colours; in this respect the Egyptians seem to have surpassed all other people; but of the intermixing of colours they do not seem to have had the slightest idea.[1]

If under these circumstances the application of painting became necessarily limited, that of sculpture was, in an equal proportion, extended. As by this, especially, hieroglyphics were portrayed, it consequently occupied, to a certain degree, the place of writing; at least in all those affairs which would have been written down for posterity; and since this was done upon the public monuments, architecture and sculpture became here so closely connected, that it may be doubted which of the two was formed for the other. There was scarcely any where in ancient Egypt, a temple whose walls were not covered with inscriptions and reliefs; and if it should not be absolutely established, that these buildings were erected to receive these inscriptions, that certainly formed one of their principal objects. However difficult our situation may make it for us to explain these inscriptions and representations, yet it is clearly manifest, that they relate in part to astronomical, historical, strictly religious, and perhaps moral subjects. Since architecture and sculpture, in this manner, walked hand in hand among the Egyptians, their public monuments and edifices preserved thereby a new and important consideration, greater than what they ever could have done among any other people. "An Egyptian temple," says a modern traveller,[2] "is, as it were, an open book, where science unfolds, where morality teaches, where the useful arts are set forth. Everything seems to speak, all seems animated; and all in the same spirit.[3] The door-posts, the most secret corners, give a lesson or a rule; and the whole in most wonderful harmony." Thus, then, these majestic buildings became, in a manner, living archives of the science and knowledge of the nation; after this, can we be at all surprised at the great importance which they had in the eyes of the Egyptians?

The arts in general, perhaps, with the exception of the

[1] [It is very difficult to believe this; for it seems almost impossible that a painter could be long in the habit of using colours without accident making him acquainted with the effect of compounding them. Ought we not rather to suppose that its practice was on some account forbidden rather than unknown? *Trans.*]

[2] Denon, ii. p. 16.

[3] [I cannot withhold the following similar animated description by one of our own countrymen: "Everything seems to speak and move around you, and is so different from what a person meets with in any part of Europe, that the mind is astonished, and feels as if absolutely introduced to beings of olden time, to converse with them, and to witness the ceremonies with which they delighted to honour their god." Dr. Richardson's *Travels*. *Trans.*]

mere laborious part, formed in Egypt a portion of the learning of the priests. What a large portion of mechanical and mathematical knowledge, which only the priests possessed, was required for this architecture, even allowing them to have availed themselves of the assistance of artists and overseers in their erection![1] and scarcely could it have been otherwise with sculpture, as by this their knowledge was preserved.

Having thus taken a brief survey of the whole circle of priestly literature and science, or priestly religion, let us now proceed to the *popular* religion, which must necessarily be distinguished from it. It is unquestionably true that a close connexion existed between the religion of the people and that of the priests, namely, in the worship of the same deities; but it is equally certain, that, though in particular points they may be found to agree, they could not throughout be the same. The learning of the priests neither could nor should be made the business of the people; it belonged, indeed, exclusively to the higher castes. The popular religion consisted, in Egypt as well as elsewhere, in the worship of the gods; in the feasts connected with it; and in certain religious opinions, which, in part, had an important influence upon practical life.

Notwithstanding, however, that the same deities which were the object of the priestly religion were worshipped by the people, let it not be supposed that their names had the same ideas attached to them in the popular belief that they had in the learned system of the priests. It is certain, that the notions of the vulgar respecting the gods were as rude among the great mass of the Egyptians as among any other nation; perhaps even ruder, as their worship of animals seems to render probable: a phenomenon which has caused the learned in Egyptian antiquities an amazing deal of trouble. Among the Egyptians, for example, there were not only various kinds of animals held sacred, and which a man durst not kill without incurring the penalty of death; but there were particular individuals of them housed in the temple, where they were tended with the greatest care; offerings were made to them, and the honours of divine worship paid them; indeed, even at their death they were embalmed, and laid in a sacred sepul-

[1] The highly interesting representation of the removal of a colossus, for which we are indebted to Minutoli, plate xiii., certainly proves that human strength was the moving power; but though this might be the case in the transport of the colossus, yet the labour of man would be quite unequal to the task of rearing it up, as well as for the upraising of the immense blocks of stone which formed the ceilings of the halls of columns. Mechanical aid, in these cases, *must* have been brought into operation.

clire.[1] General as this animal idolatry was among the Egyptians, it varied in different districts. There were only a few kinds of animals to which all the Egyptians paid divine honours. Of the rest, some were in one place holy, and in another unholy; in one nome a man might kill and eat that, which in another he would himself be put to death for injuring.[2]

From all that we know of the history of the human race, animal idolatry had its origin in the first and rudest periods of nations. It flowed, without doubt, from the same source as the worship of other natural objects; but I hold it to be very difficult, if not impossible, to explain its origin beyond this: and the insufficiency of all hypotheses, ancient and modern, which have been adopted, sometimes on account of the rarity of the animals, at others from their utility, or their noxiousness to man, sufficiently prove it. Man must become himself a savage before he can be able to judge of the relation in which a savage feels himself towards the brute creation. He will not till then be able to point out the course of perceptions, by which he was brought to regard animals as objects of adoration. The causes before mentioned confer, in my opinion, a power of reasoning upon the savage of which he is not possessed. A mere childish delight in this or that particular kind of animal was most probably the cause, though I by no means hold it for the only one.[3]

Let the reader take a rapid survey of the vast regions of Africa, and almost in every part, from the Ethiopian coast to the Senegal, he will find animal idolatry introduced;[4] he can hardly then doubt that it also existed among their brethren, the Egyptians, in the infancy of society. If, therefore, we reason from the analogy of other nations, we must conclude that it was also the religion of the earliest rude inhabitants of Egypt, which in the progress of civilization underwent, designedly or accidentally, certain modifications; but certainly could not then have been first introduced.

The great variety in the animal worship seems most naturally explained by the great number of different tribes which in-

[1] See the disquisition of Meiners, upon the animal idolatry of the Egyptians, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, b. i. p. 204—224. [2] Herod. ii. 65, etc.

[3] See especially what Bossman relates of the worship of serpents at Fida in Guinea (p. 446, etc.). It is not there merely the *species* of the serpent that is sacred and inviolable, but some of them are in a particular building preserved and honoured as gods; exactly as among the Egyptians.

[4] Some very learned remarks are made upon this subject in Bowdich: *An Essay on the Superstitious Customs and Arts common to the ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and the Ashantees*, Lond. 1821; especially upon animal idolatry.

habited Egypt. A similar alteration is found among the nations of the rest of Africa. What *animals* were held for holy or unholy, seems, in the infancy of the nation, to have depended upon such very trifling and unimportant circumstances, that it is impossible now to ascertain exactly which they were. Why, therefore, the crocodile was holy in one part of Egypt, and the hippopotamus in another, it is now impossible to determine any further than that it was the primeval religion of this or that race.

But in looking to the nature and variety of the animal worship of Egypt in later times, it appears evidently to have stood in a closer relation to the political formation of the people; and to have been made the means in the hands of the ruling priest caste, at the foundation of their colonies, of alluring the neighbouring savage tribes, and of bringing them into a political connexion with themselves. The animal idolatry of Egypt differed, as is evident from many passages of Herodotus, according to the nomes. Is it not fair, therefore, to conjecture from this, that it was a custom of the Egyptian priests, in the places where they founded colonies, to gain over the rude inhabitants by the adoption of their worship; and by the appointment of apartments in their temples for the animals which these held sacred, to make these temples the common sanctuary of the tribe?

It is probable, however, that this worship became much changed by political revolutions. For example, the sacred steer of Memphis became the national god of all Egypt, and may we not suppose this to be owing to Memphis having been the capital of all Egypt?

But let us turn now from this animal idolatry, considered as the popular religion, to the very different application which the priests made in their literature, of the animals held sacred by the vulgar. In the first place, they borrowed many of their written characters from them. As hieroglyphics in general were pictures of objects of nature and art, it cannot appear strange that pictures of animals should form a large proportion of these characters. Further, as these animals were held sacred by the popular superstition, they became pre-eminently adopted, by a very natural association of ideas, as representatives of divinity. Thus, for example, the sparrow-hawk, whose form is seen upon the entrance of the temples, and in so many other situations, signified in general divine, sacred, consecrated.

Thus the beetle signified the universe; and so on. But since these people likewise expressed certain attributes of the gods by certain animals, it seems very probable that in this way arose the custom, to us so absurd, of representing the deities, which in other respects are imagined to have the human form, with the heads of animals; specimens of which are so frequent upon all the Egyptian monuments. And when we discover the constant endeavour of the priest caste to copy, to a certain degree, the deities whom they serve, in their bearing and in their whole exterior deportment, it becomes very apparent, why the priests are so often portrayed with animals' heads or masks; although without knowing the ritual of the priesthood, which we do not possess, the explication of particulars must always remain dubious and obscure.

The *sacred rites* and *popular feasts* of the Egyptians are so accurately described by Herodotus,[1] that a very just notion may be formed of them without any distrust; and his descriptions are so much the more valuable, because they not only bring us acquainted with the priest caste, but also with the character and manner of thinking of the lower classes. From all that Herodotus says upon this subject, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion, than that the latter, notwithstanding the teaching of the ruling caste, and notwithstanding the influence which the use of agriculture and the arts of peace must have had upon them, still constantly preserved in their character features of their earliest rude state, above which, in a moral point of view, they seem to have been but very little raised. How could this be otherwise in a country where every branch of scientific knowledge, and every higher part of education, was confined, exclusively, to the upper classes?[2] Their feasts and holy rites were nearly, without exception, made up of superstition and enthusiasm, in which they gave themselves up to savage pleasure, or extravagant penitence and atonement for their real or imaginary sins. The latter were much more

[1] Herod. ii. 40, 42, 60, 63.

[2] Although, according to the remarks made in the introduction, (p. 260,) upon the knowledge of hieroglyphics, so far as the demotic writing was derived from these, they could not be wholly hidden from the people, yet the *symbolic* and *enigmatic* writings still remained unknown to them; and though they saw the inscriptions on the monuments, yet, as far as I know, no proof exists that they were able to read the sacred books of the priests, and understand them. That the priest caste, as well as the Bramins, kept this locked up from the nation, in order to preserve in their own body the exclusive possession of knowledge which the people could not do without, does not require, in my opinion, a single proof, because it seems to spring from the spirit of the caste. I cannot agree in opinion with Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 482, that the knowledge of hieroglyphics was peculiar to the priesthood, merely because it was too difficult, and required too much time in learning, to be attained by the great body of the people.

frequent and excessive among the Egyptians than the former: few of their feasts were without penances; and most of their offerings to the gods were expiatory sacrifices. Others, on the contrary, were accompanied by violent expressions of joy, particularly their processions, which always bore the stamp of that rude age, in which moral sentiments, and refined notions of decency and good manners, were but slightly developed.[1]

Among a people, that from the earliest times had been governed by priests, oracles are the first things that would be expected; the strongest band by which rude nations, in the infancy of society, can be chained to a certain degree of civilization! In the cases of Meroë and Ammonium, examples have already been offered of states, in which oracles were the mainspring that regulated all their movements; and from what is known of Egypt in later times, they do not seem to have exercised less influence in the formation of the earlier Egyptian states. Whether each settlement of priests had an oracle originally connected with it, is not known; but in the time of Herodotus, they are found, though not in all, yet certainly in many of the principal cities and temples of Egypt. Thus the oracle of Ammon at Thebes, of Hercules, of Orus, or Apollo, of Bubastis, or Artemis, of Mars and Minerva, each in the city in which they had their seat, are expressly mentioned by him; but the most famous of all, from some cause now unknown, was the oracle of Latona in the city Buto.[2] The way in which the oracles were delivered was not every where the same; that of the oracle of Ammon by the sacred ship, has been already explained in the former part of the volume.[3] According to the direct testimony of Herodotus, they were only given by the gods, and only by certain of these to whom it was appointed: a regulation by which the priest caste kept them more securely in their own hands.

Of all the religious opinions of the Egyptians, there was no one that exercised so great an influence upon their private life and public deportment, as their belief in an *existence after death;* which, therefore, in a description of the political state

[1] Herod. ii. 48. Proofs of this might also have been expected to be found in the sculpture, which so often portray offerings and sacred rites. But the art here again seems to have had its fixed prescriptions, since it keeps itself so closely within certain boundaries. Frequently is the offering of the king, known by his head-dress, with his suite represented: when the people appear, they are represented by single figures placed exactly in a line, one after the other, in respectful order. The greater number of figures, however, are priests, shown by their *clothing and head-dress.* [2] Herod. ii. 83, 154.

[3] Page 211. It will be found again represented in the temple of Karnac; *Descript. d'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. xiv. plates xxxii. xxxvi.; also at Elephantis, vol. i. plate xxxvii.

of the nation, it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence. That this belief prevailed in Egypt all writers agree; it is only when we ask how it was formed, that the difficulty begins; as upon this point there reigns a diversity of opinion, which cannot be easily reconciled. The plainest and most credible account seems that preserved by Herodotus, when he says:[1] "According to the opinion of the Egyptians, Bacchus and Ceres are the rulers of the lower world. But the Egyptians are the first who have asserted that the soul of man is immortal; for when the body perishes, it enters the body of a newly-born animal; but when it has passed through all the land animals, sea animals, and fowls, it again returns to a human body. This transmigration is completely performed in three thousand years." From this passage it is evident that the Egyptians believed in the transmigration of souls, so that the soul in a destined cycle wandered through the bodies of every species of animals, till it again returned to a human body: not to the one it had formerly occupied, but to a new one. But another question naturally arises here, how do the regulations which were made in Egypt, as well with regard to the preservation of the corpse by embalming, as the secure lodgment of it in an elaborately built tomb, agree with this description? How can the notions respecting the lower world, *Hades*, or, as it was here called, *the Amenthes*, which, from certain evidence, even from that of Herodotus, are known to have prevailed in the nation, be made to agree with this? These two ideas are so directly opposed to each other, that the impossibility of reconciling them must be allowed by all.[2]

This difficulty can only be accounted for, in my opinion, from the difference between the vulgar religion and the learned religion of the priests. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, in the way it is imputed to the Egyptians by Herodotus, could not possibly be the popular belief: it bears about it too clearly the marks of having been formed according to a scientific system. Is not this evidently betrayed, in the opinion that the soul must pass through *all* species of animals, till it again becomes united to a human body; and again more especially by the belief, that this happened in a fixed cycle of time, which

[1] Herod. ii. 123.

[2] Zoëga, who has discussed with much learning the notions of the Egyptians respecting the lower world, (*de Obeliscis*, p. 294, 310,) understands Herodotus as follows: the soul descends with the body into the lower world, and first commences its wanderings when the latter is decayed. But we very naturally demand, how could this opinion prevail among a people who so embalmed the corpses, that they *never decayed at all*?

was, without doubt, determined upon from astronomical and astrological observations?[1] I think myself therefore justified in considering the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as a philosophical system of the priests, and by no means the religion of the vulgar.

Completely different from this were the faith and notions of the people, as they are clearly and concisely described to us by Diodorus.[2] "The Egyptians," he says, "consider this life as of very trifling consequence, and they therefore value in proportion a quiet repose after death. This leads them to consider the habitations of the living as mere lodgings, in which, as travellers, they put up for a short time; while they call the sepulchres of the dead everlasting dwellings, because the dead continue in the grave such an immeasurable length of time. They therefore pay but little attention to the building of their houses, but bestow a cost and care, scarcely credible, upon their sepulchres." Although these words may require some further explanation, yet it is evident, at the first glance, that they offer the key to the most interesting part of Egyptian antiquity.

According to this authority, the belief in a *continuance after death* was not only entertained by the people, but had also an important influence upon practical life. What the ideas of the Egyptians were respecting this *continuance* Diodorus does not exactly inform us; but if we consider their whole proceedings with regard to their dead, a doubt can scarcely remain upon the subject. It was closely connected by them with the *continuance of the body*, and was therefore, for the most part, a coarse, sensual kind of notion. The identity of the body was never laid aside; upon its preservation depended the continuance of existence. It is possible that certain philosophical ideas may afterwards have been joined to this notion, but they can be no further developed, because it was a rude, vulgar superstition; and, besides, we should infallibly be led to impute ideas to the Egyptians which they never had. But if this be taken as the foundation, and the peculiarities of the country and climate are duly taken into consideration, every custom of the Egyptians with regard to the treatment of their corpses will be easily accounted for.

It is at once evident from this why the preparation of mummies was so carefully attended to and became so general in

[1] Respecting this cycle see what Gatterer says, p. 160, of the treatise already quoted.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 60, 61.

Egypt. The three different methods, more or less costly, are described by Herodotus.[1] Who can help seeing that every thing depended upon this preservation?—A preservation which not merely secured the continuance of the body for a time, but, supposing it to have escaped violent destruction, preserved it for ever.

Hence, immediately may be inferred, the necessity for a convenient and secure place in which to bestow the dead bodies. Graves such as we have, where the corpse is subject to decay, would be quite unfit for the purpose; and still more so the urns, preserving only the ashes, of the Greeks and Romans. In fact, real habitations for the dead were required, in which their continuance and quiet might be as secure as possible. The fertile plains of Egypt, besides that its confined space scarcely afforded room for the living, was totally unfit, on account of the inundations of the Nile; nature herself, however, seems as it were to have appointed a place for them. The rocky strip at the foot of the western mountain-chain, and the mountain itself, was not only beyond the reach of the floods, but afforded, by its caves and its general character, just the situation required; since, where there were no natural caves, vaults in the rocks might be easily made, which completely answered the purpose. This rocky strip of Egypt gives proofs of this in every part. A countless number of sepulchres of this kind, sometimes in the mountain, and at others in large subterranean caverns under the rocky soil, to which the descent is by openings or pits, are found both in Middle and Lower Egypt along the Libyan chain. Every Egyptian city required a resting-place of this kind for its dead, in proportion to the extent of that of the capital. The sepulchres of Thebes, as well the royal tombs, which lie apart in the retired stony valley, as the other numerous vaults,[2] have hitherto more particularly engaged the attention of travellers, although there are others which equally deserve to be explored.[3]

We are told by Diodorus, that it was upon adorning these everlasting abodes that the Egyptians bestowed their greatest care. The idea that the future life is a continuation of the present, appears to be too natural to man not to be generally adopted. Hence, therefore, the custom that the sepulchres

[1] Herod. ii. 86—88. [2] See the engravings in Denon, plate xlii., and many excellent statements and remarks, ii. 108, 271, 287.
[3] Like that of Eilethyia. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. 141, etc.

were mostly family sepulchres;[1] hence, also, the kind of painting and ornaments with which they were adorned. Thus, as the present life of the Egyptians was divided between the obligations of religion and domestic affairs, they represented both these in the gloomy caverns of the dead. The walls, therefore, were partly covered with hieroglyphics and religious subjects, and partly with matters of every-day life,—of agriculture, of arts, etc., by which, as I have elsewhere remarked, the sepulchres are the true schools of Egyptian antiquities.

As many of these sepulchres, to which the descent is made by pits, were under the rocky soil, covered with sand, there arose a necessity for the erection of some monument over them, if it were wished to preserve the whole distinct, or to prevent the entrance from being choked up. It is highly probable that the pyramids were raised for this purpose. Their shape was best adapted to answer the end described, and it was only by degrees that they became formed into such huge masses;[2] this seems to be evinced by the still existing shorter pyramids, more especially if the conjecture be true, that the great pyramids were the work of the most ancient Ethiopian race of Pharaohs, mentioned by Herodotus, and copies of the pyramids at Meroë.[3] Herodotus remarks, that the subterraneous caverns, under the great pyramid, were most highly deserving of

[1] Denon, plate lxxvi. ii. 313.
[2] See what is said upon this subject in Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, 379, etc.
[3] See above, p. 318. It is there mentioned that Herodotus's account of the builders of the pyramids was by no means the only one. It was the account of the priests of Memphis, whose knowledge was confined to the builders of their own temple and the monuments near it. Did they know nothing of the pyramids of Saccara, and the rest of Middle Egypt? Their relation shows, however, that the dynasty under whom they were built must have reigned during a long period: as a comparison with the royal sepulchres at Thebes does that it was no Theban dynasty. They are altogether in a different style; they contain neither hieroglyphics nor reliefs. It is certain, from the latest discoveries, that pyramid architecture, though upon a smaller scale, was quite common at Meroë. These are the reasons which induce me to believe, that the Egyptian pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments, and that they were built by those eighteen Ethiopian Pharaohs, who, according to Herodotus, reigned long before Sesostris, and are included in the three hundred and thirty kings whose names were read over by the priests. This conjecture—for I give it as nothing more—at least explains the whole; and I venture to bring it forward, because nothing further is founded upon it. My opinion, however, is confirmed by Manetho, who places the building of the great pyramid, which Herodotus refers to Cheops, in the *fourth* dynasty. This was one of the dynasties of Memphis, though of foreign extraction, and its third king, *Suphis*, a contemner of the gods, but afterwards converted, is said to have built it. Euseb. *Chron.* 207. I think it may be concluded from all this, that the pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments of Egypt, and that they are very probably of Ethiopian origin. At the instigation of Count Minutoli, a pyramid of Saccara has been opened; he mentions the similarity which its formation bears to those of Meroë. *Journey*, p. 299. The hieroglyphics found therein, on the posts of a side door, seem certainly to contradict the opinion hitherto entertained, that there are no hieroglyphics in the pyramids; should these, however, upon further inquiry, be found to be the only ones, it might render the conjecture admissible, that they were not cut in till afterwards, as, upon another door, others are found drawn with black paint, which certainly do not belong to the original foundation. In the pyramids of Meroë a few hieroglyphics have been discovered; yet at present only in the vestibule; as hitherto no one has been able to penetrate into the interior. See above, p. 201, and Caillaud, plate xlv. xlvi.

admiration ;[1] and the openings, or pits, which are found as well in this as in the pyramids at Saccara, could scarcely have been intended for any other purpose but the entrance[2] to those subterranean chambers of the dead, a more accurate examination of which is still reserved for future travellers.

The situation of all these sepulchres and tombs completely harmonizes with the sombre ideas of death. It was at the entrance of the desert, where nature herself seemed to die; where all vegetation ceased; and where measureless plains succeeded, whose boundaries the eye could not reach! What was more natural, than that under such circumstances the idea of an *empire of the dead*, a lower world, an *Amenthes*, should be formed among the Egyptians? And since they contemplated even the abode, as a continuance of the present life, it will be evident from that, how many ideas might become interwoven with it, which otherwise would appear strange. The lower world had its deities, its inhabitants, even its animals. Dionysos and Ceres, that is, according to Herodotus's own interpretation, Osiris and Isis, governed the lower world, where the former bore the surname of Serapis.[3] The latter, indeed, has his own proper temple, in the midst of the Egyptian empire of death.[4] Wolves are the animals of the lower world, the guardians of Amenthes.[5] Hence, therefore, they appear so frequently, as well as the deities just mentioned, upon the monuments of the dead.

Thus becomes explained why the Egyptians paid so much attention to their funerals. Until deposited in the tomb, the deceased could not enter the empire of death; nor would the tranquil continuance of his existence be secured, until here he had taken up his fixed abode. The mummies of their ancestors and families, therefore, might well be the surest pledges among the Egyptians;[6] for there was no duty more sacred, according to their notions, than that of redeeming them, and giving them a secure resting-place.

These are, as I believe, the principal points of the opinion of the Egyptians respecting a hereafter, so far as believed by the people. But, as the picture of the empire of death became gradually filled up by them, and the whole representation extended, many other ideas were by degrees knit to them, and of

[1] Herod. ii. 124. He expressly adds, that their founder, Cheops, intended them for sepulchres. [2] Zoëga, l. c. [3] Ibid. p. 302, 310.

[4] The ancient Serapeum (different from the later one in Alexandria) is said by Strabo, p. 1161, to have been situated in the sand.

[5] Herod. ii. 122; Zoëga, p. 307, etc. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 104.

these there are none more deserving our attention than that of the *rewards* and *punishments* administered by the judges of the lower world.

How little soever this notion may seem to agree, at the first glance, with that of the Egyptian empire of death, yet it may easily be seen how this belief might arise, when once the idea of an empire like that of the upper world, by a dominion of deities, had been transferred to it. But it was, as is clearly seen from Diodorus's statement, quite of a different nature from what it is among us, and was quite in unison with the other opinions of the nation respecting the lower world. Ere yet the ceremonies of the funeral began,[1] as we are informed by the same writer, a tribunal of death was assembled, consisting of forty members; this inquired into the conduct of the deceased, and determined whether he was worthy of burial or not. Every one was at liberty to appear in this court as accuser, but he was heavily punished who was found to have brought forward a false accusation. If the deceased was adjudged worthy of burial, the deities of the lower world were then invoked to receive him as an inhabitant among the just.

From this account it is very plain that the idea of rewards and punishments after death was closely connected with the granting or not granting of the rites of sepulchre.[2] Indeed, accordingly as the deceased obtained this or not was the entrance to the empire of death opened or closed, and with that his secure and quiet existence. But when this tribunal of death had once become familiar to the people, when, moreover, they had given to the lower world a ruler and judge, it is not at all surprising that we should find this institution still further extended to the lower world, and see Serapis introduced there as judge of the dead. A tribunal of the dead, of this kind, is portrayed upon a coffin in the British Museum, of which Zoëga has given an admirable explanation.[3] A scene resembling this is portrayed upon the upper end of a papyrus roll, which was found in the coffin of a mummy, and brought

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 102, 103. Among the Egyptian funeral customs, Diodorus mentions in this place, that of the passage of the dead bodies over a lake in a bark, from which the Greek fable of the Styx is said to have arisen. This bark is frequently seen represented, sometimes in temples, sometimes on papyrus rolls, as well as in the work, which I shall presently quote, of H. Fontana. Care must be taken not to confound this with the oracle ship of Ammon, described in p. 211, which is easily distinguished by the insignia of Ammon, and the portable sanctuary always found upon it.

[2] The celebrated death tribunal over the kings had, therefore, in my opinion, exactly the same sense; and were only distinguished from those over private persons by being more solemn. [3] Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 308.

by the French expedition into Europe:[1] Osiris is here discovered sitting as judge, with his usual attributes. Before him is a lotus flower, as an emblem of the present life, and a lion, probably as keeper of the lower world. A small human figure is being weighed in a large scale, by two figures, or genii, with animals' heads; one with that of a dog, as symbolical of great sensuality; the other with that of the sparrow-hawk, the usual symbol of the divine nature. Both lay hold of the scales and seem to address Osiris. Hermes, with the ibis head, stands before the latter, with writing tablets in his hand, wherein he notes the faults and virtues of the deceased.[2] One would, therefore, conjecture from the above, that this tribunal was about to decide, whether the new comer might remain in the empire of death or not. Probably, however, these notions became still further developed, and in the progress of time completely new ones might become knit to the old ones, which approached much nearer to our ideas of rewards and punishments.

I have thus far endeavoured to set forth the state and government of Egypt in general under the Pharaohs. Let me hope that many things will become still clearer and more readily perceptible in the next chapter, in which I shall endeavour to picture the principal state of ancient Egypt—the hundred-gated Thebes.

CHAP. III. *Thebes and its Monuments.*

ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT WERE HER STRENGTH, AND IT WAS INFINITE; PUT AND LUBIM WERE THY HELPERS. NAHUM III. 9.

HOWEVER great the obscurity in which the history of Egypt is involved, there can be no doubt but that the state of Thebes was one of the earliest and most powerful. It is to this state, more particularly, that the efforts of the moderns have been directed; efforts, which have been eminently successful in rescuing its most interesting antiquities from oblivion, which have restored it, as it were, from its ancient ruins; and are still

[1] The engraving in Denon, plate cxli. He explains it altogether wrong to be an initiation into the mysteries.

[2] The explanation of some subordinate figures, respecting which I am uncertain, I must leave to a future commentator. We have since obtained many copies of similar representations, which are partly explained; and especially *Copie figurée d'un Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé en Egypte, par* M. Fontana, *expliqué par* M. De Hammer, *a Vienna*, 1822. The principal figures, Osiris, or Serapis, as judge of the dead, Theut, or Hermes, as writer, a figure with the scales, are the same; but in the subordinate figures there is much variety.

prosecuted with much vigour and good fortune. Its history, therefore, undoubtedly is one of great importance; not merely for Egypt alone, but as regards the general history of the world. Its monuments testify to us of a time when it was the centre of the civilization of the human race; a civilization, it is true, which has not endured, but which, nevertheless, forms one of the steps by which mankind has attained to a higher perfection. Who, then, would not like to see an accurate and complete narrative of its origin, rise, and fall? But who can now expect or require such a history? We pass at once from the regions of light into an obscure twilight which has scarcely dawned, and which we can scarcely hope ever to see expand into the fulness of day. Lest, therefore, expectation should become too sanguine, let us take a glance at the materials left for a history of ancient Thebes: they consist of *writers* and the *monuments*.

If Herodotus had left us as much upon the history of Thebes as he might have done, how satisfactory would have been our information! It is extraordinary that he, who according to his own account was in Thebes,[1] should have scarcely said a word of its monuments, and but little more of its history. If the latter is to be ascribed to his predecessor, Hecatæus of Miletus, having recently visited and described it, how much reason have we to wish that the latter had not written at all. And as for its history, all we have from Herodotus is a few particulars which he collected in conversation with the priests there; for what he says elsewhere upon Egypt, from the accounts related to him by the priests, he seems to have obtained from the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities which he visited before he went to Thebes.[2]

Diodorus of Sicily is our principal authority. We are indebted to him for the most accurate accounts of the monuments of Thebes, and of its history and government. The credibility of his statements mainly depends upon the sources whence he drew them; and these are of three kinds: personal inspection; the information he obtained from the priests at Thebes; the accounts of preceding Greek writers, who had visited and described Thebes before him.

[1] Herod. ii. 143.

[2] From the passage, ii. 3, it is clear that Herodotus went first to Memphis, at that time the capital, and obtained there his information from the priests; and then went to Heliopolis and Thebes for the sake of comparing it with theirs. The historical accounts, cap. 99—142, he noted down as he received them from the mouths of the priests. He generally mentions what he received from the priests at Thebes, as, for instance, cap. 143.

Diodorus was himself in Thebes. According to his own account, he visited Egypt in the 108th Olympiad, that is, between 60 and 56 years before Christ, during the dominion of Ptolemy Auletes.[1] He speaks, therefore, in his descriptions as an eye-witness, and there is no reason here to suspect him of falsehood or exaggeration; the less, indeed, because he refers to the agreement of his statements with those of other writers.[2] Some of his descriptions, nevertheless, seem to have been borrowed; either because he had not noted down the circumstances, or for some other unknown reason. It does not, however, follow from this that he had not himself seen the objects which he describes.

A second source open to him was the accounts possessed by the priests of Thebes; and these were certainly written as well as oral. Upon this point he thus expresses himself: "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall note down, after having carefully examined it."[3] This testimony is so decisive, that it only leaves one alternative, namely, that Diodorus either had access to the *writings* of the Egyptian priests, or stands convicted of a falsehood. There appear no grounds for the latter supposition. He may occasionally have erred in chronology, and other matters, but no one has yet accused him of intentional misstatements. A very natural objection, however, and which almost forces itself upon our attention, is, that Diodorus was unacquainted with the Egyptian language, and could not understand hieroglyphic writing. —But does it not seem very probable that there were Greek translations, or extracts, prepared by the priests for the use of Greek travellers who visited their country? When, indeed, we consider the number of Greeks who visited Egypt, this appears the more necessary; and should any one still think it unlikely, let him call to mind that this had actually been done, two centuries previous to the time of Diodorus, at Heliopolis, by the high priest Manetho, who had drawn up in Greek, from the archives of the priests, not a mere abstract, but a continuous history of Egypt.[4] This conjecture is strengthened by the

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 56. [2] Diodorus, l. c.

[3] Diodorus, i. p. 80. *αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα φιλοτίμως ἐξητακότες ἐκθησόμεθα. Quæ a sacerdotibus Ægypti in commentarios relata penseculate examinavimus, ea nunc exponemus*, according to Wesseling's translation. Compare i. p. 36, where he, in stating the number of population and towns, expressly quotes the numbers of the commentaries of the priests.

[4] The Greek translation of the inscriptions on the obelisk of Heliopolis, afterwards at Rome in the *Circus Maximus*, may serve as another example; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 4, has preserved it from a manuscript of Hermapion.

expression of Diodorus, who does not call the writings of the priests here mentioned, their *sacred* writings, as he is accustomed to do elsewhere,[1] but simply their writings. I considered it a duty to quote this passage, but with regard to the question itself, I must leave it, as it is so totally a matter of conjecture, to the judgment of the reader. We may decide, however, upon satisfactory evidence, that Diodorus made use of the annals of the priests in compiling his account, and certainly of those of Thebes.

The third source whence Diodorus drew his materials was the writings of the Greeks who had visited Egypt before him: and he has not left us in doubt respecting the writers of whose works he chiefly availed himself. Herodotus was not one of them. He only mentions him with disapprobation,[2] on account of the fables with which he has diversified his narration. The authors by whom he most profited were the elder and younger Hecatæus, Cadmus, and Hellanicus. The elder Hecatæus is the same person whose affair with the priests of Thebes is mentioned by Herodotus.[3] He had been in Egypt but a short time before him, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes; and had, either in his geography, or in a separate work, treated of the Egyptians. He was a native of Miletus; and is evidently meant in that passage in which he, with his two countrymen and contemporaries, who had also written upon Egypt, is mentioned as one of the early writers.[4] Of the younger Hecatæus, of Abdera, Diodorus speaks in another passage.[5] He lived about two hundred years later than the elder one, under Ptolemy Lagus, in Egypt, and assuredly at Thebes. He wrote *Ægyptiaca*, of which Diodorus seems to have made free use. —But the accounts of these writers themselves were also drawn from the statements of the priests of Thebes. One great and general result is, therefore, deducible from this: namely, *that the facts recorded by Diodorus relating to Egypt are drawn, either directly or indirectly, from the statements of the priests of Thebes.*

The dynasties of Manetho of Sebennytus, drawn from the archives of the priests above mentioned, have obtained a higher authority within the last ten years than was willingly allowed them previously. The possession of the entire Chronicle of Eusebius in the Armenian version,[6] gives us the Fragments of

[1] As, for instance, i. p. 53, and often. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 44. [3] Herod. ii. 143.

[4] Diodorus, l. c. Compare Voss. *de Hist. Gr.* p. 441.

[5] Diodorus, i. p. 56. [6] See above, p. 310, note.

Manetho, found therein, in a more complete and accurate form. They have, however, lately been unexpectedly confirmed by the deciphering of the royal names and titles on the monuments, through the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics; as a series of the names of the Pharaohs are here traced out, as they are found in the catalogues of Manetho; particularly in his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which are highly important in the present inquiry.

By comparing together these three great writers, we are driven to a conclusion which I think worthy of high consideration in the study of Egyptian antiquities. As Herodotus made use of the priestly traditions at Memphis, Diodorus of those at Thebes, and Manetho of those at Heliopolis, it follows that we have, in these three writers, the priestly traditions (under which I also comprise their written accounts) as preserved by that body at the three principal seats of learning in Egypt. It is not therefore extraordinary that some discrepancies should be found amongst them, for which this explanation will satisfactorily account.

These, then, are the written sources from which is derived our knowledge of Egyptian Thebes. And after all, what are they? Poor, indeed, would be the information respecting this state, if their defects were not in some measure supplied by the monuments. It is only through these that we can form a just conception of the magnificence of this ancient royal city; or a general notion of the degree of civilization to which the people had attained who erected them.—These certainly give us no continuous history, in the proper sense of the word; but in connexion with the written accounts, to which they form, as it were, a living commentary, they give us an historical view of this ancient state, in its most flourishing period; and to this the present inquiry will be confined. A clear and concise description of these venerable remains, copied from the representations of the French expedition, and the accounts of later travellers, must necessarily form the groundwork of this history;[1] and this I shall intersperse with such historical observ-

[1] Some twenty years ago our knowledge of the monuments of Thebes was but very limited and imperfect. Of the many travellers who visited Egypt, but few reached Upper Egypt, and these few had seldom an opportunity of making extensive inquiries, and still less time and ability to take correct drawings of what they saw. Of the early travellers, Pococke and Norden are almost the only ones who deserve to be mentioned; though their descriptions and drawings were insufficient to give a just idea of the monuments, and the wonders of antiquity. It was the French expedition that first brought us acquainted with Egypt. Denon, in his *Voyage dans la basse et haute Egypte*, Paris, 1802, with the engravings which accompany it, gives us a clear idea of the monuments of Upper Egypt, and of some part of Thebes.

ations as they may give rise to, or as may be drawn from a comparison of them with such of the above-mentioned materials as still exist.

I. *The Monuments.*

The locality of ancient Thebes has been so accurately measured and portrayed on so large a scale by the French, as to leave nothing to be desired on this head.[1] The whole valley of the Nile in Upper Egypt, offers no spot so fit for the foundation of a large capital. The mountain-chains, the Libyan, on the western, and the other, usually called the Arabian, on the eastern side, retire here to such a distance on either side of the river, that they leave a spacious plain on both banks, whose breadth from west to east amounts to about three leagues and a half, (the leagues of two thousand toises,) and the length from north to south is about the same. Its extent is reckoned by Strabo at eighty stadia, or eight geographical miles,[2] and by Diodorus to one hundred and fifty stadia, or about sixteen miles and a half. Towards the north this plain is again closed in by the near approach of the two mountain-chains to the river: towards the south, on the contrary, where the western chain continues distant from the rivers, it remains open. The

This soon drew attention to this country, and the discoveries to be made there could no longer be doubted. Even what, however, Denon has given us was only a foretaste. The immense store of works of art permitted him only to give drawings of a few, and the means of a private individual, although favoured by the court, must have limited the number and magnificence of these.

But already had the French government determined to give, by employing the united efforts of artists and men of learning and science, a more complete description and representation both of ancient and modern Egypt, of its monuments, productions, inhabitants, and of its nature in general, than had hitherto been attempted. The first livraison of this great work, *Description de l'Egypte*, appeared in 1811. It comprises Upper Egypt, from the southern boundary to Thebes, and is divided (like the following) into three parts: *Antiquités*, *Histoire naturelle*, and *Etat moderne*. The *Antiquités*, which alone come under our notice, are chiefly the monuments of *Philæ*, *Elephantis*, *Essouan*, *Esné*, *Edfu*, *Eilethyia*, and some others of less importance. This was followed, in 1815, by the *second and third livraison*, exclusively devoted to the monuments of ancient Thebes. The engraver has here summoned all his efforts, and endeavoured, as it were, to surpass himself; we have now on 161 sheets, (part ii. 92 plates, part iii. 69 plates, some of them larger than ever before passed under a press,) the picture of the most ancient royal city of the world. And if the present world must confess that it could no longer execute such works as are here represented, the architects of the ancient world would not behold these representations of their monuments without surprise. About the same time with the great work of the French, appeared the work of my friend and former pupil, William Hamilton, (*Remarks on several parts of Turkey*, vol. i. *Ægyptiaca*, Lond. 1809,) the first part of which, with plates, is chiefly dedicated to Upper Egypt and Thebes. Many of the principal plates of the great French work are also given here, though only in outline. It may at once be seen what a great advantage is derived from our being able to compare the descriptions, opinions, and drawings of various travellers of two different nations; and to rectify one by the other. To these may now be added Belzoni's *Narrative of the Operations and recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, Lond. 1821, with a splendid atlas of plates; likewise *The Travels of* Count Minutoli, Berlin, 1824; a work highly instructive for the antiquities of Thebes, from the scrupulous accuracy of the plates which accompany it, especially of the obelisks of Luxor with their inscriptions. The many smaller travels without plates, I shall not mention.

[1] Compare the small plan at the end. [2] Strabo, p. 1170; Diodorus, i. p. 36.

plain, therefore, on which Thebes was built, though limited in extent, was yet sufficient to contain one of the largest cities of the earth. According to Strabo, there is no doubt but the ancient city covered the whole plain. Since, however, the west bank of the Nile, as far as the foot of the Libyan mountains, is wholly occupied by monuments above ground, (here the subterraneous monuments begin,) many private houses could not possibly have been built there. This, however, was not the case on the eastern bank. Here the great monuments are found near the river, and the whole plain to the Arabian mountain-chain is left for the town, which, according to Strabo, entirely filled it.[1]

Thebes, therefore, was built on the two banks of the Nile, without being connected, as far as we know, by means of a bridge. A people, whose knowledge of architecture had not attained to the formation of arches, could hardly have constructed a bridge over a river, the breadth of which would even now oppose great obstacles to such an undertaking.[2] A survey of the monuments still extant will be made in the easiest manner, by our taking them on the different sides of the river. The greater part, and most considerable of these monuments, are now denominated according to the villages, which are situated in the plain, on both sides of the stream. Thus, on the west side, the villages Medinet Abou and Gornou; on the east, Luxor and Karnac; and quite at the north-east end of the valley, Med Armuth, which is the extreme point of the ruins that now remain. They are, however, so similar in extent and grandeur, that it is difficult to decide whether those on the west or east side should have the precedence.

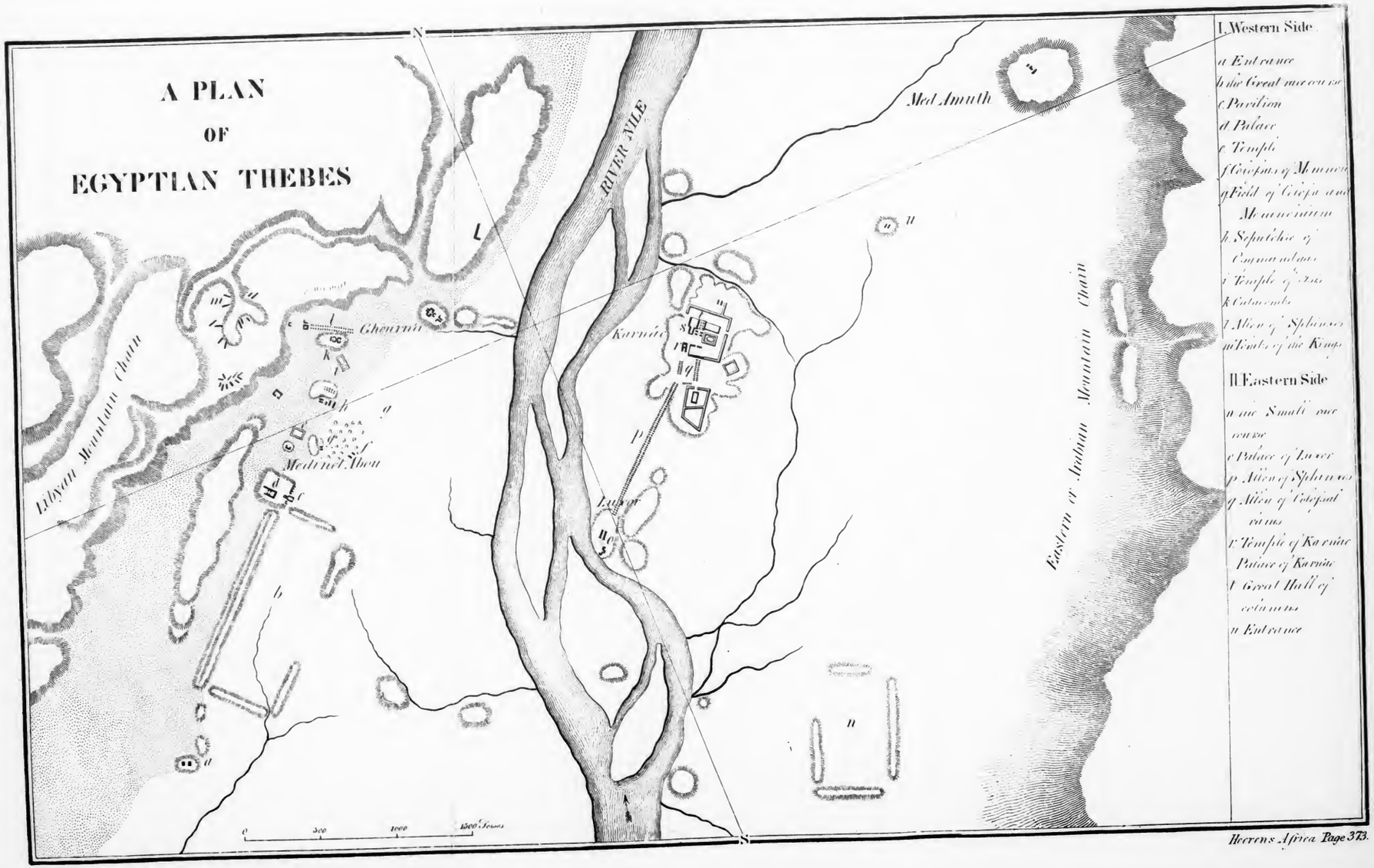
1. *Monuments on the western side.*

The monuments on the western bank are of various descriptions. They form an almost uninterrupted series from south to north, all indeed in the neighbourhood of the Libyan mountain-ridge, so that a large plain extends between it and the

[1] A remarkable fact respecting ancient Thebes is preserved in Steph. *de Urb.* under Διόσπολις. Before it was devastated by the Persians, it contained, according to Cato, 13,000 streets (κώμας) and seven millions of inhabitants. It was four hundred stadia in length, and occupied 3700 acres of land. It is difficult to say how Cato comes to be mentioned here; since Stephanus no where else quotes a Roman writer. Perhaps the name may be corrupted from Ἑκάταιος, who is often quoted by Stephanus, and who had described Thebes. In the statement the careless compiler has confounded the Thebais with Thebes; for others state the number of its inhabitants at seven millions, and not that of the city. Diodor. i. p. 36.

[2] The breadth of the river here is from seven hundred to eight hundred toises; it contains many islands, which, however, are without monuments, and probably of later origin.

A PLAN OF EGYPTIAN THEBES



I. Western Side

a Entrance
b the Great mercenaries
c Pavilion
d Palace
e Temple
f Colossus of Memnon
g Field of Colossi and Memnonium
h Sepulchres of Empire builders
i Temple of Isis
k Catacombs
l Allee of Sphinxes
m Tombs of the Kings

II. Eastern Side

n the Small mercenaries
o Palace of Luxor
p Allee of Sphinxes
q Allee of Colossal rams
r Temple of Karnák
Palace of Karnák
t Great Hall of columns
u Entrance

Heerens Africa Page 373.

river, which probably was once filled up with private dwelling-houses. In proceeding from south to north we find:

1. The *race-course.*[1] The first object that here catches the eye, is the remains of a large race-course, at the southern extremity of which stands a small temple; there is, however, just by, a gate of such vast dimensions, that a much larger building must once have stood here. The race-course is upwards of six thousand Parisian feet in length, and three thousand in breadth; its area amounting, according to the French calculation, to seven times as much as the *Champ de Mars*, near Paris (624,380 square toises); and consequently afforded ample space for the exercise and review of a large army. The whole was surrounded by an enclosure which forms at present nothing more than a series of hills, among which the gates or inlets may still be distinguished, of which there are reckoned thirty-nine, though their number perhaps altogether amounted to fifty. The principal entrance, where a large opening is left, faces the east, and the general appearance of the enclosure shows that at one time it was embellished with stately edifices, composed of triumphal monuments. Probably this spacious plain was situated just without the city; a similar one, of smaller dimensions, is found on the east side, nearly opposite to this; and, if both were situated without the city, we may with great probability determine the southern boundary of the city. These places were most likely intended for prize contentions, particularly chariot courses, and also for assembling and exercising the troops, who, under a Sesostris and other conquerors, started from this place on their route, and returned here in triumph after a victory had been gained.

2. The race-course is followed towards the north by the antiquities of Medinet Abou running along the border of a small sandy tract, which blends with the Libyan mountain-chain. Proceeding from south to north, I comprise under this division: *a.* a palace and temple directly at the northern end of the race-course: *b.* the colossus of Memnon, together with others near it; and the remains of a building which appears to

[1] Hamilton denies the existence of this race-course. He regards it only as the bed of an old channel (which is also mentioned by the French); but denies that it could be a race-course, since in this case it would only be forty yards in breadth and two thousand in length. But the accurate examinations and measurements of the French leave no doubt of its really having existed as such, and the mistake of Hamilton possibly arose from his being unable, on account of the inundations, to examine the locality with accuracy. Is it not probable that Hamilton mistook the *double* enclosures on the west side, which are about forty yards distant from each other, for the enclosure on the *two* sides? He might have been led into this error more easily because only fragments of that on the eastern side is now left.

be the Memnonium of Strabo: *c.* the palace and tomb of Osymandyas, frequently called Memnonium. All these monuments lie nearly at the foot of the Libyan ridge, about one thousand five hundred toises from the Nile.

First, the *palace*, a *pavilion* connected with it, and the *temple*. It is highly interesting to meet in this place with buildings, whose structure clearly shows that they were not proper temples, but merely dwellings most probably occupied by the king. The pavilion is a building of two stories, containing many saloons and apartments, and numerous windows. The situation is so well chosen, that it commands a view not only of all the monuments of Medinet Abou, but also of those on the other side of the Nile, and of the whole plain in which Thebes was built. Everything, even the decorations which cover the walls, seem to indicate that this was the usual residence of the king. The subjects represented differ from those in the temples, as they are intermingled with scenes of domestic life. This edifice is unfortunately a good deal injured, but the upper story is the part best preserved.

About two hundred and fifty feet north-west of this pavilion is situated the great palace of Medinet Abou. Its entrance is formed by one of those mighty superstructures, which, unknown to our architecture, are comprised by the French under the name of pylones; the Greeks call them *propylæa*. They consist of two obtuse pyramids, (in this instance sixty-six feet high,) which enclose between them the principal gate, forming the grand entrance. This leads into a large court, which is surrounded by galleries formed on one side by eight great pillars, and on the other by pilasters, to which colossal statues of Osiris are fixed as caryatides, but not so as to give any support. The sight of these colossal pilaster-caryatides excites in the beholder, as we are assured by eye-witnesses, an indescribable feeling of awe and veneration.

Opposite to the principal entrance stands a second pylone, though on a somewhat smaller scale. It leads into a second court of pillars, or peristyle, the galleries of which are likewise formed by pilasters, with caryatides and columns. "Of all the parts of this building, this peristyle is, we are told by an eye-witness, the most imposing, by its tremendous massiveness and solemn grandeur. We are convinced that its founders wished to make it imperishable, and that the Egyptian architects who were intrusted with its structure, did their utmost to

make it endure to the latest posterity. The pillars are certainly not remarkably elegant, but they are colossal; their diameter near the base is nearly seven feet and a half, and they are nearly twenty feet high, yet they do not seem too large to support the immense stone blocks which form the architraves and roof. Nothing is more astonishing than the beauty of these tall columns. The effect, however, of this peristyle is greatly increased by the pilaster-caryatides, which add so greatly to its magnificence. It was impossible for the Egyptian not to sink into a religious awe at the sight of this assembly of gods, who seem to dictate the laws of wisdom, of justice, which are every where written on the walls. When the Egyptian artists affixed the images of these gods to these pilasters, which support the splendid roof, covered with golden stars on blue ground, do they not seem to have intended to represent the deity himself under the arch of heaven, expanding in his space? And if we, unacquainted with the religion and manners of the Egyptians, could not enter these halls, in which every pillar is a deity, without emotion, what a powerful impression must the sight of them have produced upon those who saw a religious mystery in every part." I have quoted this passage, because the expression of feeling which these monuments produced on the traveller, is more likely to inspire the imagination of the reader with a correct notion of them, than a simple account of lifeless masses. The back or northern part of the palace lies chiefly in ruins; but many apartments are still to be seen that seem to have served as habitations, of which, however, any further description would be unintelligible without a plan.

A still more remarkable object is the sculpture of this palace both within and without. That without is of an historical kind; scenes of war, and battles by land and sea. There are several representations of land engagements, in which the Egyptians are victorious. The chief or king always appears on his war-chariot, of a colossal size, armed with a lance, bow, and arrows; and his missiles carry death into the ranks of his enemies. The Egyptians are partly engaged in fighting, and partly in arraying their forces, sometimes two and sometimes four men deep. The same figure of the king again appears, now driving slowly along, now stopping, and now forcing his way into the midst of the enemy. Another piece represents a lion hunt. He pursues, still standing in his chariot, two lions through the thicket; one of them is already killed; the other is flying,

pierced by four arrows. But the most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavouring to effect a landing; and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore, discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain under his feet, and others before him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian vessels is quite different from that of the Nile-boats, as they have always a lion's head at the prow; they are very properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same construction. The battle still continues, though apparently decided. The ships of the enemy are evidently in confusion; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike. Even the traces of naval tactics are visible. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians, and there is no chance of a single ship escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most accurately distinguished by their costume, head-dress, and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light, the head-covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers, the others wear a helmet, seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast.[1] It is not to be denied, that they are a southern people, and the inhabitants of a hot climate; the French artists recognised them at once as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately observed in the succeeding representations. Since, however, a great part of the building is in ruins, those representations can be but partly preserved, and our drawings of them are consequently very imperfect.[2]

Of a different, though somewhat similar nature, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, closely connected however with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of these reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king (distinguishable as such by the serpent in his head-dress) sits in his chariot. The steeds, decorated with

[1] See the engravings of these battles, part ii. plate x.

[2] This is especially the case with the greatest part of the engagements on land, and, what is most to be lamented, with the warriors, who are present in the hunting-piece, whose very different accoutrements and dress are only described. *Descript.* i. p. 54.

splendid trappings, are held and managed by his attendants; he himself is standing in a commanding attitude; the prisoners of war are led before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colours are in high preservation. The prisoners are unarmed; their weapons are tied above their heads. In the forepart of the chariot of the conqueror a heap of amputated hands are lying, seemingly of the persons killed in battle; the prisoners are not mutilated.[1]

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king, seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are decorated with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rest on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the attributes of consecration; two genii stand behind and shadow him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent, and the sphinx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds, and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror, in a different habit and head-dress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests, bearing the attributes of the deity, march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently changed into a religious pageant. It is not the warriors but the priests who perform the principal characters. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is worthy of remark, that this scene apparently relates to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king, which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gifts to the god. It is not

[1] See part ii. plate xviii.

pierced by four arrows. But the most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavouring to effect a landing; and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore, discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain under his feet, and others before him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian vessels is quite different from that of the Nile-boats, as they have always a lion's head at the prow; they are very properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same construction. The battle still continues, though apparently decided. The ships of the enemy are evidently in confusion; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike. Even the traces of naval tactics are visible. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians, and there is no chance of a single ship escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most accurately distinguished by their costume, head-dress, and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light, the head-covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers, the others wear a helmet, seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast.[1] It is not to be denied, that they are a southern people, and the inhabitants of a hot climate; the French artists recognised them at once as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately observed in the succeeding representations. Since, however, a great part of the building is in ruins, those representations can be but partly preserved, and our drawings of them are consequently very imperfect.[2]

Of a different, though somewhat similar nature, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, closely connected however with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of these reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king (distinguishable as such by the serpent in his head-dress) sits in his chariot. The steeds, decorated with

[1] See the engravings of these battles, part ii. plate x.

[2] This is especially the case with the greatest part of the engagements on land, and, what is most to be lamented, with the warriors, who are present in the hunting-piece, whose very different accoutrements and dress are only described. *Descript.* i. p. 54.

splendid trappings, are held and managed by his attendants; he himself is standing in a commanding attitude; the prisoners of war are led before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colours are in high preservation. The prisoners are unarmed; their weapons are tied above their heads. In the forepart of the chariot of the conqueror a heap of amputated hands are lying, seemingly of the persons killed in battle; the prisoners are not mutilated.[1]

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king, seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are decorated with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rest on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the attributes of consecration; two genii stand behind and shadow him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent, and the sphinx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds, and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror, in a different habit and head-dress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests, bearing the attributes of the deity, march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently changed into a religious pageant. It is not the warriors but the priests who perform the principal characters. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is worthy of remark, that this scene apparently relates to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king, which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gifts to the god. It is not

[1] See part ii. plate xviii.

probable that this scene should be separated altogether from the former; and does it not seem to represent the king protecting the arts of peace, as the former portray him in the splendour of warlike achievements? If these pictures had been perfectly preserved, probably everything would have appeared clear and intelligible.

The sculpture in one of the side rooms is equally deserving of our attention. It represents, in three divisions, the initiation of the king into the priestly mysteries. He is first purified by some of the priests; others then take him by the hand, and lead him into the sanctuary. All here is mysterious. The priests nearly all appear in masks of beasts.[1]

The French literati believed that all this represented the deeds of Sesostris, and they certainly were right, if we may judge from the result of their researches. I shall again return to this subject.

At some distance to the north-west of this palace stands the temple of Medinet Abou. It faces the Nile, and has *propylæa*, in an unfinished state, which are also of later date than the chief temple. It lies for the most part in ruins, but its construction is similar to that of the other temples.

North-west of this temple follows a plain, partly covered with a mimosa-wood, which may be called *the field of Colossi*. Seventeen of these are counted upon this spot, some of which are still standing, while others are in part or altogether thrown down. Among them is the celebrated colossus of Memnon, famous for the sounds issuing from it at the rising of the sun.

The first objects that strike the attention are two colossi close together; the northern one is now called Damy, and the southern Shamy; they both face the Nile. They are of sandstone, about fifty-two feet high, or sixty with the pedestal. The weight of each when entire is calculated at 2,612,000 lbs. The one to the south is formed of one entire piece; the upper half of the other is now composed of five pieces. As colossi were formerly monoliths among the Egyptians, it can hardly be doubted but that this was originally the case here. This statue, as we learn from the many inscriptions with which it is covered, (chiefly of the first two centuries,) was regarded as that of Memnon, as these inscriptions testify that their authors had heard the voice of the statue.[2] Doubts, nevertheless, have

[1] See part ii. plate xiii.

[2] Pococke and Norden differ respecting the statue of Memnon; the former (ii. p. 101) takes it to be the colossus here described; Norden (vol. ii. p. 128, ed. Langlés) another, which is broken in the middle, and standing before the temple of Osymandyas. The late Count Veltheim has endeavoured to defend the opinion of Norden, see *Antiquarische Aufsätze*, Th. ii. p. 69, but in my opinion upon insufficient grounds. The inscriptions on the colossus mentioned by Pococke clearly prove, that it was considered *at that time* as the colossus of Memnon. And is it probable that tradition, without any necessity, should have transferred it from one to the other? Pococke's opinion is confirmed also by Langlés, in *Dissertation sur la Statue de Memnon*, an appendix to his edition of Norden.

been raised against this, originating partly from the quality and colour of the stone, and partly from the circumstance mentioned by Strabo,[1] that the colossus was broken through in the middle, as it is also described by Pausanias;[2] and because the time of its restoration is unknown. But these objections are of no great weight. The stone has been proved, by the examination of the French, to be sandstone, though now become black from the effect of the atmosphere; and though the *restorer* of the statue is unknown to us, nothing can be argued from that, because the fact itself shows that it has been restored. As a matter of conjecture, we may suppose this restoration to have taken place in the time of Septimius Severus, who restored and repaired various things in Egypt.

At a moderate distance to the north-west of this colossus are found two immense stone blocks, covered with the most beautiful hieroglyphics, which probably were nothing more than the pedestals of two other colossi. A little north of these, close to a triple row of pillars, is a large fragment of a colossal statue in a walking attitude, above thirty feet high; and a little farther, the trunk of another of black granite. Still farther, we come to the remnant of a colossus of yellow marble, represented as if walking, and a little in advance the remains of two sitting colossi of red granite; and, beyond them, two others, forty feet high, in a walking position. And since it has been proved that the level of the earth has been raised, at least fifteen or twenty feet, since the commencement of our era, how many others may still lie thrown down, or broken, beneath the surface of the earth!

It will naturally be asked, how this number of colossi came here together in this seeming disorder? The nature of the spot, the various fragments of pillars, etc., lead at once to the conjecture, that at some time an immense building must have stood here, which, with its pylones and courts, colonnades and saloons, could have been nothing short of eighteen hundred feet in length. The colossal statues may have stood before the pylones, before the entrances to the courts and portico, as is still the case in the palace of Osymandyas and others. It was,

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. [2] Pausan. i. p. 101.

as far as we can judge, contrary to the general custom of the Egyptians, to place them any where except before, or in the interior of their edifices. With regard to sphinxes, which formed avenues, it is different. This opinion is, moreover, confirmed by the fact, that both Strabo and Pliny place the colossus of Memnon in a building, called by the former the Memnonium,[1] and by Pliny the Serapeum.[2] Philostratus, also, in his Life of Apollonius,[3] compares the sanctuary (τὸ τέμενος) of Memnon with a forum, decorated with pillars, walls, seats, and statues, which remind us of the great colonnades and halls of columns of the temples. If, however, on the one hand, the enormous dimensions of an edifice that would contain such colossi inspire us with wonder, it seems, on the other, not less surprising, that so few remains of it are now left. This difficulty, however, disappears, if we suppose it to have been built of lime-stone; for the old materials of such have always been used for lime. The number of these buildings in Egypt must have been very great, as the immense excavations in the lime-stone rocks very plainly show. In the neighbourhood of these colossi, the remains of an old structure, built of this stone, are still preserved.

Belzoni has lately confirmed this assertion. "I found," he says,[4] "a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia, and calcareous stones; and from the great number of fragments of smaller dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-headed statues, I can boldly state, that these ruins appear to me to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the western side of Thebes."

Still farther north of the field of colossi is a building, which modern travellers, particularly Norden, commonly called the *Memnonium*,[5]—more correctly, however, *the palace and tomb of Osymandyas*. The ruins of this building, facing the Nile, are the most picturesque of ancient Thebes. The building is composed of sandstone. Many pylones, columns, and pillars with caryatides, are yet standing, whilst ruins of others, and of colossi, form large heaps around. After passing through a majestic pylone, is a quadrangle, above one hundred and forty

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. [2] Plin. xxxiv. 8. [3] Philostr. *Op.* p. 773.

[4] *Narrative*, p. 292, 293. Belzoni is not learned, but very minute and accurate.

[5] To prevent confusion in the topography of Thebes, it must be observed, that Norden and other travellers give the name Memnonium, or palace of Memnon, to that building which is more correctly called the palace of Osymandyas. Pococke applied it to the palace of Medinet-Abou. Hamilton did the same, p. 137. The ruined building to which the statue of Memnon belonged, and which is called the Memnonium by Strabo, lay between the two. The plan will explain all difficulties.

feet in length, and one hundred and sixty-one in breadth. It is all in ruins except two pillars, but the area is so filled up with blocks of granite, that a person might fancy himself in a stone quarry; nevertheless, on a closer inspection, they are found to be merely the ruins of one immense colossus. It has been destroyed by violence, but the head, foot, and hand still remain. The fore-finger is nearly four feet in length; the breadth from one shoulder to the other, in a straight line, is twenty-one feet. The height of the whole could not have been less than fifty-four feet. The pedestal, eighteen feet high, is still standing close to the pylone opposite. Both pedestal and colossus were of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite of Syene. The pit from which it was cut out is clearly seen, near that city, and thence it must have been transported forty-five leagues, notwithstanding it weighed nearly nine hundred tons. Inquiries made on the spot have proved that this building contained four such colossi, of which one of granite seems to have stood near the one described.

A second pylone, somewhat lower, forms the entrance to a peristyle, which is also one hundred and forty feet in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth. It was surrounded by galleries, formed in the north and south by a double row of pillars, in the east by a single row of pilaster-caryatides, and in the west by one row of pillars, and another of pilaster-caryatides. The southern part is decayed, but the northern is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct notion of the whole. This peristyle contained two colossal statues, each about twenty-three feet. One is entirely of black granite, the body of the other is also black, but the head of rose-coloured granite. This head is well preserved. "It possesses that graceful calmness, that happy physiognomy, which pleases more than beauty. It would be impossible to represent the deity with features which could make him more beloved and revered. The execution is admirable, and it might be taken for the production of the best age of Grecian art did it not bear so evidently the Egyptian character."[1]

Out of the peristyle three gates of black granite open into a spacious saloon, the roof of which was supported by sixty pillars in ten rows, each six pillars deep; four of these rows are still standing. The saloon was divided into three compartments, and we may form some idea of the awful extent of the

[1] *Description*, i. p. 129.

whole by knowing, that the pillars of the middle division (the others are a little smaller) are thirty-five feet high, and above six feet in diameter. Out of this large saloon there is an entrance into a second, and afterwards into a third. In each are eight pillars of the same size still standing.

Such are the remains of this immense building, which, nevertheless, from the traces still visible, must have been much larger. But however it may excite our astonishment as a monument of architecture, it is not less admirable on account of the sculpture with which its walls are covered. These consist partly of sacred pictures with hieroglyphics, partly of historical reliefs. The former, as usual, represent deities, with sacrifices and offerings made to them; but the latter deserve and demand a more accurate description. What reason we have to regret that so small a part of them, as well as of the whole building, should have been preserved!

The first of these reliefs is found on the inner side of the first of the two great pylones. It is a battle-piece.[1] The infantry, in close columns, advance with their leader, of a larger size, in his chariot, at their head. The heat of the battle is next portrayed: the leaders, in their chariots, driving into the midst of the enemy; the slain, the wounded, and the flying with their steeds. In the centre of the field of strife is a river, into which those making their escape leap, whilst their party stand on the opposite shore ready to receive them.

On the left side of the pylone, the chief hero sits on a beautifully decorated chair, resting his feet on a stool, on which prisoners are represented. The cushions of the seat and stool are covered with the finest stuff, dotted with stars. A column of twenty-one figures in long garments approach him with supplication and reverence. These are closely followed by chariots and warriors, with large shields. The army to which they belong is in the rear, consisting of infantry, and chariots with one soldier in each. Next follows the baggage, which, though attacked by the enemy, is bravely defended.[2]

Scenes equally remarkable are portrayed on the walls of the peristyle. Here is another battle-piece. It seems like a hostile invasion, which is repelled. A river, with its many windings, traverses the field. Remains of the blue colour with which it was painted are still seen in many places. It flows

[1] See *Description d'Egypte*, p. 129, and plate xxxii. vol. ii.
[2] The last reliefs are only described, *Description*, p. 122, 123, but not engraved.

round a castle, the object of contention on both its banks. The possessors of the castle are crossing the river. They have long beards and garments, and war-chariots with three men in each. The Egyptians, on the opposite side, partly on foot, and partly in chariots, are led on by their king; they are divided into different bodies, each with a separate commander, known by being taller, at their head. They beat down all before them, and trample on the dead and wounded. Many of the enemy in their retreat are drowned in attempting to recross the river; they are pursued by the victors.[1]

On the walls of the large hall is represented the storming and taking of a fortress. (Probably a continuation of the foregoing subject.) At the foot of the walls is a kind of *testudo* formed of large shields. Behind, or under it, are the warriors, of whom only the feet are visible. A scaling-ladder is fixed, which soldiers are climbing up. Of the four stories of the fort, the first is already scaled. The struggle is hotly continued: the besieged hurl down stones and burning substances. The issue, however, is no longer doubtful; and the banner hoisted up, pierced through with arrows, is probably the signal of surrender.[2] If the remaining part of the palace were still standing, it is most likely that there would still be found the triumphal procession of the victor; and if this palace be that of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus, the yet more interesting scene, the high court of justice of Egypt, with the chief judge presiding, with the symbol of truth upon his breast. More of this hereafter.

The French think they have recovered this monument, in these buildings, which have by others—misled by a false reading in the text of Diodorus[3]—been frequently taken for that of Memnonium. The view of the former is supported by the statement of Diodorus, that ten stadia distant were the tombs containing the bodies of the virgins devoted to Ammon. Tombs, in fact, are found at this distance, which agree very well with this statement, and have not the appearance of private buildings.[4]

[1] A few chariots only have been given in the drawing of this relief. Plate xxxii. vol. ii.
[2] A part of this relief is given in plate xxxi. The action of one of these warriors is very expressive; he himself breaks his arrow across his knees.
[3] The passage in which it is said, there stood three colossi at the entrance: ἐξ ἑνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου Μέμνονος τοῦ Συηνύτου. Wesseling has shown that Memnon must not stand here, and, according to him, the passage is thus: ἐξ ἑνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου τεμνυμένους τοῦ Συηνίτου.—"Three colossi, each hewn out of one piece of stone of Syene." It therefore is unquestionable that Diodorus took this building for the Memnonium.
[4] Respecting the women sacrificed to Ammon, the principal passage is found in Strabo, 1171. They were Hierodules, who were however afterwards allowed to marry.

The proofs which are deduced from the plan and dimensions of the edifice have still more weight, if the reader is not so unreasonable as to expect geometrical accuracy. The measure of the pylones, the courts and halls of columns, agree pretty well, though not exactly, with the statements of Diodorus. The plan of the building, also, so far as it can be traced from what is still remaining, answers very nearly to the description of Diodorus; nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the other half, which consisted precisely of the most interesting parts,—of the hall of justice, the library, (either a collection of the sacred writings, or an archive in the Egyptian sense of the word,) and of the tomb itself,—is either completely scattered, or in ruins. There is also the further coincidence, that this colossus is in effect what Diodorus calls it, namely, the *largest* of all the Egyptian statues. Finally, the reliefs, which Diodorus describes, (to which I shall again refer,) seem also to confirm this opinion; as they certainly agree very well upon the whole with Diodorus's description, though discrepancies arise here and there in particulars.

A modern French critic, M. Letronne,[1] would set aside the evidence, brought forward by M. Jollois and Devilliers,[2] to prove the identity of the palace yet partly existing, and that described by Diodorus, chiefly because some of the measurements do not agree with his statements; and because the stone of the pylones is not of the same kind. But the latter is not technically defined by Diodorus; and, with regard to the measure, how can such accuracy be expected in a building lying in ruins? Besides, did Diodorus himself measure it? Or did he not rather give the measurements from what he was told, or from what he had read in earlier descriptions, especially that of Hecatæus? M. Letronne, however, goes still further, and takes the building altogether, described by Diodorus, for a fiction of the poets; because Diodorus had not seen it himself, but borrowed his description from the statements of priests and earlier Greek writers. It is very true, that Diodorus refers to the accounts of the priests, and certainly to written accounts, but he no where hints that he had not seen the monument himself; on the contrary, he says that these accounts

[1] In the *Journal des Savans*, Juillet, 1822. But it has been contradicted by Gail, in the *Philologue*, vol. xiii. To invent monuments would indeed have been a very superfluous occupation for the Egyptian priests.

[2] *Description d'Egypte*, i. p. 121, etc., in *Description générale de Thebes*.

agree with his relation:[1] he cites them, therefore, as confirming his own statements.

No king Osymandyas is mentioned either by Herodotus or Manetho, neither has the name been yet discovered in any inscription; but the royal legend of Sesostris, or Ramasses the Great, is every where displayed on the monuments ascribed to him. The subjects, likewise, of all the reliefs—the battles, triumphs, etc.—constantly refer to him. Even the lion, which is said to have attended him, is seen on his war-chariot as an ornament. And to whom will the inscription quoted by Diodorus, "I am Osymandyas, the king of kings. He who wishes to know how great I was, and where I rest, let him surpass my works"—so well apply as to the greatest architect of Egypt? It is, therefore, difficult to suppress the conjecture, that this great monument, or at least its principal parts, was the work of Sesostris. Perhaps Osymandyas was a surname of the great Ramasses, as the name of Sesostris was; or it might be his name as a hero. It would not be difficult to offer many other conjectures upon the subject, but I leave them to future commentators. But that *his* deeds are represented here is in the highest degree probable, even though a part of the building should belong to a period prior to his. The proofs, however, that might arise from going into a minute comparison of the sculptures with the description of Diodorus, it is impossible to give at present, because very few sculptures are engraved in the great work on Egypt; and we have nothing except the accounts of the French that will here avail us.

The space between these immense edifices and the Libyan mountain-chain is not destitute of monuments. The *temple of Isis* stands between them, and, though much smaller, it is highly deserving of attention, from its fine preservation. In this may be seen, in its fullest splendour, the effect of the colours with which the reliefs are washed over. The more confined dimensions of the building, likewise, enable the beholder to see the whole at one glance, by which he is better able to judge of the impression made by these embellishments. "We may here be convinced, that this alliance of sculpture and painting, which perhaps may seem ridiculous, has nothing repugnant at the first glance. The eye rather dwells upon the effects they produce, and looks for them.[2] All the reliefs refer to religious subjects. The most remarkable among them is a

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 56.

[2] *Descript.* p. 164.

judgment upon the dead, exactly as it is painted upon the mummies, which I have already explained.[1] It seems, therefore, very probable that this temple likewise served as a sepulchre.

In quitting this monument, and the palace of Osymandyas, and going towards the north, the traveller finds himself in the midst of an alley of pedestals, sometimes interrupted, but immediately afterwards renewed. A more accurate examination has shown that this was formerly an alley of sphinxes, two hundred in number, and all of a colossal size, the pedestals being six feet wide and twelve feet long. The breadth of the alley runs to forty feet; the distance of the statues from each other is seven feet. What must the building have been to which such an alley could lead! Immense ruins of pylones, of walls, and of steps, are met with; but nothing entire.[2] There is a remarkable stone vault, in the form of an arch, without, as has been proved by a close examination, being one: it further confirms the fact, that the Egyptians were wholly unacquainted with the principles of the arch.

There still remains an edifice on this side of the Nile belonging to Thebes; it lies at the extreme north-west, near the village of Gornou, after which it is named. The *palace of Gornou*[3] is not one of the largest or most splendid of this old royal city; nevertheless, it is by far too large to suffer the idea to be entertained that it was the dwelling of a private individual. It has a higher claim to our attention, because, being certainly no temple, it seems, as it were, to stand half way between those imperial palaces and private dwellings. Neither sphinxes nor obelisks, neither stupendous pylones nor colonnades, are here met with. The whole seems calculated for habitation. Though not colossal, it must still be considered as large. A portico, one hundred and fifty feet long, supported by ten columns, forms the principal entrance, and is still almost entire. From the portico three doors lead into the interior of the building. The more central and principal door opens into a vestibule, supported by six pillars, and from this passages run off into many chambers and offices. The door to the left, in the portico, leads likewise into a saloon, and this again into many chambers, with courts and cabinets on the side. The same seems to have been the case in passing through the door to the right, but everything here is much dilapidated; so that the

[1] See above, p. 365. [2] *Descript.* p. 175.
[3] El Gornou is in Hamilton, p. 175, the name of the district; the village is called by him El Ebek

whole building appears to have consisted of three independent divisions, which were nevertheless connected by opening into the great portico in front. This building is, besides, remarkable from having neither religious nor historical scenes pictured on its walls.[1] It seems, upon the whole, very likely that if it were not the residence of a king, it was that of some grandee of the kingdom.

2. *Monuments on the eastern side of the Nile.*

From the western bank of the river, let us now cross over to the eastern, which will be found equally rich in these stupendous monuments. On this side, however, they are situated partly close to the Nile, and partly at some though less distance from it than on the western bank; so that between the river and the eastern mountain-chain a wide, almost wholly uncultivated, plain extends, nearly five miles square, which, according to a conjecture already given, was probably once covered with private habitations, and formed a part of the ancient city. The monuments which are still left are named after the villages Luxor (the *El Aqseir* of the French, and the *El Qhussr* of Hamilton) and Karnac; the former to the south and the latter to the north: I shall, as before, begin with the southern.

The ruins of Luxor are situated, as well as the other monuments, upon an artificial elevation, fenced with brick-work, from nine to ten feet high, immediately upon the Nile; it is upwards of two thousand feet in length, and above a thousand in breadth. The more northern portion is partly covered with the village of Luxor; the southern part is more open; nevertheless it is on the northern side that the great entrance to the principal buildings is found. The front of this is adorned with two of the most beautiful obelisks in the world; they are of red granite, and above eighty feet high. Their upper surface is not completely flat, but a little convex, evidently formed so designedly, and probably on account of the effect of light: because it is a principle in optics, that a completely flat surface does not appear such. Upon other obelisks this is not found to have been considered; and probably from this might be deduced their relative ages.

[1] [I cannot very well reconcile this with what is said by Dr. Richardson, as quoted in the *Modern Traveller*, vol. vi. p. 86. "Hence this building has by some travellers been called a palace; *but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples;* and from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the walls, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this as well as in the great temples." *Trans.*]

Behind the obelisks are discovered two sitting colossal statues, each upon a block of black and red granite of Syene. They are half buried, and have been broken by violence. They are each forty feet high. Their head-dress has many peculiarities. They also have collars. Hamilton conjectures them to be male and female. It is highly probable that two similar colossi stood in the interior; as the head of one has been discovered.

Close behind these two statues is one of those immense pylones, with its two pyramidic masses, two and fifty feet in height, enclosing the principal gate. This pylone is highly deserving of attention, both on account of its size, and its ornaments. Both wings are covered with sculpture, representing scenes of war. On the eastern is seen a number of warriors in their chariots, each drawn by two horses. They rush over a river or canal, in pursuit of the flying enemy. The king, mounted in his car, is at their head, with a bow in his hand. Higher up is discovered a camp and tents. Upon the left wing the king is seen seated in his car, mustering the bound captives. Near to this is portrayed a triumphal procession, with offerings and gifts presented to the gods.

Of all the great historical reliefs there is perhaps no one so much deserving attention as this, on account of the expression and execution.[1] "The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their fortress, and the Egyptians in the full career of victory will soon be masters of the citadel."

"The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads, and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car, and under the horses' hoofs and bellies, are crowds of dying and slain; some stretched on the ground, others falling. On the enemy's side, horses in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein; and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice, into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and no where has the artist shown

[1] Hamilton, p. 115, sqq.

more skill than in two groups; in one of which the horses, arrived at the verge of the precipice, instantly fall down; and the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body, trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses. In the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction. Behind this scene of strife, the two lines of the enemy join their forces, and attack, in a body, the army of the Egyptians, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture, we evidently traced a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their Oriental enemies; the uncovered and covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptian contain two, the others three warriors; and above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the other, their arms a bow and arrows. The enemy's shield, on the contrary, is round; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins."

"At one extremity of the west wing of the gateway, the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy; and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing, the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among his captives, lashed together in a row, with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his arms for pity; close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hands of two executioners. Above them is the captive sovereign, tied, with his hands behind him, to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are checked from rushing onward by an attendant, till the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victim of his triumphs. There is then the conqueror's camp, round which are placed his treasures, and where the servants are preparing a banquet to celebrate his victory."

Through the grand entrance the traveller enters an immense colonnade surrounded with galleries. This is now occupied by the village of Luxor; and the earth is so raised, that the columns and a colossal statue do but just jut out above it.

A second pylone leads into a second colonnade, and this into many saloons and apartments, which cannot be understood without a plan. Some idea of the magnitude of this edifice may be formed from the fact, that each of the forty columns in the second colonnade is five and forty feet high. It will be more interesting than a dry description of particulars, to observe that the great palace of Luxor is not built after one single plan. The whole of this immense pile is divided into three parts, which have different sites. The hinder part of the fabric (the great hall of granite and the buildings which surround it) was perhaps built first. At a later period some one erected the second colonnade. A still more magnificent monarch added the first great colonnade with the pylones, obelisks, and colossal statues; if these latter were not the work of a fourth. It is only remarkable why the site of these parts of the building should have been changed without necessity. It seems, however, to be explained by the situation of the buildings of Luxor opposite those of Karnac, with which they were placed in connexion.

About six thousand one hundred feet south of these ruins are discovered the traces of the smaller race-course, already mentioned, so that the eastern part of the city possessed one as well as the western, though probably both were without its boundaries.

But we still have to contemplate the largest, and, in the judgment of connoisseurs, the most remarkable monuments of ancient Thebes,[1] those of Karnac. These lie at about a mile and a half or two miles north of Luxor; and about a mile from the Nile. Like the others, they are built upon an artificial elevation, fenced by a wall of brick-work. The walls of Karnac are nearly two thousand five hundred toises in extent; it takes an hour and a half to walk round them. The monuments of Karnac consist of numerous massive piles of various kinds; among which, on arriving from Luxor, the immense palace of Karnac first presents itself.[2] The façade of this prodigious fabric looks towards the river, from which there is an avenue of colossal crio-sphinxes (that is, with a ram's head and lion's body) leading to it. Some of these colossi still remain; they lie with their fore-legs stretched out before them. This magnificent avenue leads to the great pylone with the principal entrance, the length of which is fifty-six toises, and the height three and twenty, but which seems never to have been fully completed. The great principal entrance was above ten toises high, and had formerly bronze doors in each wing. This pylone forms one side of the great open colonnade, into which the traveller enters through it. The columns which border this on the north and south sides are forty-two feet high; the series on the north, consisting of eighteen of these columns, still remains. The southern series is broken by a temple, (which leans, as a subordinate building, against the palace,) whose principal entrance is out of this colonnade. This open colonnade is, however, only a kind of ante-place to the grand hall of columns, or covered saloon, which, of all that now remains of Egyptian architecture, is represented as the most stupendous and sublime.[1] A flight of twenty-seven steps leads into it, through an ante-chamber and another pylone. Everything here is colossal. So spacious is this saloon, that the largest church of Paris might stand whole within it; its area being no less than forty-seven thousand square feet. The ceiling, consisting of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. Each column of the two central rows, which are a little higher than the others, measures sixty-five feet in height, and ten feet in diameter, and thirty feet in circumference. The whole, from top to bottom, is ornamented with sculpture relating to religious affairs. The procession of the holy ark is many times repeated, particularly on the walls. So great, however, is the number of these sculptures, that no one has yet been able to count them, much less to copy them. "No description," says an eye-witness, "can adequately express the sensations inspired by this astonishing sight, in which the magnificence and might of the ancient rulers of Egypt are made perceptible to the eye. Of what deeds, of what events, now lost to the history of the world, of what scenes have these columns formerly been the witnesses! Can it be doubted that this was the spot where those rulers of the world, of the nations of the east and of the west, exhibited themselves in their glory and power; that this was the spot to which those nations brought their presents and their tribute?"

From this stupendous saloon, a new pylone leads into a second open colonnade, adorned with two magnificent obelisks;

[1] Of this opinion are the French. But according to Hamilton, p. 133, those on the west side seemed to be still larger.

[2] Hamilton, p. 114, calls this building a temple; namely, the great temple of Jupiter at Karnac. But the nature and disposition of the building shows it to have been a palace.

[1] See the plan.

and behind this come the buildings which seem intended for the proper dwelling. Saloons and a number of apartments are found here formed entirely of granite.[1] Domestic scenes are sometimes portrayed on the walls, as in the vaults of the dead, and at others religious matters, among which, initiation of the kings by the priests is not to be mistaken. In many of these reliefs the colours are still as fresh and splendid as ever.

This palace is, besides, adorned with great *historical reliefs*, which it would be unjust to pass over in silence. They are found on the exterior of the palace walls, and represent skirmishes, battles, and military expeditions. These are the subjects of which Denon has already published engravings, and which I have formerly spoken of.[2] They are divided into four compartments: in the first is the Egyptian hero, when he kills the hostile leader: in the second is the flight and the retreat of the defeated towards the strong-hold: in the third the triumph of the king with the prisoners before him: and in the fourth the king, when he again delivers up his weapons to Osiris, and presents to him the captives. The interpretation of this, there stated, namely, that it represents the *deliverance of Egypt from the Hyksos*, is likewise adopted by the French literati. As a great portion of the building now lies in ruins, some of the scenes are of course destroyed, but sufficient are left to evince that they formed one series. The king is seen on his car in pursuit of the enemy, who flees with his herds to the woods and marshes. The river is depicted, as well as the fortress, which is captured. The conquered come out of the woods and surrender to the king. The latter is portrayed in many engagements, so that the whole history of the war was probably pictured, and afterwards the triumphs, the captives, and offerings made to the gods. But as many of these are now decayed, and many of those which still exist are not copied, it would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to arrange them. The particular figures are full of expression and life; yet the whole has a strange appearance, and seems to betray the infancy of the art. The drapery of the two armies is every where accurately distinguished. The invaders have all beards and

[1] In these granite apartments (the French artists vouch for the truth of this fact by signing their names, p. 234) was heard at sun-rise, quite unexpectedly, a sound like that of a stretched chord, and such as the statue of Memnon is said to have given. It seemed to proceed from the huge granite blocks which form the roof, and was probably produced by the effect of a sudden change in the temperature of the air on this mass of stones. At the statue of Memnon it was not heard every day, but only occasionally.

[2] See above, p. 320. Denon, plate cxxxiii. For this reason they have been omitted in the French work.

long garments, the form of their shields also differs from that of the Egyptians. The costume of the enemy here is very different from that of the defeated, as represented at Medinet Abou; they must, therefore, have been different nations.

Immediately connected with this palace is a *temple*, which, though it must be ranked with the smaller ones, is yet remarkable from the place it occupies; for it is so built in the great colonnade of the palace, that the fore-part of it stands therein, and its principal entrance is out of it. It is arranged in the same order, and has much the same ornaments as the other temples, but all in a smaller proportion. It may, therefore, be considered, with much probability, as the household chapel of the monarch who resided in the palace, who might therein render his daily prayers, and perform the holy ceremonies of his religion, without quitting his dwelling.

Very different from this, as well as from the palace, is the *great temple*, lying in a southerly direction from the latter. Egyptian architecture has here done its utmost to appear in its most sublime magnitude near the palace. Four of those frequently-described pylones here form the entrance, which contains the same number of immense open colonnades. In these are still standing twelve colossal statues, each formed of one piece; their number must have been far greater, as the remains of nineteen may still be traced. The great temple itself is one of the best preserved monuments of Karnac. Its chief entrance is towards the south, so that it almost exactly faces the entrance of the palace at Luxor. The southern gateway of this temple is one of the most lofty and magnificent; but it is not, as is usually the case, attended by a pylone, but stands free and alone. The extreme height of this gateway is rather more than sixty-two feet. It is built of sandstone, and adorned in the richest manner with sculpture. This gateway does not lead at once into the temple, which is still a hundred and thirty feet distant, but into a gallery of colossal rams, twenty-two in number, which indicated to the pilgrim that he was drawing nigh to the ancient sanctuary of Ammon. The completely isolated gateway was probably a later building; because the entrance to the temple itself again forms one of those pylones so often described, before which are seen the remains of colossal statues, and which again leads into an open colonnade, and this again into a saloon of columns. Behind this follows, as usual, the *Adytum*, and then other saloons and apartments.

This temple is, without doubt, one of the most ancient that now exists in Egypt; and yet it offers a further confirmation of the opinion, to which the examination of the palace gives rise, *that both were partly built of the materials of more ancient edifices*, which were ornamented with the same hieroglyphics, the same colours, and just as well finished sculptures as the present temples. To what profound contemplations upon the antiquity of the arts, and upon civilization so closely connected therewith, do these observations lead!

This large temple of Karnac is not the only one here remaining. Exactly opposite to it is another of smaller dimensions, but whose sculptures must be classed with the most highly finished: it seems to be of later origin than the larger one.

The antiquities of Karnac form a group at the distance of a thousand and twenty-six toises from those of Luxor; for such is the space between the northern entrance of the palace at Luxor and the great gateway of the high temple at Karnac. Egyptian art, however, has connected these groups with one another, by an *avenue of colossal sphinxes*, which leads from one to the other, and which, as it approaches Karnac, again divides into numerous alleys. All these sphinxes are from twelve to eighteen feet long; they are partly lions couchant, with rams' heads (and these are the largest); partly with women's heads, and partly with rams couchant. No alley, however, consists of more than one kind of sphinx. Many of them still remain entire; of others only half, and of many only the pedestals are left; but the nearer they are to Karnac, the more perfect they seem to be, while the fragments scattered about still prove sufficiently their whole extent. The largest and principal avenue alone must have contained above six hundred of these colossal figures; and the whole probably amounted to far above double this number. Those which still exist are of excellent workmanship. The stately repose expressed by their posture, was well calculated to excite feelings of veneration and awe in the pilgrims, who proceeded through this vast avenue from one sanctuary to the other, or took a part in the grand processions of the priests, as they are represented on the walls; they must also have tended to inspire that calm and holy meditation, which every one must still feel who beholds the remains of these marvellous works.

Beyond these monuments there are traces of many more. The whole chain of them extends to Medamoud, north of the

ancient city, at the foot of the eastern mountain-ridge, where are likewise found the remains of an ancient smaller temple or palace, of smaller dimensions. "One is fatigued," says an eye-witness, "with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is frightened at the idea of so vast a conception; and even after having seen, it is difficult to believe in the existence of such a vast pile of buildings united to one point."

3. *Catacombs.*

From the monuments above ground let us now turn to those beneath its surface; and these will be found not only equally remarkable and interesting, but in some respects more instructive. I designate them by the general name of caverns; but must premise that I do not herein include any that were formed by nature, but only such as were effected by human industry; no others seem to have existed in this quarter. All these subterraneous works are on the western side of the river, and consequently in the Libyan mountain-chain. This seems to be accounted for from the quality of the stone; the western ridge consisting here of limestone, while that of the east is composed of a much harder kind. The softer nature of the former renders it much fitter to be employed both for the formation and the ornamenting of caverns.

The mountain-ridge is nearly three hundred feet high; and rises here so steep that there is difficulty, and even danger, in ascending it. The caverns are of three kinds: 1. Grottoes for the living. 2. Catacombs for the burial of the people. 3. The royal sepulchres. I must speak of each separately.

1. *Grottoes for the living.* Ancient Thebes affords only one cavern of this kind, and it is highly probable that this was not made use of as a place of burial. This grotto is situated at about a hundred and fifty toises north-east of the palace of Osymandyas, not in the mountain-ridge, but rather in a hill before it. Its front faces the Nile; before it is an open area, hewn out of the rock, from which the traveller passes into a court, likewise uncovered. All the rest is subterraneous. Within are found saloons and chambers of various dimensions, upon three stories. A staircase of fifty-six steps leads from the top to the bottom. The walls are every where covered with sculpture, which must be ranked with the best and most highly finished, notwithstanding the light of day could never have fallen upon them. In the pits of this grotto, as well as in those

of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it very unlikely that it should have been intended merely for a place of burial. That the Egyptian nobles, however, had within their dwellings the storehouse in which should afterwards be preserved their bones, has already been seen in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto also might have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries, or as a cool retreat for them from the summer heat. It was situated in the way to the catacombs and royal graves; and it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to promote a solemn and contemplative frame of mind.

2. *Catacombs.* The catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes; every Egyptian city had its own: those of Memphis are found at Saccara. But as the kingly capital of Egypt did not excel more in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in these subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, they are found in no other part of Egypt so numerous, nor executed with the same degree of care, skill, and attention. They bear testimony, as well as the architectural wonders, to the fact, that the ancient Thebais was the country where civilization, and every branch of learning and science, were carried to the highest perfection.

These catacombs are situated in the Libyan mountain-chain, where it approaches the nearest to Medinet-Abou and Gornou, and extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, which is nearly three hundred feet high, affords ample space for these burial-places. They rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting-place, are the largest and most beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more spacious and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead run sometimes horizontally, sometimes downwards, sometimes straight, and sometimes winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments, and at others into pits, of which the traveller must be on his guard. Many are connected together, and form a labyrinth, from which it is often difficult to find the way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve and fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the back-ground is a sitting human

figure, hewn in high relief, and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the hall are galleries; and in these are the mummy pits, from nine to twelve feet wide, and from forty to fifty deep. There has been no where discovered the least trace of steps descending into them. Some of the caverns are more, others less regularly formed. The earth is strewed over with mummies and pieces of mummies, which have been turned out of their cases, so that the traveller has to wade, as it were, through them. Among them are found amulets, idols, and other antiquities. These caverns are now the habitation of bats and Arabs, equally to be feared by the wanderer; the former, because their flight may extinguish the light, the latter as robbers. Another danger equally great menaces the traveller from the inflammability of the mummies; it is only with torches and lights that these gloomy abodes can be penetrated; and a spark would in a moment ignite a brand, which would doom the wanderer to the cruelest death.

The Egyptians, who were entirely ignorant of the arch in their architecture, often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrance, and in the front corridors, are usually arched; this is particularly striking in the royal graves, at which we shall presently arrive.

The catacombs are without pillars, and in general bear but little resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These ornaments are composed partly of painted reliefs, and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representations on the walls are always pictures enclosed by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with astonishing skill. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high; and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life: sometimes proper in-door business; such as the weighing of goods; a feast, at which is seen the master of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly spread table; a dance;—there are also hunting-pieces; the labours of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco: they are the more worthy of attention, as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been exe-

of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it very unlikely that it should have been intended merely for a place of burial. That the Egyptian nobles, however, had within their dwellings the storehouse in which should afterwards be preserved their bones, has already been seen in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto also might have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries, or as a cool retreat for them from the summer heat. It was situated in the way to the catacombs and royal graves; and it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to promote a solemn and contemplative frame of mind.

2. *Catacombs.* The catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes; every Egyptian city had its own: those of Memphis are found at Saccara. But as the kingly capital of Egypt did not excel more in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in these subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, they are found in no other part of Egypt so numerous, nor executed with the same degree of care, skill, and attention. They bear testimony, as well as the architectural wonders, to the fact, that the ancient Thebais was the country where civilization, and every branch of learning and science, were carried to the highest perfection.

These catacombs are situated in the Libyan mountain-chain, where it approaches the nearest to Medinet-Abou and Gornou, and extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, which is nearly three hundred feet high, affords ample space for these burial-places. They rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting-place, are the largest and most beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more spacious and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead run sometimes horizontally, sometimes downwards, sometimes straight, and sometimes winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments, and at others into pits, of which the traveller must be on his guard. Many are connected together, and form a labyrinth, from which it is often difficult to find the way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve and fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the back-ground is a sitting human

figure, hewn in high relief, and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the hall are galleries; and in these are the mummy pits, from nine to twelve feet wide, and from forty to fifty deep. There has been no where discovered the least trace of steps descending into them. Some of the caverns are more, others less regularly formed. The earth is strewed over with mummies and pieces of mummies, which have been turned out of their cases, so that the traveller has to wade, as it were, through them. Among them are found amulets, idols, and other antiquities. These caverns are now the habitation of bats and Arabs, equally to be feared by the wanderer; the former, because their flight may extinguish the light, the latter as robbers. Another danger equally great menaces the traveller from the inflammability of the mummies; it is only with torches and lights that these gloomy abodes can be penetrated; and a spark would in a moment ignite a brand, which would doom the wanderer to the cruelest death.

The Egyptians, who were entirely ignorant of the arch in their architecture, often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrance, and in the front corridors, are usually arched; this is particularly striking in the royal graves, at which we shall presently arrive.

The catacombs are without pillars, and in general bear but little resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These ornaments are composed partly of painted reliefs, and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representations on the walls are always pictures enclosed by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with astonishing skill. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high; and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life: sometimes proper in-door business; such as the weighing of goods; a feast, at which is seen the master of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly spread table; a dance;—there are also hunting-pieces; the labours of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco: they are the more worthy of attention, as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been exe-

cuted with an artificial light, and could only have been seen by the same means.

But besides these pictures of domestic and social life, these sepulchral chambers also contain the remains of ancient Egyptian literature. In the mummies have been found many rolls of papyrus, and, above all, one great roll, which, when drawn out, measures twenty-eight feet in length. This relic contains upwards of thirty thousand characters, in five hundred and fifteen columns, and is written partly in hieroglyphic and partly in alphabetical characters. An accurate copy of it is now spread before me, and offers a wide, a new, and an interesting field for some enterprising genius. Bricks, with impressed inscriptions, have likewise been found here, as well as in Babylon. The characters upon them, however, are not letters, but hieroglyphics, which seem to have been stamped with a wooden block.

What a fine school, then, here offers itself for the study of Egyptian antiquities, and by a path hitherto untrodden? What has been copied seems considerable, and yet—even with all that has since been brought into Europe—it is but a mite compared with what remains. Many rock-caverns have not yet been opened at all! Let us hope that barbarians will still spare the bulk of them, till some new fortunate concurrence of circumstances shall present copies of them to the anxious and curious of Europe!

3. *The royal sepulchres.* The situation and disposition of these tombs are very different from those of the sepulchres of the people. They are placed in the interior of the Libyan mountains; and, in visiting them from Gornou, the traveller has to go a distance of about three miles, through a narrow mountain pass, to the entrance of the valley containing them. They are called the royal sepulchres, (and they were thus named in antiquity,) because from their magnitude and splendour, as well as from the objects pictured on their walls, there is every reason to believe that they were such. The defile which leads to them had, originally, no outlet: this must have been first opened from the back-ground by manual labour. A way hewn in the rocks leads to a narrow pass, which forms the entrance to the valley containing these royal caves. The valley here spreads out into two branches, one south-east and the other south-west. It was, therefore, originally entirely inaccessible; and this, in the eyes of the Egyptian, was certainly

its greatest recommendation. No sign of vegetation is here to be seen; steep rugged rocks enclose it on every side; all around bears the image of death. The heat, softened by no refreshing breeze, and increased by the reflection of the scorching rays of the sun from the rocks and sand, becomes so intense, that no flesh could abide it without danger, if it were not for the shelter afforded by the catacombs. Two of the companions of General Desaix were suffocated by its violence.

Twelve of these tombs are now known[1] (the twelfth was first discovered by the French[2]); in Strabo's time there were about forty; but the entrances to many are now blocked up, by fragments of rock which have fallen down;[3] and thus their contents will be preserved, probably uninjured, for future ages. The general appearance of those that have been opened is similar, though they are not exactly alike; they differ in size and in their embellishments. The depth varies from fifty to three hundred and sixty feet. Some are entirely covered with ornaments, and these are completely finished; in others they are scarcely begun.

Each of these caverns forms a suite of corridors, chambers, and apartments, in which there is generally one principal saloon. This usually contains an elevation, upon which stood the sarcophagus containing the body of the king. Out of the twelve tombs six still preserve the sarcophagi, or some part of them; in others they have wholly disappeared. That found in the largest cavern, called by the French the *harp-tomb*, (from two harp-players being represented therein,) is twelve feet long, and formed of red granite; upon being struck with a hammer it sounds like a bell. The principal apartment in this tomb is vaulted, and supported by eight pillars. The traveller has to push through at least ten doors before he comes to this sarcophagus; but however securely the king who here rests may have imagined he had provided for the quiet repose of his remains, they have not withstood the human lust of plunder.

In the chamber next to the principal door, are found the remains of several mummies. It seems therefore certain that, besides the king, those who had been about his person while living, again became his companions here after his death.

[1] Hamilton, p. 154, found but ten accessible, instead of the eighteen which were so in the time of Strabo. Strabo, p. 1170.

[2] ["Before Mr. Belzoni began his operations in Thebes, only eleven of these tombs were known to the public. From the great success that crowned his exertions, the number of them now discovered is nearly double." Note added by the translator from Richardson's *Travels*, as cited in the *Modern Traveller*.]

[3] Hamilton, l. c.

The walls are every where covered with sculpture and paintings. Owing to the nature of the stone, these could not be wrought here, as in the palaces, upon the rock itself; but the walls are plastered over with a kind of mortar, upon which the sculpture and paintings are executed.

The embellishments of this tomb are highly interesting, and afford much various information. Many of the subjects are religious offerings and sacrifices. Among the latter, human victims cannot be mistaken. Those who are sacrificed are all negroes.[1] But besides religious rites, there are also found here, just where they would have been least expected, representations of battles, both on water and on land; the slaughtering of captives, etc. Although it must excite astonishment to find these scenes of blood and turmoil portrayed in the sanctity and stillness of the grave; yet they, nevertheless, prove to the searcher into antiquity, that these tombs could be intended for none but kings. There is, however, besides this, so much re-represented here belonging to every-day life, such as vessels, seats, implements and tools, musical instruments, etc., as cannot fail to give us some idea of the luxury of this nation, and the high degree of perfection to which the arts had attained among them. A proper notion of them, however, cannot be conveyed by verbal description alone—the aid of the artist is required to make them understood.

The hope that the tombs still closed up might preserve, uninjured, their treasures for future ages, is not likely to be disappointed. Belzoni, with much labour, opened the entrance to one of them, and discovered what far surpassed his expectation. What had been executed two, and perhaps three thousand years ago, was as fresh and uninjured as though just turned out of the hands of the artist. Corridor after corridor, chamber after chamber, were found. The sculptures and paintings are as fresh as if done but yesterday; and when at last the principal apartment was opened to the traveller, he discovered that wonderful piece of art, nothing like which has hitherto been found, a sarcophagus of the purest Oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches in length, and five feet seven broad. It is semi-transparent, and covered both within and without with hundreds of figures, which seem to relate to funeral rites. It

[1] It is clear that executions are represented, though it does not thence follow that they are sacrifices. Hamilton, p. 157, very ingeniously conjectures that the Egyptians intended, by these representations, to designate the king as a tyrant. But then, how comes it that the persons executed are all black people?

is incorrectly supposed that it once contained the bones of Pharaoh Psammis:[1] it now adorns the British Museum. But even the few painted reliefs which have been copied from the walls, and now lie before me, convey much more information, both of a physiological and historical nature, than this splendid relic. We here see nations of three different races of men, the tawny, the black, and the white, who are distinguished by their colour and features. The scene represented is not of a warlike, but of a peaceable nature. The king appears in regal pomp; the ambassadors of tributary nations come to render homage to him. They do not appear as captives, but as performing a stately ceremony, in their national dress and splendour. In the first plate[2] we discover the king on his throne, with the regal ornaments,[3] the sceptre in his hand, a golden chain about his neck, and a votive tablet. In the two following plates,[4] and particularly in the third, are given, in two ovals, his name and title, surrounded by protecting deities. Each of the embassies consists of four men. First, the tawny, or brown red, appear, led by a priest, with the sparrowhawk's head.[5] They are called Egyptians, because they have the usual colour of the Egyptians on the monuments. I cannot consider them as such, but suppose them to be Nubians. First, on account of their dress. They are naked,[6] except round the middle, where they have a white fine garment; the Nubians still frequently wear a similar one. Secondly, because of their head-dress, as they have the thick Nubian hair. Neither of these is Egyptian: neither in the priesthood, nor in the warrior caste, is this dress ever found; nor, as far as I know, even

[1] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 242. Namely of Psammis the second, or Psammuthis, the son and successor of Necho. This was the opinion of Mr. Young, which is said to be confirmed by the reliefs, as Necho had warred against the Jews, and Psammis against the Ethiopians. From this time this grave and the sarcophagus have been called the grave and sarcophagus of Psammuthis. This explanation, nevertheless, is evidently false. This Psammuthis, like his father Necho, belonged to the dynasty of Sais, which was overthrown by the Persians. Besides, the *whole* of the princes of this dynasty were buried at Sais in the Delta, and not at Thebes in Upper Egypt. Herod. ii. 169, expressly states this: "When Apries (the son and successor of Psammuthis) was put to death, he was buried in the *tombs of his fathers*. But these tombs are in the temple of Minerva, close to the sacred edifice, on the left hand as one goes in. For the inhabitants of Sais bury *all* the kings of that nome within this sanctuary. Even the tomb of Amasis is there, though placed a little farther from the temple than that of Apries and his ancestors." The grave and the sarcophagus, therefore, which are in London, are not those of Psammis. Whose they are I cannot decide. Among the names deciphered by Champollion, that of Amenophis II. comes nearest to it. The lowest sign only is a little different (a bason or basket instead of a box). Champollion, No. 111. The difference of the title in the second oval forms no proof against it, since this often differs. Until something better shall be offered, I shall consider the grave and sarcophagus as belonging to Amenophis II., without, however, attaching much weight to my opinion.

[2] Belzoni, plate i. [3] On the plates of Belzoni the *uræus*, or the small serpent, in the royal head-dress, which constitutes an essential part of it, is very plainly represented. And from this it is clear, that it is the aspick (Coluber Haja).

[4] Plates ii. iii. [5] Plate vi. [6] Strabo, p. 1176.

among the lower castes, who cannot be imagined to have had a place in this pageant. Finally, the last scene clearly shows that they are altogether foreign nations, who are here paying their homage. We are not surprised to see the priest introducing them, as we know that the Egyptian religion prevailed in Nubia.[1] Four white men next appear,;[2] and at a single glance the Jewish physiognomy is recognised in them. "Their national features," we are told by a late traveller,[3] "are thrown together with so much comic humour, that it would be difficult for a modern artist to do anything more perfectly." They may be considered as representing the Syrians and Phœnicians in general; whose physiognomy probably differed but slightly from that of the Jews. The black ambassadors come next;[4] and are likewise four in number. They are also lightly clad, but evidently for a stately occasion. A curiously wrought ornament hangs over the left shoulder, which serves to keep up the fine white garment which goes round the waist. Gold or silver dust seems to be strewed in their thick woolly hair. The fourth embassy, from a white nation, is still more remarkable by the magnificence of their dress and decorations.[5] They are distinguished by a head-dress of feathers, with a lock of hair hanging down; and by long white flowered garments of the finest texture. If we here call to mind what Herodotus says of the dresses of the Babylonians,[6] we shall be induced to consider these ambassadors as such; the more so, as their physiognomy and their beards are evidently Asiatic. It is certain that the Pharaoh who rested here had dominion over foreign nations. It is my confirmed opinion that it is Amenophis the second, and the following chapter will show that this character perfectly suits him.

In the few remarks which I shall make upon these monuments, it is not my intention to go over the whole of the wide field they offer; a field, in fact, so extensive, that a long-continued study, and a separate work, would be necessary to do it justice; it is withal so rich, that the knowledge of one man might scarcely suffice. No one but a skilful architect could fairly discuss the merits of the buildings: mathematical, astronomical, and musical knowledge would be nearly equally requisite. I shall confine myself chiefly to those objects of which the present work professes to treat; but these are sometimes so closely interwoven with others, that it will often become difficult to avoid touching upon them.

[1] I leave the further examination of these reasons to the judgment of my readers. If they agree with me, the identity between the Egyptian and Nubian tribe, which I have maintained, would also be proved. But I mention expressly, that the assertion in the text is by no means made on account of this opinion. [2] Plate vii.
[3] Minutoli, *Travels*, p. 271. [4] Plate viii. [5] Ibid. [6] Herod. i. 195.

The question now to be discussed is, to what extent are we acquainted with the monuments of ancient Thebes, after all the new sources which have been opened to us. The French artists have given us a positive answer on this head. "We have been," they say,[1] "thrice at Thebes, and remained at our second and third visits full two months among its ruins. During that time no monument was left unexamined. When our plans and sketches were quite finished, they were again compared with those of the architect Le Père and his assistants; and what are contained in our publication are the result of these mutual communications. Future travellers may rest assured, that so far as architectural remains are concerned, and drawings and copies of them, nothing is left to be done. A wide field, however, is still left open to them, if they will explore in detail the numerous sculptures with which the buildings are covered, particularly the historical bas-reliefs, relating to the conquests of the ancient rulers of Egypt; or if they choose to examine the catacombs, and copy the remarkable bas-reliefs descriptive of the manners and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians." We are, therefore, well acquainted with the buildings which remain of ancient Thebes, but only very partially with the sculptures and paintings which decorate them and the subterranean vaults of the dead. If we are questioned as to the fidelity of the sketches, our best answer would be derived from the passage just quoted, and from a comparison with the engravings of Hamilton. For any one to expect here an exact agreement in the minutest detail, would only show him to be unacquainted with the circumstances under which the drawings were made. They agree in the principal points; and their descriptions alike abound in expressions of wonder and astonishment, which these monuments excited in proportion as they became more accurately known. The testimony of a late impartial traveller has also rescued the French artists from the suspicion of having heightened the beauty of the originals. Minutoli says, in his account of the temple at Denderah,[2] "that they may be charged with incorrectness and

[1] *Descript.* p. 207. [2] Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 247.

omissions, but we should be unjust in thinking their copies beautified. Justice, on the contrary, has not been done to the correctness of outline, to the elegance of the decorations, to the soft delicacy of the features, to the mildness of expression, nor to that lofty repose which seems to reign in every part, and in which Egyptian art seems to vie with the Grecian." What a faint picture, however, must all this give of ancient Thebes! What a splendid scene must have burst on the vision of the wanderer, who, emerging from the desert, after having toiled up the steep of the Libyan mountain-chain, suddenly beheld the fruitful valley of the Nile, with its numerous towns, and in its centre royal Thebes, with her temples, colossi, and obelisks!

We must therefore acknowledge that much yet remains to be examined of infinite importance for our plan. Though the architect or artist may in general be satisfied, though the religious inquirer may need little more than what he sees represented in the works of sculpture, the historian finds himself very differently situated. His principal demand must be for historical and ethnographical reliefs, and for those representing the domestic life of the nation and its rulers; and here least has been done. Even the little, however, that we do possess, is sufficient to open a new field, or, if I may be allowed the expression, a new world of antiquities for examination. But before entering upon a detailed inquiry, we may remark, that the whole indisputably discloses to us views of antiquity altogether different from those we formerly entertained. To what a high degree of civilization must that nation have arrived, which could plan such marvels! If we were only acquainted with the Pyramids, we could easily imagine, that despotic monarchs might compel their slavish subjects to pile up these immense masses of stone. Since our acquaintance with these wonders, wrought in the highest style of perfection, we feel convinced that so just and noble a taste could never have been formed under the rod of tyrants; but that there must have been a period, and indeed a long one, however different the form of government might have been from ours, during which the mind could unfold its faculties freely and undisturbed, and could soar to a height, in certain points, never attained by any other. And as it is clear that Religion was the chief lever which put these immense powers into motion, how different should our ideas of this Religion be, from those which the barbarous superstition into which it afterwards degenerated, has given rise to!

The first idea which presents itself from a view of these monuments must be, that Thebes was once the capital of a mighty empire, whose boundaries extended far beyond Egypt, which, at some distant period, comprised a great part of Africa, and an equally large portion of Asia. Her kings are represented as victors and conquerors; and the scene of their glory is not confined to Egypt, but often carried into remote regions. Prisoners of distant nations bend the knee before these conquerors, and count themselves happy if they can obtain their pardon.

This idea immediately produces a conviction that a much closer connexion, and a more accurate knowledge, of the nations of the southern world, must have existed in those two quarters of the globe, than is generally supposed. This must have been a natural consequence of the wars and conquests, particularly as by these a lasting dominion and a large empire were soon formed. This is further confirmed by the many examples which evince the refinement of domestic life, and the degree of luxury to which the people had arrived. The narrow valley of the Nile could not supply all the articles, such as costly garments, perfumes, etc., which we find here represented. An extensive commerce was requisite, not only to obtain all this, but also to produce that opulence, and that interchange of ideas, which constitute its foundation.

If we question history, we shall find its testimony by no means contradictory to what the monuments would lead us to conclude. Xenophon speaks, in his Cyropædia, of the existence of such an intercourse between the nations and states from the banks of the Nile to the Axus, the Indus, and the Ganges; which, how much soever of his work may be attributed to imagination, could hardly be devoid of historical foundation. And if, in the history of the middle ages and of modern times, we find repeated proofs, that conquering nations extended their dominion not only beyond those territories, but even as far as China and the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, why might not the same have happened two thousand years ago? It may at least be concluded from this, that ancient history, in speaking of the great conquering expeditions of the Egyptian rulers, of Sesostris, Osymandyas, and others, contains by no means any internal improbability; although I would not

deprive criticism of its right to examine the testimonies on which these events are founded.

A more accurate examination of the monuments of Thebes has made it clear, that they were not merely temples, but that some of them were the abodes of princes, or, to speak more correctly, imperial palaces.[1] All the public buildings of Egypt might in some measure be called temples, since all of them in their sculptures and decorations bear traces of the close connexion between politics and religion; but there is certainly this difference, that some were *only* temples in the proper sense of the word; while others, though perhaps dedicated to divinities, were principally intended for another purpose. This difference is partly perceived by the disposition of the interior, partly by the style of the architecture itself.

Indeed the arrangement of the interior of the temples and palaces appears, at the first glance, to bear a great resemblance to each other. Both have the splendid pylones as entrances, open colonnades, and saloons of columns; pillar courts, and pillar halls; even rooms, intended for habitations: those in the temples probably for the priests. But in the temples these usually surround the interior sanctuary; in the palaces, where there was no such *adytum*, they occupy its place, and usually consist of saloons and chambers, built of granite, and not of sandstone like the rest. As regards the palaces it must not be forgotten, that they were not merely the habitations of the rulers, but were also adapted for public use. In their splendid halls of columns, justice was probably administered, ambassadors received, tributes paid, etc. These buildings are therefore very justly called imperial palaces, and are distinguished by that name from those smaller edifices, from the pavilion, for instance, which seems to have served merely as a dwelling or summer residence for the monarch. Thebes alone—as there are no monuments left at Memphis—contains buildings of this kind, and is thereby distinguished as the residence of the rulers.

Another characteristic difference is found in the decorations. The temples and palaces certainly resemble each other in one respect, namely, that the walls and pillars of both are

[1] Even Diodorus makes a distinction, when he first mentions Thebes: *οἰκοδομήματα μεγάλα, καὶ ναοὶ εὐπρεπεῖς, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἰδιοτῶν οἰκίαι*, i. p. 54. In assigning four principal temples to Thebes, he seems to have used this expression in the sense of designating by it the neighbouring palaces, and the whole group of buildings which lie in Karnac, Luxor, and Medinet Abou. Whether he means by the fourth the no longer extant Memnonium, or the palace of Osymandyas, I will not decide. He probably meant the Memnonium, since he calls the other a tomb.

covered with sculptures; but they differ with regard to the subjects represented: those on the walls of the temples *always* relate to religious matters, but not so those on the palaces. Not that the latter are entirely destitute of religious subjects; but those which are almost exclusively peculiar to them, are, first, the historical reliefs found in the palaces of Medinet About Luxor, and Karnac; and secondly, the martial expeditions and triumphs above described. This explains why they are only, as far as we know, found in Thebes: out of Thebes there are temples, but no palaces known.[1] It is moreover remarkable, that these warlike scenes are mostly found on the exterior walls, pylones, etc.; on the side walls of the great open colonnades, and halls of columns, which were undoubtedly intended for public use, assemblies of the people, triumphs, etc. And no where could representations of this kind have been more appropriately placed. Others, on the contrary, are found in the apartments and saloons, which must have served as the habitations of the rulers. The scenes here represented are for the most part of a peaceful and domestic nature,[2] though continually interspersed with religious rites, such as sacrifices, initiation into the mysteries, etc. This was very natural, considering how much the private life of the kings, according to Diodorus's account, was regulated by a ritual, and that he was attended by youths of the priest caste.[3] The remark, however, which I made, in speaking of the scenes portrayed at Persepolis, is also applicable here, namely, that the subjects represented on the walls bear a close relation to the use of the apartments in which they are found, and thus the pictures enable us to infer for what use these apartments were intended: the Egyptians, however, do not seem to have adhered so strictly to this rule as the Persians.

Finally: The third difference observable between the temples and palaces is in the style of their architecture;[4] the style of the palaces being most pleasing and simple, though yet retaining a character of grandeur and majesty. The pavilion, as it is called by the French, affords us an example of a building two stories high, which is never the case in the temples. But the further prosecution of this subject I must leave to architects.

[1] But we know from the former part of this work that in Nubia this difference was not observed, and that here also on the walls, though only on the *exterior* walls, of the temples, historical reliefs are found.

[2] See the drawings of Medinet Abou, plate xvii. vol. ii. Compare particularly *Descript.* p. 245. [3] Diodorus, p. 81, 82; see p. 156. [4] *Descript.* p. 30.

According to Diodorus, Thebes had four principal temples, the largest of which was at least thirty stadia in circumference. Now, as among all these that of Ammon was the most celebrated in antiquity, the question naturally arises, which of the temples of Thebes is the old temple of Ammon?[1] In my opinion it is the great temple of Karnac, called by the French the great southern temple; and I shall here state the reasons upon which my opinion is founded.

First: The old temple must have been situated on the eastern side of the Nile; because on this side, according to Strabo, the old town was built, which derived its name from this very temple. The decision, therefore, is confined to the monuments of Luxor and Karnac. Luxor, however, affords nothing which will bear any reference to the temple of Ammon. The great building of Luxor is a palace and not a temple, as is shown by the description already given.

Secondly: At Karnac the case is quite reversed. Everything here relates to Jupiter Ammon and his service. The great avenues of colossal rams refer to it. Ornaments taken from rams present themselves on every side.[2] The holy ship with the attributes of Ammon appears, and once in a very remarkable representation; it is portrayed as being drawn along by a profane vessel which precedes it:[3] a clear proof, therefore, that it must not be considered here as borne in procession, but as merely voyaging on the Nile.

Finally: According to the testimony of Diodorus, the temple of Ammon was the oldest and at the same time the largest of all the temples of Thebes:[4] a fact which would have been evident, even if he had not mentioned it; as it was the chief temple of the city, and bore the name of the deity. Now the temple of Karnac appears, at this time, in the opinion of the French visitors,[5] both in its architecture and in its decorations and reliefs, as the oldest of the Theban temples; so much so as to form quite a contrast with the small temple near it, notwithstanding it is partly built of the remains of a still more ancient temple, which had the same kind of ornaments. Thus the present temple is probably only the successor of one still older, which stood here many thousand years ago; and who can offer anything like a proof that even this had no predecessor?

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. Strabo speaks here of the side on which the old town was built, as different from the western side, ἡ περαία, where the Memnonium stood.

[2] How much the French were surprised at this, may be seen in *Descript.* p. 258. Osiris also appears very frequently. But he is the son and usual companion of Ammon; and this appears the stronger as the tradition of the priests usually ascribed to the two the foundation of the temple.

[3] Plates iii. xxxiii.

[4] Diodorus, i. p. 55, where he also gives the measurement of the building. The French have found his statements to agree, if we take in the whole pile of buildings. *Descript.* p. 282.

[5] *Descript.* p. 269. There is, perhaps, no building in all Egypt which bears such strong marks of high antiquity as the great southern temple at Karnac. The powerful and masculine character of its architecture, seems to place the epoch of its construction in the very earliest period at which the arts were cultivated in Egypt.

The great palace of Medinet Abou is called by the French the palace of Sesostris, because the historical reliefs upon it seem to represent the exploits and military expeditions of that monarch, as they are described by Diodorus.[1] In the lion-chase we see the youthful exercises in which he indulged in Arabia, during the life of his father; in the naval engagement, the fleet which he built on the Red Sea, etc. All this is very probable; but it is impossible to judge of them with certainty, without possessing copies of all the reliefs upon that temple. If, however, and this can hardly be doubted, Sesostris was the great hero of the narratives of the Egyptian priests, it is natural that his exploits should be the subjects of the historical pictures which decorate the walls of the temples and palace.

Before I proceed any further, however, with these pictures, let me be allowed to add a few more observations on these architectural monuments in general.

First: It continually becomes more evident how much the style of Egyptian architecture depended upon the climate and natural features of the land. In a climate where the sky is constantly serene, and the sun almost vertical, protection from its intense rays, shade and coolness, would be first sought for. The life of the Egyptians, even of the higher ranks, was in a great measure a public one: it was made so by religion and politics. Porticoes, colonnades, and temples were therefore required, which would not only ward off the piercing beams of the sun, but whose walls and thick stone roofs should afford a protection from heat in general. Those immense piles, though not produced by mere necessity, yet were ready at its call.

Further: The idea that this architecture was in a certain degree an imitation of the catacombs, and proceeded from them, must be adopted with some caution. The caverns at Thebes, so far as we are acquainted with them, seem to have been formed by art, and not by nature. The architecture of these caverns (if I may be allowed this expression) certainly agrees, in some respects, with that of the temples and palaces,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

particularly in the decorations of the walls; but we cannot strictly call one a copy of the other. The roofs of the caverns are partly arched, while in their architecture the Egyptians seem to have had no notion of the principles by which arches are constructed. The cavern roofs are often supported by pillars, but they are by no means the prototypes of the pillars which are found in the temples and palaces. It seems probable that a part of these subterranean chambers were at first quarries, which were afterwards converted by the help of art into sepulchres, and that others were originally excavated for this express object. According to the observations of the French artists, it appears that they must not be ascribed to the early periods of Egyptian art, as the pictures on their walls no where betray its infancy, but rather its mature age.[1] However this may be, the idea that they formed models of the temples falls to the ground, directly it is proved that there were no natural caves in those mountains, which, however, has not yet been fully established. But, notwithstanding all this, the Egyptian architecture so much resembles the catacombs, and the idea that it was copied from them returns at every view of the monuments so forcibly, that it can hardly be banished. The obscurity which hovers over this subject is dispelled, if we assume that this architecture was not originally Egyptian, but introduced from Ethiopia, the country of the Troglodytes. And I say originally, because nothing is more certain than that it was quite Egyptian in its progression, since nearly all its ornaments, especially those of the capitals, are evidently copies of natural objects of Egypt.

From the buildings let us turn to the sculptures, particularly to the great historical reliefs. Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo unanimously agree that some of the ancient kings of Egypt were great warriors and conquerors, who extended their expeditions in the east as far as Bactria and India, in the north and south as far as the Caucasus and Ethiopia. They further inform us that some of them built fleets on the Indian Sea, and were as powerful on this element as they were on land.[2] Let us therefore examine how far the reliefs confirm the statements of these writers.

That the traditions of the priests celebrated many old kings as heroes and conquerors, and that the latter are represented

[1] *Descript.* p. 336.
[2] Herod. ii. 102; Diodorus, i. p. 64; Strabo, i. xvii. p. 816; cf. xvi. p. 769.

as such on the walls of the palaces, is evident from a single glance at them. The inquiry becomes more interesting and satisfactory by our finding that the artists, in their delineations and representations, have carefully and faithfully distinguished the different nations by their costume, arms, and some other tokens, as far as this was possible. The first inquiry will probably and very justly be, how was the colour of the skin represented? Here a very remarkable circumstance presents itself. Egyptian art certainly well knew how to designate black people. They are particularly distinguished in the tombs of the kings,[1] usually in such positions as show that they have just been, or are on the point of being, executed; and the remembrance that it was customary to sacrifice black people immediately occurs. They also appear as ambassadors, or representatives of black nations; but it is worthy of notice, that they have never yet been found in battles. The colours of the fighting nations are brown and red among the Egyptians, and yellow among their enemies. It would be rash to assert that the colour of these nations was exactly painted after life, as this might be impossible with the limited variety of colours to which the Egyptian artists were restricted; but we may conclude with certainty, that negroes would have been presented as such, if they had been employed in war.

The Egyptians and their enemies are also easily distinguished from one another without attending to these particular marks, as the former are always represented as victors, the latter either as having been defeated, or as on the point of being so. These works of art were intended as memorials of the fame and bravery both of the nation and its kings; can it, then, be expected that they would perpetuate any events but those which were crowned with success? These battle-pieces are partly naval engagements, and partly battles on land. Both must be more accurately examined. Representations of naval battles are found on the walls of the palace of Medinet Abou, and on those of Karnac;[2] but the former only can here come under consideration, as they alone have been copied and described.

It cannot be doubted but the engagement, of which only a part could be copied, took place at sea, and not on the river. The structure of the ships is quite different from that of the vessels on the Nile. They are impelled both by sails and oars,

[1] Plate lxxxvi. vol. ii. [2] Plate x. vol. ii.

and have a long form resembling galleys. Although the vessels of the Egyptians and their enemies have the same form, yet those of the former are easily distinguished by the head of a lion or ram on the prow, which the hostile vessels never carry. The question therefore is, whether the naval engagement took place on the coast of the Mediterranean, or, which is most likely, in the Arabian or Indian Sea? In the first case the enemies might be Phœnicians; in the other, some southern nation.

The first supposition is neither confirmed by history, nor by the representation of the nations themselves. That the early kings of Thebes carried on wars at sea against the Phœnicians, and had squadrons on the Mediterranean, (as might afterwards happen, when Middle and Lower Egypt was the seat of Egyptian power,) we find no where mentioned in history, that is to say, in the traditions of the priests; and we cannot expect here the mention of any circumstances not celebrated in them. Neither does the costume suit the Phœnicians, who, being a branch of the Arabian stock, and neighbours of the Jews, undoubtedly wore beards and long garments, according to the custom of those nations; but the reverse of all this is found here.

On the other hand, everything here seems to point to an engagement with some nation on the Arabian Gulf or Indian Sea. The traditions of the Egyptian priests celebrated the expeditions of the old Pharaohs on this sea, as is stated in Diodorus and Herodotus. "Sesostris," Diodorus tells us,[1] "conquered first the Ethiopians of the south, and made them tributary. He then sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Red (Indian) Sea, and was the first in these countries who built long vessels. With this fleet he took possession of the islands and the coasts of the countries as far as India." Herodotus[2] mentions the same facts. "The priests," he says, "relate of Sesostris, that he sailed out of the Arabian Gulf with long vessels, and conquered the countries lying on the Indian Sea, and continued to advance till he came to a sea which could not be navigated because of its shallows." The naval engagement pictured on the walls of Medinet Abou, appears certainly to represent the defeat of an enemy attempting to land, and consequently rather a successful defence than an attack. But this forms only one scene of these naval expeditions,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 64. [2] Herod. ii. 102.

of which we have no minute history; who, therefore, can say what else might have happened in them? The long ships, however, mentioned by both writers, cannot be mistaken. That these, beyond all doubt, were built for the sea, that their construction differed entirely from that of the vessels on the Nile, has been already mentioned by the French, and is evinced by their appearance. The Egyptians and their allies wear the same dress, but their weapons are different. The Egyptians are armed with bows and arrows, while their allies carry clubs, such as Herodotus ascribes to the Ethiopians above Egypt.[1] The costume of their enemies is totally different. Two distinct though kindred nations are here clearly perceived. They have neither long garments nor beards, consequently cannot be Arabs. They both wear short clothes, which seem to be fastened with bands or girdles. They are armed with swords and round shields, but differ in their head-dress; one constantly wearing a kind of helmet, decorated with a bunch of upright feathers, the other a cap made of the skin of some beast, with its ears left prominent. If these are not Arabs, they must be inhabitants of the coasts of the Indian Sea, either of the islands or the continent. The French at once recognise in the first of these two nations the inhabitants of India; and what other nation will the light fantastical clothing, the head-dress with feathers, suit so well? Respecting the other nation, they have not ventured to give an opinion; but Herodotus seems to explain who they are. If the first are Indians, the others are their neighbours, the Asiatic Ethiopians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the coasts of Gedrosia and Carmania. "The Asiatic Ethiopians," says Herodotus,[2] "were dressed much like the Indians; but they wore on their head the skin from the forehead of the horse, with the ears left on: the ears of the horse are left standing quite upright; but as defensive armour they had cranes' skins instead of shields."

I leave my readers to judge of the correctness of this interpretation. It is not of so much importance to know exactly who these nations were, as to know that they were inhabitants of southern countries on the Indian Sea. And since the probabilities are so strong and so many in favour of this opinion, we can scarcely any longer consider the traditions of the Egyptian priests respecting the naval expeditions of the ancient

[1] Herod. vii. 69. According to Hamilton, p. 45, the Ethiopians appear on a battle-piece at Medinet Abou as the allies of the Egyptians. [2] Herod. vii. 70.

Egyptian rulers, whether led by Sesostris alone or by others into these seas, as fables; and that primeval connexion between the lands about the Indian Ocean, especially between India and Egypt, receives thereby a confirmation, which a short time ago we should scarcely have been justified in hoping for.

But the representation of the land battles give a still more magnificent idea of the extensive warlike expeditions and wide dominions of the rulers of ancient Thebes. They seem more frequent than the naval engagements; they are found on all the buildings, which we have designated as imperial palaces; as well on those at Karnac and Luxor as of Medinet Abou, on the palace of Osymandyas, and even in the tomb of the kings. But they every where confirm the remark which I have made above;[1] that there is in every palace a series of representations depicted on the walls, as we discover the departure of the king, the battle, the victory, the triumphs, always ending in religious processions. Neither does there seem any room to doubt, but that the scenes in the various palaces again form a general mythological cycle; as art among the Egyptians availed itself of a series of traditions, relative to the early heroic deeds of the nation and its rulers. Our information on this point would be more accurate if we had more complete copies of these war-scenes. As it is, we must confine our attention to what we see in the engravings before us, and learn from the descriptions.

And although limited to this, it will be perceived that the war-scenes portrayed are of very different kinds, and represent very different nations.

With regard to the latter, it is impossible to be mistaken in considering them as Asiatic nations. Everything reminds us that both Egyptian art and mythology sought their favourite subjects rather in Asiatic than in African history. The figure and dress of the conquered nations are Asiatic. Although the Egyptians are always represented without beards, their enemies have them, and usually long garments. The latter, however, are variously fashioned. They have, for the most part, those full tunics so general in the East; but in the triumphal pageant on the walls of Medinet Abou, the prisoners wear a kind of surtout[2] of blue and green stripes, covering only the back, and under it another shorter garment. Their accoutrements and weapons are not less characteristic than their dress.

[1] See above, p. 377, sqq.

[2] Plate xii. vol. ii.

In this respect the most striking difference is in the shields. Those of the Egyptians are larger, and usually of a square form, rounded on one side: indeed, in the attack of a fortress, they made use of such immense shields as nearly covered the whole body;[1] exactly such as Xenophon describes in his times.[2] The shields of the enemies, on the other hand, are sometimes round and sometimes square; but always of a small size (γέρρα). In the armament on the reliefs of Luxor, Hamilton recognises the *coats of mail*,[3] which always were common in Middle Asia; and occasionally, in the head-dress, the Persian tiara.[4] The weapons for attack are of so many kinds and forms, that it is difficult to come to any precise conclusion respecting them. Let us, however, compare the variously-shaped swords of the Egyptians with those of their foes. They are sometimes long and sometimes short; now straight, and now in the form of a scimitar. The darts, missiles, and arrows are also of various descriptions. The warriors sometimes appear with only a single javelin, and at other times with several.

But a still more particular attention is due to the war-chariots which were in use both among the Egyptians and their enemies. They have but two wheels, and are drawn by two horses. Those of the Egyptians usually carry only one man each (though there may be exceptions); among the Asiatics they generally carry two, or even three, as the driver is distinguished from the warriors. In these may be recognised the ancient form of the war-chariots as described by Homer, and which, according to Xenophon, were common among the Medes, Syrians, and Arabians; until Cyrus made an improvement by introducing, instead of them, chariots with scythes and four wheels.[5]

It would be a rash and fruitless undertaking to attempt to point out more accurately the particular tribes or nations by their arms and clothing.[6] We shall gain more by terminating the inquiry by a few general remarks.

The scene of the wars and conquests of the Egyptian rulers

[1] Plate xxxi. vol. ii.

[2] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* I. vi. *Op.* p. 158.

[3] Hamilton, p. 125.

[4] Ibid. p. 147.

[5] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* I. vi.; *Op.* p. 152.

[6] The reader will easily perceive that I have not neglected to compare the nations mentioned by Herodotus, i. 6, with the figures of Persepolis. But the results are too uncertain for them to have a place here. It is however certain, that the nations represented must be, for the most part, from the south, as their dress is too light for a northern climate. None of them wear trowsers, (ἀναξυρίδες, or *capotes*,) as many northern nations do, whom Herodotus has described. But who can determine whether the coloured coats designate Medes or Bactrians? (according to Herodotus, both these nations wore such.) The same may be said of the weapons and accoutrements, and even of the head-dress. They often differ, and the latter is frequently indistinctly represented.

is laid, by their national traditions, chiefly in Assyria, (which also included Babylon,) in Bactria, and India, consequently in those countries of Asia most famous for their commerce, and, therefore, for possessing that opulence which usually most excites the cupidity of conquest. These countries, besides, are situated on the great rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, the Oxus, Tigris, and Euphrates. It is certainly worthy of remark, that the scene of the battles and victories on those reliefs is usually near a river, which is clearly portrayed.[1] Which of those streams is meant upon every occasion, it may be impossible to decide; but it can hardly be doubted but it is one of them, most likely the Euphrates; and Egyptian art here again accords with Egyptian tradition. Xenophon, moreover, informs us, that it was customary for the Assyrians to surround their camps with fosses.[2] Is there not here, where we see the tents on the other side, one of these?[3]

One representation which frequently occurs, is the storming of a fortress.[4] Where this may have each time taken place we will not attempt to decide, but this also transports us into Asia. We know from the history of Alexander's expedition, how much Bactria, as well as India, abounded in such mountain fortresses.[5]

Egyptian art seems to have paid much attention to variety in representing these scenes of war. If we collect the accounts of the French and those of Hamilton, there scarcely remains any great warlike scene which is not here represented. Sometimes it is the commencement of the contest in an open plain, sometimes the near approach, sometimes the victory obtained on one side, and flight on the other; now the struggle of the armies, now of the leaders in single combat, and of these sometimes in their chariots, and sometimes on foot. Now the scene changes to the storming of a fortress, then the taking of a town by assault, with a representation of all the horrors which usually accompany it; sometimes the chariots alone are engaged, and at others the main bodies advance against each other on foot. All this undoubtedly presupposes a great abundance of traditions; and perhaps also of poetry, to which these traditions furnished plenty of materials, if not epic, at least of ballads.

[1] Hamilton, p. 116; *Descript.* p. 61, 139.
[2] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* lib. iii.; *Op.* p. 80. In the palace of Osymandyas, *Descript.* plate ii. 31.
[3] Hamilton, p. 45. [4] So in Luxor, Hamilton, p. 115.
[5] Remember the castle Clornus and others.

On the walls of the imperial palaces, therefore, the Egyptians read the early history of their nation and its rulers. They are hitherto the only nation known to us that have ventured to represent such great historical subjects in sculptures, and this with a success surpassing all expectation. Although unacquainted with the rules of perspective, they make up for this defect, as we are told by an eye-witness, by the boldness and strength of their drawings, and force of expression. Hamilton speaks in raptures of the above-mentioned representation of the surprise and capture of a town on the walls of the palace of Osymandyas:[1] some of the women rush forward and beg for quarter, whilst others try to escape with their property. The father of a family lifts up his hands to petition for the life of his wives and children, but in vain! a blood-thirsty soldier has already slaughtered the eldest son! How different are our ideas of Egyptian art now from what they were when we formed our judgment of it from a few idols! Are they not, in fact, enlarged almost in the same proportion as our notions respecting the ancient rulers of Egypt, and the extent of their dominions?

The historical reliefs, however, comprise only a small part of the sculptures on the walls: most of them relate to religious rites; all those in the temples, for example, and many in the palaces and catacombs. Of these I shall only notice here such as refer to the immediate objects of our attention. If further proofs were still wanted of the close and indissoluble connexion between religion and politics, they might be found here in abundance. The interior and exterior walls are covered with sculpture, which represent processions, or the offering of sacrifices and gifts. The conjecture that the circle of divinities to whose honour temples were erected, was of less extent in the Thebaid than it afterwards became in Middle and Lower Egypt, is completely confirmed. This circle is composed of Ammon, Osiris, (often with the symbol of virility,) Isis, and Florus.[2] The first two, most probably the same in their origin, and only separated by the further development of the religion of the priests, are the ruling divinities: although some others occur in the paintings, they only appear as inferior subordinate deities. Osiris seems at the same time to be the prototype of the king. The same emblems which decorate the gods, are not unfre-

[1] Hamilton, p. 135, 136.
[2] Thus as an emblem of fruitfulness, a representation so often prevailing: see particularly plate iii. 4—6, and plate xlvii.

quently conferred upon the monarch; not only the same head-dress, with the serpent, but also the same attributes, the rod, and what is called the key, the sign of initiation into the mysteries, which must have been its original meaning,[1] and, indeed, even the royal banner. The priests pay the same honours to the king as the latter pays again to the gods. This is not the case with any other deity.

Every part of these representations shows us the dependence in which the kings stood to the priests. Their caste evidently appears as the highest; and there is no doubt but that, at the periods in which these temples were erected, the caste of the priests was esteemed higher than that of the warrior caste, which nevertheless forms so distinguished a feature in these pictures.[2] The priest caste consider the king, as it were, their property; he is initiated into their mysteries. This scene is repeated more than once.[3] In it he receives the priestly head-dress, the high cap with which Osiris himself is decorated, and appears in solemn processions. Whenever the king shows himself in public, (martial expeditions and battles excepted,) he is constantly accompanied and surrounded by priests. They are usually known by their shaven heads and long robes. Different grades, however, exist amongst them, which are mostly indicated by the head-dress and the shape of their garments. Both are very striking. The head-dresses[4] not only show the rank, but some seem peculiar to certain ceremonies, and change accordingly. Among the head-dresses must be reckoned the masks of animals, in which the priests appear on certain occasions, particularly at initiations.[5] They are undoubtedly masks taken from the sacred animals. The manner of dressing the hair is equally various. It is very remarkable that, according to Hamilton's account, some are still in use among the *Ababdés*.[6] Others are so artificial, that even our ablest hair-dressers would be puzzled to imitate them; and in some cases there can be no doubt but that false hair or wigs[7] are seen here, as well as in the most ancient Indian monuments at Elephantis, but much more artificial and elegant.

Another field opens itself here for divines, if they would like

[1] The French maintain it to be the hoe, and the plough made thereof, *Descript.* p. 27. I take it to be the sign of consecration, since all gods, priests, kings consecrated as priests, wear it, and they exclusively.

[2] This superiority of the priest caste was, I believe, effected by religion. Some have spoken of a struggle between the two castes, in which the caste of priests were the conquerors; but I find no sure authority for it.

[3] Plate xiii. vol. ii.; xxxiv. iii.

[4] Compare plate xxxvii. vol. iii.

[5] Plate xiii. vol. ii.

[6] Hamilton, p. 27.

[7] Plate iii. 67, No. 6.

to compare the religious notions of ancient Thebes with the descriptions given by the Jews of their sanctuaries, the tabernacle, the temple, and the sacred utensils.

This is not the place for a comparison of this kind; but how many things described in the Scriptures do we find in these engravings! the ark of the covenant, (here carried in procession,) the cherubim with their extended wings, the holy candlesticks, the shewbread, and many parts of the sacrifices.[1] In the architecture itself a certain similarity is instantly recognised, although among the Jews everything was on a smaller scale; besides which there was this important difference, that the building was as much of wood as stone. Egypt had no Lebanon with cedars. Wood nevertheless was used in Egyptian temples for ornaments, as is proved by the masts with their pennants flying before them on the great pylones,[2] and by Herodotus's account of the wooden colossal statues of the chief priests in the sanctuary of Thebes[3] (probably colossal pilaster-caryatides). Then what works of art in brass must have decorated these colossal temples of the Egyptians, if we estimate them in proportion to what was contained in the smaller temples of the Jews, beginning with the tremendous gates of the pylones to the innermost sanctuary! We should here have a view of new wonders, if time and the avarice of crowned and uncrowned robbers had not left this to be altogether supplied by imagination.

II. *Fragments of the history of Thebes.*

All who are acquainted with the materials that are left for a history of the Pharaohs,[4] with their nature and the use that has been made of them, must be fully aware that no continuous history, with any claim to authenticity, can be compiled of any single state of Egypt, previously to the time of Psammetichus; and this includes even the largest and most splendid among them, the kingdom of Thebes. The dynasties of Manetho, it is true, are not to be put on a footing with the dynasties of the Indians. The Egyptian priests at least endeavoured to obtain an accurate chronology; and there is no reason to suppose their historical accounts are at all derived from poets. *Epic poetry* was never native or common in Egypt; or was at most confined to a few historic songs drawn from their holy writings.

[1] See, for instance, plate xliv. vol. ii.

[2] See the title plate according to plate lvii. vol. iii.

[3] Herod. ii. 143.

[4] See p. 370, and Appendix iii.

We must not therefore, as in the case of the Indians, give up all hopes of arriving at a further historical certainty, if the deciphering of the inscriptions on the monuments should successfully proceed. If the work of Manetho had reached us complete, it might serve as a foundation; but in the scanty extracts that are left of it so many discrepancies occur in the dates, from the mistakes of copiers, that no continued history can be founded upon them. No attempts therefore at a fresh arrangement of these dynasties must be expected here (all that could be said with any probability upon the subject has been said by *Marsham* and *Gatterer*). I shall confine myself solely to the bringing together what we know of the brilliant period of this state as set forth on its monuments.

Notwithstanding it would be hopeless to attempt a continued chronology of the history of this state, yet a general settlement of the times in which its flourishing period happened cannot be dispensed with. This cannot be taken from the monuments, because they in general are destitute of dates; but must be gathered from the statements of ancient writers, in connexion with the monuments, so far as the architecture and the names of their founders sculptured thereon will give us any assistance. The more exact chronology, however, depends upon fixing the time of two rulers, of Sesostris, or, as he was called, according to Manetho's testimony, Rameses or Ramesses, which name he always bears on the monuments; and of Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, mentioned in the annals of the Jews; of whom I shall again have occasion to speak. The confounding of these two, for which there was no other reason but that of endeavouring to find the name of Sesostris in the Jewish history, has occasioned great confusion. All the Greek writers agree in placing the age of Sesostris previously to the Trojan war,[1] thus before 1200 B. C. But we may go back a step farther. We have authentic testimony, that Sesostris not only lived previously to that time, but previously to the age of Minos. This is found in Aristotle,[2] who calls him much more ancient than Minos; and as the age of the latter cannot be placed later than 1400 B. C., it follows, that we may suppose Sesostris to have lived 1500 B. C. To fix his reign to a year, or even to a dozen years, cannot be expected. This Sesostris, or Rameses, was the first king in

[1] The passages in Diodorus, i. 66, 71; Strabo, 1115, 1138, as collected by Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 578, note 15; cf. p. 600, etc.

[2] Aristot. *Pol.* vii. 10. πολὺ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος.

the nineteenth dynasty;[1] and the preceding, the eighteenth, consisting of fourteen kings, contains in the latter part some princes whose reigns were very glorious, such as Thutmosis, Amenophis, etc., comprising altogether above a century. Taking this into account, we should place the beginning of the splendid period of the empire of Thebes, when its rulers after the expulsion of the shepherd kings were sole monarchs of Egypt, about 1700 B. C.; and, supposing the expeditions and conquests of the Ethiopian rulers, Sabaco and Tarhaco, to have happened between 100 and 700 B. C., as we have placed them above,[2] from a comparison with the Jewish history, we have a period of almost one thousand years given us for the erection of these stupendous monuments, a space of time nearly about what we considered, in their description, necessary for that purpose; and during which the Egyptian Thebes, according to the Jewish annals, and the songs of the Ionian bard, was the capital of the mightiest empire, and the centre of the civilized world. But, according to Manetho, the whole period, from the beginning of the eighteenth to the end of the twenty-fourth dynasty, which was overthrown by the above-mentioned Ethiopian conquerors, amounts to nine hundred and eighty-eight years, of which the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties comprise seven hundred and twelve years of Thebes alone. So that if we throw out of our computation the two following dynasties of Bubartus and Tanis, whose connexion with Thebes cannot be determined, there will still remain seven or eight hundred years for the dynasties of Thebes; and the erection of the earliest of these monuments, between 1600 and 800 B. C., is confirmed both by history and the names of the Pharaohs sculptured upon them. Thus they approach very nearly the period of history, and blend with it. And although no minuter details be here ven-

[1] Here seems to be a contradiction, since Manetho places one Sesostris in the twelfth dynasty, and, indeed, with an addition, which evidently applies to the Sesostris of Diodorus and Herodotus, from which it would follow, that he could not be the Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty. The passage is this: "Sesostris annis XLVIII. quem quatuor cubitorum et palmarum trium duorumque digitorum procerum fuisse dicunt. [Hic annis novem totam Asiam subegit, Europæque partes usque ad Thraciam, atque ubique monumenta, quarumcunque gentium potitus est, erexit; fortium quidem virorum formas virili specie, ignavorum vero muliebribus membris in cippis inseulpsit; adeo ut ab Ægyptiis post Osirim habitus sit.] Euseb. *Chron.* p. 211. The whole twelfth dynasty, therefore, was said to be interpolated. But such violent means are not wanted. It cannot be denied but the words which I have enclosed in [], are an addition from Herodotus and Diodorus, which were inserted into the text from the margin. We dare maintain this with more certainty, since we know from Josephus, p. 1039, that Manetho profited not by Herodotus, but rather contradicted him whenever he could. But that a Sesostris should occur in the twelfth dynasty, ought not to surprise us, since the name of other Egyptian kings are often found more than once.

[2] Page 214.

tured upon, and it be even admitted that this statement may go back a century too much or too little, the first hypothesis, founded on the explanation of the zodiacs, and which assigns to those monuments an antiquity of several thousand years more, is completely overthrown; and this alone, I think, will be allowed to be a great advantage. We confine our observations here to the period during which all the Egyptian states were united into one empire, under the dominion of the Pharaohs at Thebes, and afterwards at Memphis. That these several states had existed separately long before this, is proved both by the seventeen preceding dynasties of Manetho, and the Jewish annals; for these latter not only make mention of this nation, but also relate that their ancestor, Abraham, had visited it almost two thousand years before our era, and met with an empire in Lower Egypt, although it appears not to have been so highly civilized then as it was afterwards in the time of Joseph. If these states owed their existence to temples, as above stated, architecture must undoubtedly have been much older in Egypt; an observation strikingly confirmed by the fact, that among the materials of the present monuments, some have been found taken from earlier monuments, and exhibiting the same art.

I need not repeat what has been said upon another occasion respecting the origin of Thebes as a colony of Meroë. In confirmation of it I may however observe, that this origin was celebrated by an annual procession of the priests with the statue of Ammon. "Every year," says Diodorus,[1] "the sanctuary of Ammon is taken over the river to the Libyan side, consequently from the temple of Karnac, whence it is brought back after a few days, as though the god returned from Ethiopia." This tour I take to be represented on one of the great reliefs in the temple of Karnac:[2] the holy ark of Ammon is here seen on the river fully equipped, and being towed along by another. It is thus performing a voyage. This festival must have been highly celebrated, as even Homer (which was not doubted by antiquity) alluded to it, when he mentions the voyage of Zeus to the Ethiopians, and his absence for twelve days.[3] That it was common for the colonial gods to pay such visits to those of the parent states, (which surely proved their origin,) is well known from antiquity in general. The forms,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 110. [2] *Descript.* table iii. 33. [3] Iliad, i. 423.

nevertheless, varied; as they were sometimes paid in such processions as these, and sometimes by solemn embassies.

To fix the time of the foundation of Thebes is utterly impossible, but there are abundant proofs of its high antiquity. If in the time of Abraham the cultivation of Egypt had spread as far as the Delta, that of Upper Egypt must have long previously been advancing. According to Diodorus's narrative, the foundation of the chief temple of Ammon took place before the building of the city;[1] and similar but older materials are discovered to have been used in raising the walls of the very ancient temple at Karnac.[2] The antiquity of this state, therefore, must certainly be carried back many centuries previously to the time of Abraham; and this is confirmed both by the accounts of Manetho, and the number of royal sepulchres, amounting, according to Strabo, to forty-seven. These give, if each reign be averaged at twenty years, nearly one thousand years.[3] Manetho, previously to the eighteenth dynasty, the beginning of which falls between 1700 and 1600 B. C., has five other Theban dynasties, the eleventh, the twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, whose duration will not amount to less than one thousand two hundred years; we have, therefore, in the whole about two thousand eight hundred years before the commencement of our era. We must rest satisfied with this chronology until some new decipherings of the monumental inscriptions shall substitute a more correct and certain one.

Conformably to the plan laid down, I shall confine my attention to the eighteenth and following dynasties of Manetho,[4] and to those Pharaohs who immortalized themselves by their deeds and their monuments, in the period preceding the subjugation of Egypt by Sabaco the Ethiopian. The inscription at Abydus, copied by Caillaud, certainly mounts up to the sixteenth dynasty; but it gives only the titles, and not the names of the kings.[5]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 54. [2] *Descript.* p. 269. [3] In France there have been thirty-five kings in eight hundred and forty years, beginning with Hugh Capet.

[4] The eighteenth dynasty in Manetho comprises (according to Eusebius, p. 215) fourteen rulers: Amosis, twenty-five years; Chebron, thirteen years; Amenophis, twenty-one years; Memphres, twelve years; Misphatumosis, twenty-five years; Thutmosis, nine years; Amenophis II., thirty-one years; Orus, twenty-eight years; Achencheres, sixteen years. Under him is placed the departure of Moses. Acherres, eight years; Cherres, fifteen years; Armais, (Danaus,) five years; Ramesses, (Ægyptus,) sixty-eight years; Amenophis III., forty years. The nineteenth dynasty comprised eight kings: Sethos, (Sesostris,) fifty-five years; Rampses, sixty-six years; Ameneptes, eight years; Amnemenes, twenty-six years; Thuoris, (Homer's Polybus,) seven years: under him the destruction of Troy.

[5] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 245.

Manetho begins his eighteenth dynasty with Amossis or Thutmosis; the first, however, whose name has yet been found on the monuments, is the third of this dynasty, namely, Amenophis I. As, however, there were many who bore this name, it remains merely a probable conjecture, whether he was really the third, or some other of the same name. Champollion, however, thinks it possible to prove it with certainty from the legends of the other kings.[1] His name is found on the great temple at Karnac; but his dominion must already have extended beyond the boundaries of Egypt, for his name and title have been discovered on the Nubian monuments, in the sanctuary of the temple at Amada, above Syene.[2]

The fourth king of this dynasty in Manetho, is Misphramuthosis, or rather Misphra-Thutmosis.[3] Josephus, following Manetho,[4] recounts that he succeeded in driving back the Hyksos to the confines of Egypt, shutting them up in their fortress Avaris, and besieging it. Neither his name nor title have yet been discovered on the monuments.

He was succeeded by his son Thutmosis, who entirely delivered the country from the Hyksos, by extorting an agreement from them in their fortress, the condition of which was, that they should leave Egypt and withdraw to Syria.[5] His name and title are found in the temple of Amada, which he must have completed.[6] Under his reign, therefore, Nubia, at least the lower part of it, must have been included in the empire.

His successor, Amenophis II., the seventh king of the eighteenth dynasty, was still more celebrated: his reign, according to Manetho, lasted thirty-one years. He was the same with the Memnon of the Greeks, from whose statue a sound is said to have issued. The truth of this statement is confirmed by such respectable evidence, that it cannot be doubted. "The Thebans maintain," says Pausanias,[7] "that the colossus does not represent Memnon, but Phamenophis, one of their native kings." This is again proved by an inscription still extant upon the statue: "I, P. Balbinus, have heard the divine voice of Memnon, or Phamenophis."[8] The reign of this Amenophis, therefore, falls immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksos;

[1] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 240. [2] Ibid. l. c. [3] Ibid. 246.
[4] Josephus, p. 1040. [5] Ibid. p. 1040. [6] Champollion, p. 241.
[7] *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι· Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν.* Pausan. p. 101.
[8] *Ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ Πούβλιος Βάλβινος φωνὰς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φαμένοφ.* *Ph* is the Coptic article.

when Egypt was restored to her former state and laws. The old national religion, the worship of Ammon and his temple, was re-established in its pristine splendour soon after the country was rid of these troublesome strangers. The long reign of this monarch was favourable to it. In his title he is therefore called beloved of Ammon;[1] and his name itself probably expresses something similar,[2] for it was a common custom in Egypt, not only with kings, but with private individuals, to derive their name from deities, or to form compounds taken from them.[3] It therefore seems very natural that in this reign should have been commenced the building of those great temples and the works connected with them. A number of inscriptions, with his name and title, clearly attest such to have been the case; and these are found not only in Thebes, but at a considerable distance in Nubia, which, therefore, must have bowed to his sceptre. We learn from these inscriptions that he founded the great sanctuary, and the most ancient portion of the palace of Luxor in Thebes.[4] His name often occurs, as may be easily imagined, on the ruins of the Memnonium, even upon a statue found there by Belzoni. This monarch was also the founder of the temple of Ammon-Chnubis, in Elephantis, and is called there "beloved by Chneph or Chnubi."[5] His name is again found in one of the royal vaults, the only one lying to the west; which certainly tends to prove that this tomb belonged to him. He must also have been a conqueror, and extended his territory to the southern boundaries of Nubia; for the temple at Soleb, the most southern of this country, bears his royal legend, with reliefs of prisoners from various nations.[6]

Among his successors the name of Ramesses is the most conspicuous. This name, however, was borne by four Pharaohs, of whom the first two belonged to the eighteenth, and the third and fourth to the nineteenth dynasty. The first of this name[7] was expelled by his brother, after having reigned five years, and is said to be identified with Danaus, the leader of the colony to Argos in Peloponnesus.

He was succeeded by his brother Ramesses II., whose long reign of sixty-eight years is one of the most remarkable. He bears the surname of Miammon, "he who loves Ammon," to

[1] Champollion, p. 237. [2] Ibid. p. 238. [3] As Petammon, Retosiris, etc., which are similar to our Theophilus, etc. Champollion, p. 109. [4] Ibid. p. 237.
[5] Ibid. p. 238. [6] Ibid. p. 239. See p. 187. [7] His name is corrupted into Armias and Armes.

distinguish him from the legend, "the beloved of Ammon." He was the founder of the palace of Medinet Abou at Thebes;[1] and the battles which are the subject of the reliefs upon it, leave us no room to doubt that he was a warrior and conqueror. The fifth of the royal vaults belongs to him: in it the sarcophagus of red granite was found, the cover of which, with the picture and legend of the king, is now in the museum at Cambridge.[2]

He was succeeded by Amenophis, the last ruler of the eighteenth dynasty, to whom Manetho ascribes a reign of forty years. It will be seen from what we have said above, that he was the third of this name. His reign, however, was not so fortunate or glorious as that of his predecessors. The Hyksos ventured to renew their attacks upon Egypt. Amenophis, not thinking himself able to withstand them, confided his son Ramesses, aged five years, to a friend, and withdrew into Ethiopia, the king of which was his tributary, and friendly towards him. Here he assembled his forces, marched back to Egypt, and, assisted by his son and successor, expelled the conquering shepherds.[3] This laid the foundation of the splendid period which commenced under his successor; and this is probably the reason why Manetho concludes his eighteenth dynasty with him.

At the head of the nineteenth dynasty stands the name of the most celebrated of all the Pharaohs. He is called Sethosis, Sesorsis, or Sesostris; and the pages of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus bear equal testimony of his fame. On the monuments, however, he is no where mentioned by either of these names, on them he is called Ramesses: but that he bore both these names, Manetho himself informs us;[4] and other writers likewise assert that the son of Amenophis was called Ramesses.[5] Sesostris means, by way of eminence, the great great king of the Egyptians.

We learn from Diodorus,[6] that the traditions respecting him were adorned and exaggerated by verse; we therefore must consider what is stated respecting him as nothing more than a poetical history, highly ornamented by the traditions of the priests. But Sesostris, or Ramesses the Great, (as we may very properly call him, to distinguish him from his namesakes,)

[1] Champollion, p. 227. [2] Ibid. p. 228. [3] Josephus, p. 1041. [4] Ibid. p. 1053. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ραμέσσην ὠνομασμένον. Champollion, p. 227; cf. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 61. [5] Especially Chæremon in his history of Egypt; cf. Josephus, p. 1057. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 62.

is not to be considered as a mere creature of the imagination: that he is not simply a symbolical being, but historically a monarch of Egypt, is so obvious, as to render it almost unnecessary to mention it. But if it be desired to ascertain how much related of him is matter of history, and how much not, the best information will be derived from the monuments, as well from those within Egypt as those which he erected in foreign countries in commemoration of his exploits, and which we can authenticate as relating to him, partly from credible historians, and partly from intrinsic evidence. There is a perfect agreement here between the monuments and history, as the latest discoveries convince us, that the name of no Pharaoh so often appears upon them, or with so much splendour, as the name and title of Ramesses the Great. "Beloved and confirmed of Ammon,—son of the god of the sun,—ruler of the obedient people," are the titles here frequently bestowed upon him.

Herodotus, who derived his information from the priests at Memphis, enumerated, in speaking of Sesostris and the other Pharaohs mentioned by him, only the presents they gave to the temple of Phtha in this capital: which in this instance consisted of six tremendous colossal statues; two of himself and wife, each thirty yards high; and four of his children, each twenty.[1] According to Diodorus, he founded many great buildings; erecting in the towns of Egypt temples for the principal gods they honoured. Thebes in particular enjoyed his favours. Two obelisks, one hundred and twenty yards high, containing an account of his treasures and the nations he had conquered, were placed before the temple of Ammon; and a new and splendid ark for the oracle of cedar,[2] gilded outside and silvered within, was bestowed on the interior. All these glories are vanished; but his name still lives on many of the monuments of Thebes. It has been discovered in many parts of the great palace of Karnac; particularly on those massive pillars in the immense saloon above described, which seems almost entirely to have been his work.[3] It is again found on the great pylones and pillars in the first court of the palace of Luxor, as likewise on one side of the obelisks at the same place (the other bears the legend of Thutmosis); finally, almost in every part of what is called the tomb of Osymandyas, the greater part of which, if not the whole, must certainly be attributed to him;[4]

[1] Herod. ii. 108. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 67. [3] Champollion, p. 220.
[4] See above, p. 384. Neither Manetho nor Herodotus has the name of Osymandyas.

and without Thebes, on the palace of Abydus, the Flaminian obelisk in Rome; and on many other monuments. Nubia in particular is full of them: nearly on every section of the great temple of Ipsambul, of Kalabshé, Derri, and Seboa, his name occurs, and pictures of his exploits.[1] What a gigantic mind must his have been, that could execute so many and such marvellous works!

The expeditions and conquests of Ramesses the Great are partly certain, and partly more or less probable. Among the former I class those upon which monuments and writers agree; among the latter, those only mentioned by historians. There is no question but that he erected monuments to himself in the countries he conquered, or engraved his deeds on those which he found there already built.

After Arabia, that is to say, the eastern mountainous country of Egypt, was subdued,[2] a naval expedition on the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Sea is mentioned as his next undertaking.[3] Herodotus, having his accounts from the priests, represents him as the first who ventured with a fleet of war-galleys on the Arabian Gulf and Indian Sea. The truth of this narrative can scarcely be doubted; especially since we learn from the monuments, that the Pharaohs maintained a naval power in these quarters. Their conquests were confined to the coasts, as appears from the expressions of Herodotus. Those who know the narrow extent and the nature of the Indian Sea, with its numerous islands and variable winds, will find nothing improbable in the statement that those expeditions extended to the western coasts of the peninsula: this, indeed, is plainly asserted by Diodorus,[4] and confirmed by the costumes of the enemies in the sculptures.

That he subjugated Ethiopia there can be no doubt: it appears, moreover, from what has been said above, that a part of it was very early reduced under the sway of the Pharaohs, or was at least dependent upon them; and when Herodotus says that he was the only king of Egypt who ruled over Ethiopia, this is undoubtedly to be understood of all Ethiopia, as well as the most southern part of it, or Meroë. He conquered, Diodorus informs us, the Ethiopians who dwelt towards the south, and compelled them to pay him a tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth[5]—this is confirmed by the monuments. The

[1] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 220. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 63. [3] Herod. ii. 102.
[4] See above, p. 412, the description of a naval battle. [5] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

very remarkable scenes sculptured at Kalabshé, for a copy of which we are indebted to Gau, and which I have described and explained above,[1] would prove this most satisfactorily, even if M. Champollion had not since discovered the legend of this king. Not only the battle and victory are here represented, but also the offering of the booty and tributes. The captive queen, deprived of her trinkets,[2] is beseeching (accompanied by her two sons) the conqueror for mercy. The tribute mentioned by Diodorus is seen to consist of ivory, gold, and quantities of ebony; tame and wild animals; apes and birds of various kinds; even the giraffe from the heart of Africa is introduced. How was it possible to characterize the extent of conquests in a more striking manner? We have another remarkable witness, proving at once that an expedition was made by land and by sea, as well as its extent, given in Strabo.[3] "At the narrow entrance of the Arabian Gulf," he says, "is situated the little town of Derar, inhabited by Ichthyophagi. Monuments of the Egyptian Sesostris, who first subdued the country of the Troglodytes, are said to stand here with sacred inscriptions, setting forth his voyage to Arabia." And in another passage,[4] he "traversed Ethiopia as far as the land of cinnamon, where even now monumental columns with inscriptions are visible." We entertain hopes, if a modern traveller should succeed in reaching this place, or the old Egyptian port of Adule, that those monuments would still be found.

It is difficult to say anything certain respecting the campaigns of the Egyptian conqueror in Asia and Europe. Herodotus here also is our safest guide. He saw and noticed the monuments erected by him, with Egyptian sacred writing upon them. Although it should be denied that these were the work of Sesostris, still they were certainly erected by some Egyptian conqueror; for Herodotus could not be mistaken with regard to the writing. We know, however, of no other of the Pharaohs to whom such expeditions can be ascribed. Herodotus saw and describes these monuments first in Palestine,[5] and afterwards two rock-monuments in Asia Minor, the situation of which he minutely particularizes; the statue of an armed man

[1] Page 189.
[2] In a former part of this work I have explained the captive queen from the circumstance, that in Meroë queens could sit on the throne. But we need not have recourse to that. On the preceding relief the captive king is represented as murdered by the conqueror. It was therefore natural that she appeared as a widow.
[3] Strabo, p. 1114. His information is probably derived from Agatharchides's treatise on the Red Sea. [4] Page 1138. [5] Herod. ii. 106.

in Egyptian and Ethiopian accoutrements, with an inscription in hieroglyphics on the breast, signifying, "I have occupied this country." Further, his monuments were seen in Thrace,[1] but not beyond; for here he turned back. He is also said to have reached the river Phasis, and to have founded on this occasion an Egyptian colony at Colchis. We may therefore conclude with certainty, from these accounts, that his expedition took in Syria and Asia Minor, and extended to Thrace. During this period we know of no great empire in western Asia; the origin of the Assyrian is laid by Herodotus two or three centuries later.[2] What, therefore, could have arrested the progress of the conqueror on this side?

The campaigns in eastern Asia, which were said to have extended to Bactria and India, are perhaps in general fictitious. Some historical foundation for them, however, is contained on the monuments. One of the scenes often repeated, is the passage of a river winding through a plain, and a fortress which the Egyptians take by assault.[3] Now this cannot be the Nile; because the scenery is evidently not Egyptian. The next river that presents itself to our mind is the Euphrates: its serpentine course through the valley agrees very well with the river here represented. The country invaded is proved by the dress and beards of the inhabitants to be in Asia. Is it the proud Babylon that is here assaulted, or was there a Median-Bactrian empire which extended as far as this? I know of none such; but the passage over the river was evidently one of those great achievements, whose remembrance was worthy to be preserved by monuments. The opulent Babylon was certainly likely to attract a conqueror. These conquests, at all events, could hardly have been lasting, otherwise posterity would have found Egyptian monuments in these places as well as in Nubia.

The son and successor of Ramesses the Great, according to Herodotus, was called Pheron: Diodorus, however, expressly informs us of his having adopted the name of his father; and this is confirmed by Manetho, who calls him Ramesses, and gives him a reign of sixty years. His reign was a peaceable one, for according to Diodorus he did not inherit the warlike spirit[4] of his father; though, as his legend has also been found on the monuments, he was certainly partial to building. He is

[1] Herod. ii. 103, 104.
[2] About 1230, B. C.
[3] See above, p. 416.
[4] Diodorus, i. p. 69.

called "the confirmed of Ammon," not the one confirmed by Rè the god of the Sun, as his father was. Champollion reads his name and title on the smaller pillars of the gigantic saloon at Karnac, which he seems to have completed.[1] It was quite agreeable to the spirit of the age, that the reign of so powerful a conqueror should be followed by such a one as this of his son: so David was succeeded by Solomon.

The most splendid period of Thebes, therefore, must have occurred between 1800 and 1300 B. C. Of the two succeeding kings Manetho gives only the names; and when he says of the third, namely Thuoris, whom Homer calls Polybus, that he was contemporary with the Trojan war, it corresponds with our chronology, which places this war immediately after 1200. The nineteenth dynasty ends with this Thuoris. Of the twentieth dynasty, which included twelve kings and lasted one hundred and seventy-two years, the fragments of Manetho do not even give the names; and of the kings[2] of the twenty-first, which lasted one hundred and thirty years, nothing but the names.

The first ruler of the twenty-second dynasty, Sesonchosis, becomes more interesting to us, as Champollion recognises in him the Shishak of the Jewish annals.[3] His name, Scheschonk, together with his title, "the confirmed of Ammon," is found on one of the columns of the first great court of columns in the palace of Karnac; and the correctness of this reading is confirmed by the name (according to Manetho) of his son and successor, Osorthon, being found close by it. The identity of the name Scheschak and Shishak is very important, because it enables us to determine the chronology. Shishak was the contemporary of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, 970 B. C., he made war against Palestine, took Jerusalem,[4] and pillaged it. According to the Jewish accounts the Egyptian state must have been very powerful at that time; for it is said of Shishak that he came with twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand cavalry, and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting of Egyptians, Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. His empire therefore must have extended over all these countries, and far beyond the boundaries of Egypt. In the century after

[1] Champollion, p. 232.
[2] They are named: Smerdis, twenty-six years; Psusennus, forty-one years; Nephercheres, four years; Psinnaches, nine years; Psonines, thirty-five years. Euseb. p. 217.
[3] Champollion, p. 205.
[4] 2 Chronicles xii. 2.

him, this greatness must have declined, and the power of the rulers of Meroë, under the dynasty of Sabaco, (who reigned between 800 and 700 B. C., not only over Ethiopia, but also Thebes,) must have prevailed; as, according to Manetho, the Pharaoh Bochoris, who alone occupies the twenty-fourth dynasty, was defeated, taken prisoner, and burnt alive by Sabaco.[1]

About this time therefore, 800 B. C., ends the period of Theban might and grandeur, after having endured nearly eight centuries. The period of the great expeditions, particularly in Asia, does not seem to reach lower than the first two or three centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos; for we have no information that extends beyond the expedition of Shishak into the neighbouring Palestine. The dominion over Ethiopia, at least the northern part, or the present Nubia, bears the only traces of a lasting conquest. We may therefore determine pretty accurately the extent and the boundaries of the empire of Thebes, with the exception of these transitory conquests.

Notwithstanding the extent of Sesostris's expeditions, there is no proof that the dominion of the Pharaohs in Asia was of long duration. That it occasionally comprised Syria, perhaps also Babylonia, and the coasts of Southern Arabia, cannot be denied. Had there, however, been any permanent conquest over the interior of Asia, some accounts of it would have been given in the annals of the Jews. Of Arabia, the stony region, at least, must in some degree have belonged to Egypt; for this is proved by certain monuments, covered with hieroglyphics, which Niebuhr found here and copied: they may have been tombs, as he indeed considers them; but I think it more probable that they were remnants of a temple.[2] Any lasting conquests in Europe are still less to be expected.

The principal country therefore, the nucleus of the empire, was Egypt itself. That this was entirely subject to the Pharaohs of Thebes cannot be doubted: there was once a time, says Herodotus,[3] when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes, not only the fruitful valley of the Nile, but also the eastern and western borders. The eastern side, usually spoken of under the name of Arabia, was subdued by Sesostris, without which, indeed, he could not have fitted out a fleet on the Arabian

[1] Manetho, apud Euseb. p. 218.

[2] Niebuhr's *Travels*, i. p. 237, etc. Tab. xxx.—xlii. He found them at El Mocatel, (mountain of inscriptions,) probably Mount Hor, in the neighbourhood of Sinai.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 15.

Gulf; but how far the dominion of the Pharaohs extended to the west is uncertain. It undoubtedly comprised the two Oases, as is proved by the monuments upon them; it must likewise have extended beyond the limits of Egypt, because Libyans are enumerated among their subjects. That the inhabitants of Marea and Apis were still Egyptians, was formerly decided by a sentence of the Ammonian oracle,[1] when they wished to be considered as Libyans. It cannot be stated exactly in what political relation Ammonium stood with Thebes; nevertheless, as it was a colony of Thebes, and the service of Ammon prevailed there, it may at least be assumed, that the relation which commonly subsisted between parent states and their colonies, when they held the same religious opinions, was in force here, although it might not amount to a complete dependence. Ammonium, so far as our present information goes, is the western boundary of the Egyptian monuments, and therefore of the Egyptian dominions. By possessing this they became neighbours of the Carthaginians. A peaceable commercial intercourse with that nation has been pointed out in the former part of the volume; but that hostilities sometimes broke out between them, may be inferred from a remarkable passage in Ammianus Marcellinus.[2] From this we learn, that when the power of the Carthaginians extended itself in Africa, even before the time of the great Persian empire, Carthaginian generals had surprised and pillaged Thebes; a shock from which this city had scarcely recovered at the time of its being invaded by Cambyses.

Ethiopia, however, was the main point to which the rulers of Thebes directed their conquests. Monuments of their victories are still to be seen there, which render this fact unquestionable. Here there were many things to attract them. The valley of the Nile above Syene was neither less fruitful nor less populous than in Egypt. The mountain-chain along the

[1] Herodotus, ii. 18. The oracle was, "All that is watered by the Nile, is Egypt; and all who, from the city of Elephantis downwards, drink its water, are Egyptians." According to this, the eastern mountainous district did not belong to Egypt, nor its inhabitants to the Egyptian nation.

[2] Am. Marcel. xvii. 4. "Urbem, priscis seculis conditam, portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylas Thebas—hanc inter exordia pandentis se late Carthaginis improviso excursu duces oppressere Pœnorum; posteaque reparatam Persarum ille rex Cambyses aggressus est." The attack of the Carthaginians upon Thebes happened, therefore, before the time of Cambyses, in the period when Carthage was extending her dominions; probably between 600 and 550 B. C., when the powerful house of Mago stood at the head of the republic. See Appendix viii. at the end of this volume. When Ammianus speaks of Libya and Carthage, he quotes from the works of king Juba, who drew from Carthaginian writers who treated upon inner Africa and the sources of the Nile: xxii. 4. This account, perhaps, is also drawn from them.

Arabian Gulf contained, scarcely 130 or 140 miles above Syene, the most ancient gold mines in the world; and these had already been worked in the time of the Pharaohs. The ravages of the Nubian hordes, who inhabited these districts, might also become a frequent source of the wars which we sometimes see portrayed on the Nubian monuments. And, finally, the commercial connexions existing between Egypt and Ethiopia, and exhibiting the wealth of the southern countries, were equally calculated to attract the eye of the conquerors. They do not seem, however, to have established a lasting dominion beyond the boundarie of Nubia; but that it continued here for a considerable period, and particularly in the valley of the Nile, is proved by the series of monuments, with their inscriptions and reliefs, which have come under our notice in the former part of the volume. Although some of those monuments might not have been their work, but had been erected before their time; yet the inscriptions and reliefs must be attributed to them, as they bear the impress of perfected Egyptian workmanship. Many of these edifices are too mighty to have been quickly or suddenly raised: a long period must have been spent in their completion. This series of monuments, which we ascribe to the Pharaohs, does not, however, extend beyond Nubia. The temple at Soleb, a little above the second cataract, is, as far as we know, the last that can be attributed to them. Egyptian dominion could not be permanently established without Egyptian religion, nor Egyptian religion without Egyptian monuments.

The dominion of the Pharaohs, then, extended only to the northern boundaries of the empire of Meroë. And notwithstanding that this empire was once overrun by the great Sesostris, its subjugation cannot have been of long duration. Both monuments and history prove this. That the former are not historical representations relating to the Pharaohs, although executed by Egyptian artists, has been shown in the former part of the volume.[1] And the remains of the history of Meroë there collected, show that this empire never lost its independence for any length of time; nay, that in the eighteenth century B. C. it even subdued Egypt, or at least Upper Egypt, although it was voluntarily, or at the command of the oracle, relinquished by the conqueror.[2] Thus we see on the banks of the Nile, from its sources till its waters are lost in the Mediterranean,

[1] Page 213.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 139.

the two powerful empires of Thebes and Meroë existing together during many centuries, under mutual relations, various and changeable, without either of them attaining an extent equal to the great empires of Asia.[1] The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs, exclusive of the mere transitory conquests, was nearly the same as that of the present ruler of Egypt. His dominion towards the south does not reach beyond Dongola, above Soleb; Siwah, the ancient Ammonium, pays him tribute; and his conquests on the Arabian coast are perhaps about equal to those of the Pharaohs. How different, however, was the state of these provinces then to what it is at present!

The population of Egypt, amounting in the time of Diodorus to no more than three millions, is stated by the same author, we know not upon what authority, to have been seven millions in the time of the Pharaohs.[2] If the latter is meant to include all Egypt, the statement cannot seem exaggerated, and would even be moderate if we were to limit it to the Thebaid, which indeed was at one time called Egypt. But in the first case the statement is only to be understood of the inhabitants settled in the fruitful part of Egypt, the valley of the Nile, and the Delta; we have already stated that the wandering tribes in the mountains were not reckoned among the Egyptians.

That Thebes was the usual seat of government, is shown more plainly by the ruins of its palaces, than by the testimony of historians. Although some change afterwards took place, religious notions seem to have been in such a way connected with the residence of the monarchs in this capital, that we dare not leave it unnoticed. They were closely connected with the ideas they entertained of a life after death. The Pharaohs lived in the neighbourhood of their tombs, for these, according to the belief of the Egyptians, were their proper habitations; and the construction of these engrossed the attention of these rulers quite as much as the decoration of their palaces, of which we have a proof in the tomb of Osymandyas, near his palace, and in the caverns near Thebes. Besides, it was not a matter of indifference where a person was buried. Certain spots were held sacred, and preferred to all others; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots in which Osiris,

[1] If the accounts of the Newspapers are true, that in the district of Cordofan are found ruins with hieroglyphics, they must have belonged to the empire of Meroë, and not to Thebes. In the empire of Darfour nothing of the kind has been discovered.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 36.

ruler both in the upper and under world, was buried. And who wished not to rest near him? These places were numerous. In the Thebaid, besides Thebes itself, there was a small island near Philæ and Elephantis; and also Abydos, formerly called This. In Middle Egypt there was Memphis; and in the Delta, Busiris. A modern critic, therefore, very justly considers these burial-places of Osiris to be the seats of the Egyptian monarchs.[1] What a new light does this strike out, when compared with the dynasties of Manetho! How strongly does this confirm the opinion given above, that these places were the earliest states of Egypt, before it was consolidated into one empire! The dynasties in Upper and Middle Egypt, of Elephantis, Thebes, This, and Memphis, are all burial-places of Osiris: those in the Delta, Mendes, Sebennytus, Tanis, and Bubastus, all lay within a few miles of Busiris; that of Sais had this sanctuary in the town itself. Let us return, however, to Thebes. That this city was the residence of the kings for centuries, is proved both by their palaces and the number of their tombs, of which, according to Strabo, there were upwards of forty. Memphis at a later period certainly became the seat of government, for we are told by Manetho of a king Athotis, and by Diodorus of a king Urchoreus,[2] who built a palace there, which however never equalled those at Thebes. Its age is uncertain; but Diodorus further remarks, that it was the removal of his successors to Memphis which caused Thebes to decline. It is shown, however, in our inquiries respecting the Persians, that it was a common thing for the monarchs of the East to have more than one residence; and although the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty might make Memphis for some time their capital, their names on the monuments of Thebes sufficiently evince that this was the proper seat of government. As their elevation and consecration necessarily took place at Thebes, as we shall presently see, this city could not so soon have lost its right to be considered the capital of the empire.

[1] Creuzer in *Commentationes ad Herod.* p. 88, etc., where the proofs are collected of what we have stated. I think this will be further proved by my showing, that at Sais, where the last dynasty previous to the Persian conquest ruled, there was a tomb of Osiris. Herod., after saying (ii. 169) that the tombs of the kings of this dynasty were at Sais in the sanctuary of Minerva, adds, cap. 170, 171, etc.: "In this sanctuary, behind the temple, is the tomb of him whose name I do not consider myself at liberty to mention. But in the sanctuary stand some large obelisks, and a pond with a stone enclosure; and here are celebrated the mysteries in which the sufferings of the afore-mentioned deity are represented." That this refers to Osiris nobody will doubt who is acquainted with his mythology.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 60.

With regard to the government, there can be no doubt but that upon the whole it always remained a hierarchy, under the dominion of the priests; but the relation of the kings to the priesthood requires some further explanation. Was the throne hereditary or was it elective? As we read so often that the father was succeeded by the son, we must conclude that it was hereditary, although a later writer describes the election of a king to the throne.[1] According to his account, candidates waited during the election on the Libyan mountains, near the tombs. The royal tent was here set up; and the priests who elected assembled. The gods were then consulted, and the election concluded; the newly-elected king was then led with a numerous train, in a magnificent procession of gods, priests, and people, to the Nile, where the royal barge waited, in which he proceeded to the other side, to take possession of the royal palace, (probably that of Karnac,) where stood the original high temple of Ammon. It is not known from what ancient writer Synesius borrowed this relation, we have no reason, however, to suppose it fictitious; for hereditary succession, when not very strict, is compatible with the ceremony of election, as the history of Germany clearly proves. I doubt, however, whether the king was taken from the priest caste. If such had been the case, there would have been no occasion for him to enter into it after his election, and that he did so is shown by its being represented again and again on the walls of the palaces of Medinet Abou and Karnac.

It followed, as a matter of course, that the person elected, or nominated by the priests, would be very much under their control; hence it happened that nothing of importance could be undertaken till the oracle had been first consulted. In many of the processions of the oracle-ship, pictured on the walls of the temples and palaces, the king is seen coming to meet the holy ark, borne by priests, in such positions, as prove beyond a doubt, that he comes to obtain a favourable decision from the oracle.[2]

But there was another circumstance, which was still more effectual than even the oracle in holding the monarchs dependent upon the priests. I mean the strict ceremonies by which their every-day life was regulated; an example of which is also found in the power exercised in a similar manner over the

[1] Synesius, *Op.* p. 94.

[2] *Description*, plates xxxii. xxxvi. vol. iii. and after.

monarchs of Persia by the Magi. Early in the morning, (as was natural in so hot a climate,) says Diodorus,[1] the affairs of state were settled. The sacred ceremonies next followed. The king went to sacrifice and prayer; he was then obliged to listen while he was reminded from the sacred writings of his duties, in which the greatest possible moderation in all enjoyments was strictly inculcated. It seems probable that the personal character of the rulers had great influence with regard to the measure of this dependence; but the scenes so often recurring on the walls of the temples and palaces, leave us no room to question but that even the most powerful of the monarchs were obliged to conform to these prescriptions. The regulation of the court of the Pharaohs assisted the priests very much in the maintenance of this authority over the prince. It is well known that it was composed of the sons of the most exalted priests. No slave dared to approach the king: he was served by the courtiers just mentioned.[2] The wives of the king were equal in rank and title with himself; queens even ruled in Egypt. The custom which was in use long before the Ptolemies, that the kings should marry their sisters, perhaps arose from a desire to prevent strangers from succeeding to the throne.[3]

With regard to the division of the empire, it is certain that the principal country, Egypt itself, was divided into nomes, upon the origin of which I have already stated my opinion in a former chapter of this work. As Herodotus ascribes them to Sesostris, it is plain that they were instituted by the Pharaohs, though they could not be completely established till these monarchs became sole rulers over Egypt. The whole government of Egypt was naturally knit together by this institution.[4] Ten nomes are enumerated in Upper Egypt, sixteen in Middle Egypt, and ten in Lower Egypt.[5] We hear of *nomarchi* and *toparchi*,[6] as they are called by the Greeks: the former were intrusted with the government of the separate nomes, and the latter with districts and villages.[7]

The revenue of the Pharaohs was derived from various

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 81. [2] Ibid. i. p. 80. [3] Ibid. i. p. 31.
[4] Champollion, in *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, part i. 11, has collected the Egyptian names of the Nomes. The Egyptian name of Nome is Ptosch.
[5] Diodorus, i. p. 84. [6] Strabo, xvii. p. 1136.
[7] Herod. ii. 177. From this passage it is clear that they officiated as police, since all were obliged to render a yearly account to them of their several trades or professions. Idleness was discountenanced or punished. The caste of the trades being subdivided, and each division having its own president, who of course was acquainted with each member, this task was less difficult than it would otherwise have been.

sources; the most important of them, however, were its landed possessions, as is clear from what has been already said respecting the division and proprietorship of lands in Egypt. It has also been proved, that lands belonging to kings and priests were cultivated by persons who paid interest or rent for them. Diodorus[1] expressly tells us, that the lands of the priests and soldiers were free from taxes or rent, which certainly was not the case with the rest. But in speaking of this ground-rent, we ought to bear in mind that the quality of the soil did not admit of its being so accurately settled as in European states. This tax was regulated in Egypt according to the produce of the soil, and this depended upon the overflowing of the river. It was determined by a measurement of the Nile; and from this we may conclude, that the same method was preserved in ancient as in modern times, namely, the ground or produce rent was fixed annually. In the present day they wait until the flood has reached its highest point; and according to its height the taxes are immediately imposed. Diodorus informs us, that it was the same in antiquity.[2] "The kings, to prevent any inconvenience that might happen from the rising of the flood, have constructed a Nilometer at Memphis. Those who manage it can measure exactly, in yards and inches, the rising and falling of the river, of which they send immediate advice to the several towns. The people by this are enabled to judge beforehand of the produce they may expect. Accounts of the yearly rise and fall of the river have been preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest times." The taxes in the present day, however, are not imposed upon individuals, but upon entire towns or villages, which are obliged to answer for them. A whole township possesses the land in common, cultivates it in common, and every one whose name is inscribed in the village book is a partner, and shares the produce, as it is almost impossible that individuals should have private landed property, on account of the continual overflowings which destroy the boundaries.[3] It is highly probable that this was also the case in antiquity, as nature herself seems to determine that it should

[1] Diodorus, i. 85; Herod. ii. 168.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 44. The Nilometer discovered and described by the French, *Description*, vol. i., does not appear to have been constructed previous to the age of the Ptolemies, as the numbers upon it are Grecian: they may, however, have been inscribed upon it at a later period.
[3] Reynier, *l'Economie Politique des Egyptiens*, p. 200, etc. This assessment of the taxes upon a whole district seems to be represented at Eilethyia. *Descript.* plates i. lxiii. iii. Even now each village has a *coptus*, or secretary; these secretaries are closely united, and distinct from the inhabitants, forming still a kind of caste, and probably descendants from the old caste of priests.

be so; and when Herodotus ascribes the origin of geometry to these mensurations, it can scarcely be understood otherwise than of the mensuration of the areas of whole townships, though he might derive his conjecture from private possessions. These mensurations were undoubtedly connected with their canal system, for the construction and preservation of which considerable mathematical knowledge was required; and upon the good order in which these were maintained, the fruitfulness of the land chiefly depended. An intimate connexion between these seems evident, from the canal system and the division of districts by measurements being ascribed to the same ruler, Sesostris.[1] Both were therefore under the management of the government, and were indeed its particular care and interest. And as Sesostris is called the great king of the Egyptians, it is to be supposed that he brought this system to its full perfection; for it lies in the nature of things that it existed to a certain degree before his time.

The gold mines of Nubia were a second source of the revenues of the Pharaohs: they were reckoned amongst the most ancient and most productive in the world, and account for the abundance of gold often spoken of in Egyptian history. Agatharchides,[2] who visited them during the reign of Ptolemy IV., has given an accurate, and even scientific, description of them. According to his account, they were situated near the present mountain Alaky, 22° N. Lat., 51° E. Long., not far from the ancient Berenice Panchrysos, as it was called in the time of the Ptolemies.[3] They were worked by a great number of prisoners, men, women, and children, among whom the labour was divided according to their strength. This writer describes very minutely the manner in which this labour was performed. "These mines," he adds, "have already been worked for a very long time, and were discovered by the first kings of these countries. The working of them, however, was interrupted, when the Ethiopians, who are said to have founded Memnonium, overran Egypt, and kept possession during a long period of its towns:[4] and again, under the dominion of the

[1] Herod. ii. 108; Diodorus, i. 66.

[2] Agatharchides, *de Rubro Mari, in Geograph. Minor.* i. p. 22. Diodorus, i. p. 182, borrowed his account from him.

[3] Agatharchides has removed all doubt as to their situation. See D'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 274. I have also indicated their relative positions on the map.

[4] Under Sabaco and Tarhaco, between 800 and 700 B. C. The Memnonium was Meroë, which was said to be Memnon's principal residence; unless we are to understand by it that of Abydus, where those conquerors probably took up their abode. Strabo, p. 1167; consult also Jacobs *on the Graves of Memnon.*

Medes and Persians. In the shafts made at that time brass implements are still found, the use of iron being then unknown. Bones also are found in great quantities, of people who were smothered in them by the falling in of the earth. The extent of these mines was such, that the subterranean passages reached to the sea."

The later accounts of the Arabian writers[1] give us further information respecting these mines. We learn from them that they are situated in the country of the Bejahs, the ancient Blemmies,[2] between Eidub and Suakin; that they abound in silver, copper, iron, and precious stones; but gold is chiefly sought for. The Pharaohs themselves made war against this country for the sake of these mines. The Greeks did the same when they were masters of Egypt; evident traces of which are still met with. "The gold mines are at Alaky,[3] a place fifteen days' journey from the Nile; the nearest town is Essouan." It would seem probable from this, that these mines were turned to account during the sway of the Arabs: that they belonged to the empire of the Pharaohs (they were about fifty miles distant from Thebes) is clear from what we have said respecting its extent, which comprised Soleb, above the second cataract.

The Egyptian tradition which ascribed its discovery and first opening, as well as the working in metals, to the inhabitants of Thebes,[4] obtains by this a new confirmation.

I scarcely know how far we may reckon in the income derived from the mines, the precious stones known under the name of emeralds. Through Belzoni's researches these mines have been again found: they are situated in the Arabian mountain-chain, in the mountain Zubaca, (24½° N. Lat.,) between twenty and thirty miles from the Arabian Gulf.[5] They are of considerable extent, and must have been worked for many ages, certainly as far back as the Egyptian period, as remnants of Egyptian architecture are still met with on the road leading to them; and if, as we find in Theophrastus,[6] the commentaries of the Egyptians spoke of them, it is evident

[1] In Quatremère de Quinzi, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 143 and 155, also Mafrizi.

[2] See p. 157.

[3] These accounts are perfectly correct. Alaky is the Salaka in D'Anville's map, which he also affirms to be Berenice Panchrysos. The Greek name signifies "abounding in gold." Its distance from the Nile is about three hundred and fifty miles; or, for caravans, fifteen days' journey. Essouan is called the next town, not on account of its proximity to the former, the distance being two hundred and forty miles, but because no other intervenes.

[4] Diodorus, i. p. 19.

[5] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 315.

[6] Theoph. *De Lapidibus*, *Op.* p. 394; cf. Plin. xxxvii. 19.

they must have been worked under the Pharaohs; and if so, it is probable that their produce was considered as belonging to the king, as the present pacha has attempted to make them, although hitherto without success. We know, from what is said by the Arabian writers, that they were worked till the end of the fourteenth century.[1] Masudi calls the place *Kharbat*, (in which may easily be recognised the present name, *Zubara*,) and very correctly describes it as a mountainous desert in the country of the Bejahs, eight days' journey from the Nile. The emeralds, of which he enumerates four species, found at that time a ready sale in India and China.

The fisheries, in so far as they belonged to the king, must be considered as a third source of the revenues of the Pharaohs. The Nile contains abundance of fish, particularly at the time of its flood.[2] As fish formed a principal article of food, fishing was a very lucrative employment. Of what importance the fisheries were may best be learned from the words of the prophet, when he threatens Egypt with approaching misery:[3] "The waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up; the fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish." The fishery of the Nile itself did not belong to the crown; but that of the canals which connected the Nile with the lake Mœris certainly did. Herodotus informs us[4] that this fishery supplied a talent daily to the royal treasury, during the six months in which the water flowed through the canal into the lake, and during the other six months twenty *mines* a day; which income, according to Diodorus's account,[5] was appropriated to the queens as pin-money. The fish, of which there were twenty-two different kinds, were salted, which shows the importance of these fisheries; and the quantity was so great, that the persons employed to preserve them could seldom complete their labour.

In addition to all this, there was the tribute paid by the conquered nations, the Ethiopians and others, which was more or less in proportion as the Pharaohs extended their dominions.[6] Whether caravans paid a duty on entering the kingdom, and whether an impost was paid for irrigating the lands towards the maintenance of the canals, which seems very probable, must still be left to conjecture.

[1] Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. 175, etc.; *Sur la Mine des Emeraudes*, from Arabian MSS. in the Royal library. [2] Herod. ii. 93. [3] Isaiah xix. 5—9. According to Herod. ii. 77, the fish were partly dried in the sun, partly salted. He enumerates tribes who lived entirely on fish, ii. 92. [4] Herod. ii. 149. [5] Diod. i. p. 62.
[6] Schol. *ad Homer. Il.* ix. Ἐν Θήβαις δὲ ἦν πρότερον τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ἃ πολλοὺς ἔφερον φόρους Λίβυες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Αἰθίοπες. Νῦν δὲ Διόσπολις καλεῖται.

But how were these taxes paid? Was there any coined money in Egypt? That the precious metals served as representatives of value cannot be doubted; but were they only measured by weight, or were they coined? No coin of the Pharaohs has yet been discovered, nor has anything yet been found on the monuments relating to money. Nevertheless we must conclude, from the transactions between Joseph and his brethren, that accounts were kept in Egypt in money. "And he commanded the steward to put every man's money in his sack's mouth: to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver."[1] Against coining there was a particular law,[2] as well as against usury. Was it Phœnician, and afterwards Cyrenian money, that was current in Egypt?[3] We cannot answer. Possibly payments may usually have been made by weight, as scales very often occur in the reliefs.

From the accounts of Diodorus, it is clear that the Egyptians had a written body of laws in eight books:[4] specimens of these are preserved by the same historian; and from what I have already said I think it certain, that he extracted these from translations which he found ready to his hands. These laws, which the Egyptians ascribed to their earliest kings,[5] relate to crimes and matters of police (with which the legislation of all nations begins, because they are first wanted); and they betray mostly their early origin by their severe punishments. Others, nevertheless, show us a people that had already made considerable progress in civilization.[6] Security of person and property (the creditor could only attach the property, not the person); the sanctity of oaths (which was considered as the foundation of the state); and of marriages (among the priests monogamy was ordained, but not among the other classes, and the father gave his rank to his children, even if their mothers were slaves); the permission, and yet the limitation of usury (the capital could only be doubled by the interest); the punishments of treachery and cowardice in a soldier, of coining base metals, using false measures, weights,

[1] Genesis xliv. 1; xlv. 22. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 89, 93.
[3] The Cyrenians sent a present of five hundred *mines* in their money to Cambyses, who thought this sum too small. Herod. iii. 13. [4] Diodorus, i. p. 87, etc.
[5] To Mneves, Asychis, Sesostris, Bochoris. Diodorus, i. 106.
[6] Diodorus, ii. p. 88, sqq.

seals, and forging legal documents, are proofs of this assertion. The single law, which inflicted the same punishment for the murder of a freeman and a slave, gives a proof of an advance in moral civilization which is seldom met with in the nations of antiquity.[1]

This is shown still further by their legal institutions, respecting which Diodorus has preserved many valuable particulars. The kings themselves did not sit as judges, but the administration of justice was left to its proper tribunals, whose sentences were strictly limited by the laws. No counsel were permitted, but every one pleaded his own cause. The accounts of Diodorus[2] are confined to the regulations of the highest court of justice; of the lower courts, of which many must have existed, we know nothing. This tribunal consisted of thirty judges, who were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis; and were paid by the king. That they were taken from the priest caste will scarcely be doubted, if we remember that these three cities were the chief seats of the priesthood, and of their wisdom and learning. These thirty *elected* from among themselves a president, (the king therefore did not appoint him,) whose place was filled up by another from the city to which he belonged. The proceedings in this high court of justice were all transacted in writing, as their great object was to avoid everything that could excite the passions. The prosecutor first sent a copy of his accusation, and specified at the same time the damages he demanded; to which the defendant answered in a similar manner. The prosecutor was at liberty to reply to this in writing, and the defendant might again answer; and after this the court was obliged to pronounce sentence. This likewise was given in writing, and sealed by the president. He, as an emblem of his dignity, wore round his neck a golden chain,[3] to which was attached an image set in precious stones, with a hieroglyphic (ζώδιον); it was called Truth. He was obliged to hang this about him at the beginning of every session. This image, as we are expressly informed by Diodorus,[1] was the seal which was affixed to the sentence. In all this there is nothing surprising or improbable. A golden chain was given even to Joseph as a sign of honour; and it is often found sculptured on the monuments with some ornament attached to it.[2]

To the observations made in explaining the martial reliefs, there is little to be added respecting the military tactics of the Pharaohs. That the kings themselves commanded their armies, that they appeared in person as brave warriors, has already been remarked. The military art of the Egyptians was similar in many particulars to that of the Greeks, as described in Homer. Neither nation made use of cavalry;[3] their armies consisted of war-chariots and infantry. The war-chariots seem to have borne by far the largest proportion—even to judge from Homer[4]—as whole battles are described in which only chariots are engaged. The greater or smaller figure of the heroes determines their rank. The king, elevated above all, is sometimes designated by the hawk hovering over him; at others, by the serpent, the *urœus,* in his helmet, and sometimes by both. He is also known by having a standard usually carried behind him, which represents the leaf of the *Palma Thebaica.* The splendour of the horses, as well as of their trappings and well-arranged harness, is astonishing; as is also that of their beautifully-formed chariots, seemingly all of metal.[5] Not less remarkable are the close columns and skilful positions of their infantry, just as Xenophon describes them.[6] These positions

[1] What most surprises us is, that the robbers had also their chief, to whom they gave an accurate account of their depredations; and, upon applying to him, the injured person received back three-fourths of his property. Diod. i. 91. The prostitutes, in like manner, formed a corporation which had a chief; and both these regulations resulted from the strict division into castes. The thieves in Cairo, according to Reynier, etc., have still their principals, who are applied to for the recovery of stolen property. Reynier, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 99.

[2] Diodorus, i. 86, 87.

[3] As our Master of the Treasury.

[1] Ἐδεῖ τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν τὸ ζώδιον τῆς ἀληθείας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων. On the walls of one of the large halls in the palace of Osymandyas this is sculptured in relief; from which it appears to have been used as a place of meeting for these tribunals. Diodorus, i. p. 58.

[2] As in Belzoni's royal vault, plate i., and particularly in Elephantis, *Descript.* plate xxxvii. vol. i., where Ammon is represented in full dress, with a golden chain, as receiving the chief-justice. The ornament is alone represented, plate xxxvi. 6. It is the god of the sun (Phré) between two animals with women's heads.

[3] Cavalry certainly occurs among their Asiatic enemies, etc. Hamilton, p. 125. *Description,* plate iii. 39.

[4] Il. ix. 382, 383, "Thebes with its hundred gates, sending forth from each two hundred men with chariots and horses." There is great uncertainty with respect to these hundred gates. As Thebes had no walls, it could not have had gates. It may however refer to the gates of the large pylones, to the outlets of the great race-course, or even to the place of review; but the French think the latter impossible, there being but fifty instead of a hundred. The poet nevertheless cannot be censured here on account of the number, as it might be equally difficult to point out the hundred pylones. According to Diodorus, i. p. 55, in the valley of the Nile, between Memphis and Thebes, there were a hundred royal stables, each containing two hundred horses; but this is far from affording a satisfactory explanation, as they were not in the town. Whether we are to consider them as the pylones or gates of palaces, or the entrances to the race-course, must still be left undecided. If, however, we admit that before any great expeditions the army assembled within the city and in the circus, and from its gates issued forth, the poet's description appears justified.

[5] See plate xii. vol. ii.; xxxviii. xxxix. vol. iii.

[6] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. p. 166; vii. p. 177, 179; and compare Hamilton's remarks upon the regularity of the movements in the lines of the Egyptian infantry, (p. 146,) such as is only possible with well-trained troops.

presuppose long and constant training, and therefore could only be introduced in standing armies, or, according to Egyptian custom, in the warrior caste. The manner of attack, of surrounding and outflanking,[1] give evident proofs of advanced skill in tactics. The same skill is also observed in the naval engagements, which proves beyond contradiction that there existed, at least in some periods, a naval power under the Pharaohs.

We have thus endeavoured to sketch a picture of one of the most ancient and powerful states of the world. Our next task is to develop the causes of its splendour, so far as it was built on its industry and trade. This will be attempted in the next chapter; in which our view will be extended over the whole of Egypt.

CHAP. IV. *Commerce and Manufactures.*

IN THAT DAY THERE SHALL BE A HIGHWAY OUT OF EGYPT TO ASSYRIA; AND THE ASSYRIAN SHALL COME INTO EGYPT, AND THE EGYPTIANS INTO ASSYRIA. ISAIAH XIX. 23.

THE attempts made by the Egyptians to hand down to posterity a picture of their arts and manufactures, will be of manifold service in this part of our labour. The tombs at Eilethyia are on this account one of the most interesting discoveries made by the French in Egypt.[2] The painted reliefs on the walls of what is usually called the Sultan's tomb, represent the occupations of daily life, the various branches of husbandry, of fishing, hunting, navigation, and of the business of their markets. We have now made visible to our eyes what we could before but very imperfectly conceive from mere verbal descriptions. We cannot of course expect very detailed pictures; nor must we conclude that they were ignorant of such domestic occupations as we do not happen to find among them. The industry of so civilized a nation is distributed over too many different objects for them all to be represented here. But how various soever the occupations of this people might be, there is no question but that the cultivation of the earth held the highest rank, for husbandry and agriculture were considered the foundation of civilization.

Their agriculture, from the nature of the country, exhibits many peculiarities. It depended on irrigation; and it was

[1] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. *Op.* p. 174.
[2] *Description de l'Egypte*, plates lxi.—lxx. vol. i.

therefore not only limited to certain tracts, but its labours were also confined to a very short proportion of the year: they could not be performed till after the flood, because the soil previous to that is every where parched up and full of chasms from the heat of the sun.[1] When the overflowing of the stream takes place, the water soaks into the ground, softens it, and makes it fruitful. When the water has run off, sowing must immediately follow; because the soil, which is now similar to a drained marsh, soon gets hardened. The seed sown on the moist earth, (for no manure is wanted,) either sinks into it of itself, or is trodden in by cattle driven over it. Neither the plough nor the spade is made use of, except when the soil gets too hard. The plough is often represented: very simple, without wheels, and drawn by oxen, and sometimes by men;[2] and seems to have been used rather for harrowing than turning up the soil. Between sowing and reaping no labour is required. There are very few weeds in Egypt. When they sow in November, the harvest begins in April. The corn is cut with the sickle; often merely the ears, as the straw is of but little value.[3] It is carried from the field in baskets; trodden out by oxen; and the chaff separated from the grain on the floor by sifting. When this is done, the husbandman is at leisure until the next flood. This relief from labour must have produced, in a few years, an incalculable influence on the character of the inhabitants, by enabling them to devote so long a time to their improvement and religious feasts.

We are told of the various kinds of corn they cultivated even before the departure of the Israelites, when it was destroyed by a hail-storm: "And the flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled: but the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up."[4] The wheat and barley harvests are met with on the monuments;[5] that of rye is not easily to be distinguished.[6] As to the flax, we have not only its harvest, but the further process it underwent represented.[7]

The cultivation of cotton was, as we learn from Pliny,[8]

[1] See for this and the following statement, Reynier, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 192, etc.
[2] *Descript.* plates lxviii. lxix. vol. i.; xc. vol. ii.
[3] See above, p. 343, note.
[4] Exodus ix. 31, 32.
[5] *Descript.* plate xc. vol. ii. The yellow colour of the ears shows it to be intended for wheat.
[6] See vol. iii. plate xxvi.; the sheaves which are offered are either barley or rye.
[7] Plate lxviii. vol. i.
[8] Plin. xix. 2. Superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem alii gossipium vocant, plures xylina, et ideo lina inde facta xylina, nec ulla sunt candore mollitiave præferenda. Vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ.

quite naturalized in Upper Egypt; though we cannot exactly determine when it was first introduced. But, since we find that the dress of the mummies was chiefly composed of cotton, we are justified in assigning a very early date to its cultivation in Egypt. Whether any traces of it exist on the monuments, particularly in the decorations, I must leave for botanists to decide.

The situation of the valley of the Nile and Delta, which were so abundantly supplied with water, and exposed besides to the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was highly favourable to the cultivation of aquatic plants, which constituted an important part of agriculture, particularly in Lower Egypt. There is a passage respecting this in Herodotus,[1] which is the foundation of all that is now known on the subject: "Those who dwell in the marshes have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians; but to procure themselves easily the means of sustenance, they have devised the following inventions: when the river is full, and the plains are become as a sea, there springs up in the water a quantity of lilies, which the Egyptians call 'lotus.' After they have gathered these, they dry them in the sun; and then, squeezing out what is contained within the lotus, resembling the poppy, they make it into loaves, which they bake with fire: the root also of this lotus, which is round, and of the size of an apple, is edible, and imparts a sweet flavour. There are also other lilies, similar to roses, likewise produced in the river; the fruit of which grows on a separate stem,[2] arising from the side of the root, in shape very like a wasp's comb;[3] in this are found many kernels of the size of an olive-stone; these are eaten green and dried. Of the *byblus*, which is an annual plant, after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part, and employ it for various purposes; the lower part that remains, about a cubit in length, they eat, and offer it for sale; but such as wish to make a very delicate mess of the byblus, stew it in a hot pan, and so eat it."

Herodotus distinguished here two kinds of lilies (κρίνεα) as he calls them, or lotuses. There is no doubt about them; and both are found on the monuments. The one first mentioned is the *Nymphea Lotus;* the other the *Nymphea Nelumbo*,

[1] Herod. ii. 92. [2] Ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται. Larcher in his notes proves that this is a second stem, which springs from the root together with another. [3] Κηρίῳ σφηκῶν. The wasps are probably the wild bees. Their combs have holes for the honey, as these lotuses have for the seeds or kernels.

Linn., or *Nelumbium Speciosum*. They are both water-plants: the former is found in abundance in the neighbourhood of Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the water, and is still used, as we are assured by Savary, as an article of food by the inhabitants.[1] The other plant, equally celebrated in India, is, or at least was, found in Egypt. Its fruit, of which not only a drawing, but the original itself,[2] now lies before me, cannot be more clearly and truly described than it has been done by Herodotus. The kernels, similar to those of the olive, lie in the calyx, each in a cavity or cell. Both plants had religious allusions, among others, to the empire of the dead, and therefore we find them portrayed in the catacombs. A most beautiful representation of them is found in the royal vault opened by Belzoni, both in their natural colours, with their stalks and fruits.[3] On the left of the spectator is the *Nymphea Lotus*, and on his right the *Nelumbium*. They often occur in this tomb, and are *always* represented with two stalks of each broken and hanging down: certainly not without some meaning. Their leaves and calyxes are to be seen in every part as ornaments. According to Herodotus, both seem to grow wild. But the *Nelumbium* must also have been cultivated; for in one of the royal sepulchres the harvest of a nelumbo-field, as we are assured by well-informed botanists, is represented.[4] The assertion of Herodotus, that the fruit grows upon a separate stem or stalk, is also confirmed; as two stalks always grow together, one of which bears the fruit. The third plant mentioned by Herodotus is the *byblus*, from which the papyrus was made, and which also served as food. As Herodotus is speaking here of plants of the latter kind, he only alludes to the other uses to which they might be put in a general manner. The byblus is certainly a water-plant, though, according to Theophrastus, it does not grow in deep water.[5] He also mentions its being used for food, as the stalk was chewed for its juice. From Herodotus however we learn that it was also prepared for food in another manner. Botanists must decide whether it occurs on the monuments. That it was manufactured very early in Egypt into papyrus, cannot be doubted, since many papyrus rolls have been found in the catacombs of Thebes; but to fix exactly the time of its invention is now impossible. These rolls prove beyond a doubt,

[1] Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, p. 8, note 9.
[2] From the Collection of Blumenbach.
[3] Belzoni, plate ii.
[4] *Description*, plate xc. vol. ii.
[5] Theophrast. *De Plantis*, iv. 9.

that the literature of Egypt was much richer than could otherwise have been supposed. Besides the religious writings, the custom (so often represented) of drawing up public documents of all public transactions, must have given rise to the formation of archives; and it follows, as a matter of course, that in the imperial palaces, such as that of Osymandyas, there must have been a library, or saloon, set apart for the preservation of the public writings, both religious and political. It is well known that the byblus plant grows also in Europe, though only in one spot, namely, in the rivulet Cyane, near Syracuse, and certainly there in great abundance. It was this circumstance that induced the late Chevalier Landolina to use the pith or pulp of this shrub for the preparation of papyrus,[1] in which undertaking he perfectly succeeded.[2] All the statements of Herodotus have been confirmed by the experiments and researches of this gentleman.

The climate of ancient Egypt did not suit for the growth of the olive; but they cultivated a kind of *sesamum*, which Herodotus calls *syllicyprium*,[3] and the Egyptian kiki, from which they extracted oil. The wine-press, according to Herodotus, was unknown in Egypt,[4] though the use of wine was permitted to the priests, and at certain festivals to the people,[5] who at other times drank a kind of beer made of barley.[6] The grape vine, however, was not totally unknown in Egypt; branches of it, with ripe grapes growing thereon, are found among the architectural ornaments.[7] Both the vintage and the process of pressing the grapes are represented in the paintings of Eilethyia.[8] But the vine at all events could only have been cultivated in a few high-lying districts. Belzoni found it in abundance in Fayoume, about the lake Mœris.[9]

Egypt was destitute both of woods and forests. Except the date-palm and the sycamore, of which the cases of the mummies are made, it had no lofty trees; unless we may include the sacred tree, the persea, which I think sometimes occurs on the monuments.[10]

The breeding and tending of cattle constitute a second principal branch of Egyptian husbandry; but it depended partly on religion, and partly on the situation of the lands.

[1] The most accurate accounts of this are found in Bartel's *Letters upon Calabria and Sicily*, vol. iii. p. 50, etc., where also the statements of Theophrastus as to the sweetness and flavour of the sap are confirmed.

[2] Upon this I can give a decided judgment, as I possess specimens both of the ancient and modern papyrus. That prepared by Landolina is rather clearer than the Egyptian.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 94. [4] Ibid. ii. 77. [5] Ibid. ii. 60. [6] Ibid. ii. 77.

[7] *Descript.* plate ii. 9. [8] Ibid. plate lxxviii. vol. i.

[9] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 381. [10] Minutoli's *Travels*, tab. xxx.

The influence of religion on the breeding of cattle, seems to have been less than might be expected, where animal idolatry formed so essential a part of the religion of the people. But of the larger domestic animals, the cow is the only one that was considered sacred:[1] the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single beast. The bull, when clean, was a common sacrifice, and is often represented as such on the reliefs.[2] Of the domestic animals, the sheep was sacred in some nomes, and the goat in others.[3] Swine were altogether unclean; though at one festival they were offered to Osiris.[4]

That black cattle formed a principal branch of this occupation, requires no proof, as a whole caste was named from it. They were kept in herds, and appear in this manner on the monuments.[5] The ox was used both for food and agricultural labour; the ploughs are usually represented as drawn by oxen.[6] The buffalo does not occur on the monuments.

That the breeding of horses was not less common in Egypt, is evinced by the monuments. I find no proof that the horse was made use of in husbandry; but it certainly was for carriages, both in peace and war, as it often appears on the monuments; never for riding. To judge from these representations, a most noble breed of horses must have been found in Egypt, as there is even now in the valley of the Nile above Egypt, in Dongola. The breeding of horses was so considerable, that a trade with foreign countries was carried on with them. Solomon obtained the horses for his numerous cavalry from Egypt.[7] How much fancy and splendour prevailed in the harness and trappings, is manifest from the reliefs.[8]

The breeding of asses and mules was always common in Egypt;[9] and from the fragments of the work of Mago, it is clear that the Carthaginians also bred them, consequently they were found over all North Africa.[10]

It has been asserted, that the camel does not occur on the monuments; and thence it has been concluded, that it was not a native either of Egypt or Africa till after the conquest of the

[1] They were sacred to Isis, and never sacrificed.

[2] What was requisite to make them so, is shown by Herod. ii. 38.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 42. [4] Ibid. ii. 47, 48. [5] *Descript.* plate lxviii. vol. i.

[6] *Descript.* plate lxix. vol. i. [7] 2 Chron. ix. 28.

[8] Compare especially *Descript.* plate xii. vol. ii.

[9] Genesis iv. 23; xlvii. 17. Mules occur also on the monuments, etc., Denon, *Voyage*, plate cxxiv. [10] Vol. i. p. 505, 508.

Arabs.[1] But admitting the first assertion to be true, is the latter a necessary consequence? The ass does not appear on the monuments; but are these a manual of zoology? Even the first objection however is contradicted. On the obelisks of Luxor the long necks of camels are often perceived;[2] and that they are heads and necks of camels beyond all question is confirmed by the latest modern traveller.[3] I have remarked in another place, that camel-breeding to a great extent is not to be expected among agricultural, but nomad people; for the camel prospers best by being constantly in the open air. The valley of the Nile, continually exposed to floods, was but little adapted to the rearing of camels; and therefore we need not be surprised at not discovering the camel on the reliefs that represent the husbandry of that valley. Notwithstanding this, it was still known and employed in Egypt. Scarcely any one can be ignorant of the fact, that the tribes of the adjacent Arabia, that the Midianites in particular, made the breeding of camels their chief occupation; that even in the time of Joseph their merchants travelled with their camels into Egypt. Again, in Africa itself the camel was native from the earliest times. Camel-breeding is at this time the chief employment of the Ababdés in the eastern mountain-chain: thence they are brought to the Egyptian markets;[4] and the case was the same in antiquity. The Arabian tribes above Egypt bred them in great numbers; for they sent their cavalry of camels to the army of Xerxes.[5] How then could this useful and necessary animal remain a stranger to the valley of Egypt, when it was bred by the nations that surrounded it?

The nature of the country would not allow the breeding of sheep to be carried on to any great degree in the valley of the Nile. Some were nevertheless bred here: Jacob, at a very early period, drove his flocks into Egypt.[6] On the monuments both single sheep and flocks appear;[7] and it would be superfluous to point out the importance of the ram in the Egyptian worship. But if Egypt herself did not produce all the wool required for her manufactures, she had nations of

[1] So H. Walkenaer, *Recherches Géographiques sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique; Journal des Savants, Février*, 1822, p. 106. Camels nevertheless occur in Egypt, according to Genesis xii. 16.
[2] *Descript.* plate xxxiii. vol. iii. Minutoli, tab. xvi. fig. 1.
[3] Minutoli, *Journey*, p. 293. [4] Particularly to Esneh. Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 276.
[5] Herod. ii. 62, 86, 87. It is evident that this refers to the Arabs above Egypt; for they served under the same commander with the Ethiopians, and Herodotus assures us that the inhabitants of Arabia were not subject to Xerxes.
[6] Genesis xlvii. 1, 17. [7] *Descript.* plate lxviii. vol. i.

shepherds for her neighbours, particularly in Syria and Arabia, who produced it of the very finest quality.

Frequent representations on the monuments show that all kinds of poultry were kept in abundance. The catching of water-birds with nets is also often portrayed.[1]

The monuments of ancient Egypt are, if anything, richer in information respecting the manufactures than respecting the productions of the husbandman. Previously to our obtaining copies of these pictures, nobody could have supposed that the nation had carried them to so high a degree of perfection. The mechanic, by an accurate inspection, may find here an extensive field for new discoveries. We, however, must content ourselves with enumerating and describing the principal branches of their industry. Egypt herself produced the rough materials for many of them; but not for all, nor in such abundance as was required. A considerable portion must have been imported.

Of the different branches, weaving claims our first attention, as it undoubtedly employed a great part of the population. When the prophet wishes to paint the misery that was to befall Egypt and the labouring classes of the people, he mentions the weavers next to the fishermen: "Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave networks, shall be confounded. And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish."[2] According to Herodotus, weaving was the business of men,[3] and therefore not merely a domestic affair, but carried on in large manufactories.[4] It is often represented: the most beautiful specimen of it is given by Minutoli from the tomb of Beni Hassan.[5] "The weaver's loom is fastened to four pegs rammed into the ground; and the workman sits on that part of the web already finished, which is a small chequered pattern of yellow and green. It is observable in many colours of the early Egyptian cloths, that the *byssus* was dyed in the wool before being weaved." These manufactures had attained a wonderful perfection in Egypt even in the time of Moses, of which, among many others, the covers and

[1] *Descript.* plate lxxiv. vol. i. [2] Isaiah xix. 9, 10. According to Gesenius's translation. [3] Herod. ii. 35.
[4] The inscription at Rosetta, *line* 17, 18, where it is said "that the king had remitted two-thirds of the cotton stuffs (*βυσσίνων ὀθονίων*) which were paid by the temples to the treasury," makes it probable that these manufactures belonged to the temples or the priesthood. Ameilhon, *Inscription de Rosette*, sect. 12, 20, conjectures, with some probability, that the temples had a monopoly of the stuffs which were used for the mummies.
[5] Minutoli, plate xxiv. vol. ii. He also represents the twisting of nets. Compare Isaiah xix. 8.

carpets of the tabernacle afford a striking example. They were sometimes made a hundred yards long; and many of them were embroidered with coloured thread or gold wire, by way of ornament.[1] In the time of Joseph costly garments were the most honourable presents that could be made.[2] We need not in this case, however, appeal to dead authorities alone; the monuments speak. Both in the engravings of the work upon Egypt, of the royal tombs of Belzoni, and in those of Minutoli, we see these garments in their splendid colours, as fresh as ever. They are so different and various, that a difference in the stuffs cannot be questioned. Many of them are so fine, that the limbs shine through;[3] others, on the contrary, are coarser. The finer seem rather to be made of cotton than of linen; though a positive decision is impossible from a mere engraving. For the same reason I dare not venture to assert that silk is found amongst them. Both the king and the soldiers are usually dressed in short tunics; but the latter form an exception in the processions; husbandmen and labourers wear merely a white apron; the priests, long garments, often thrown round their shoulders in a fantastical manner. Many of these are white; and many white and red striped; others are starred or flowered; and many exhibit the most splendid colours of the East. The fine garments involuntarily remind us of the Indian muslins; in the dazzling glitter of others silk stuffs seem to be represented. As descriptions, however, can convey but a very imperfect idea of them, I must refer the readers to the last ten plates of the second part of the great work upon Egypt, and to the first five of the Atlas of Belzoni; where the garments of the king and others afford the best specimens.

It is clear from what has been said, that the art of dyeing had made as great progress as that of weaving. The various colours, white, yellow, red, blue, green, and black, are met with in beautiful perfection, but without mixture. Upon the materials used for dyeing, and whether found in Egypt itself, or imported from Babylon and India, I dare not decide. That the Tyrians took part in it is very probable, as it will be presently shown that they had an active establishment at Memphis. From what we have said, then, it is certain that two or three thousand years ago the art of weaving and dyeing was

[1] See Goguet, ii. 86, sqq.; and Gatterer's *Weltgeschichte in ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 65, sqq. [2] Genesis xlv. 22. [3] See in particular the robe of the kings, *Descript.* plate xxxi. vol. ii., and the copper-plates of Belzoni.

brought to an equally high, or even higher, degree of perfection in the East than at present. And from this it naturally follows, that the intercourse and commerce of these nations must have been as great, or greater, than it is now. For is it to be supposed that the arts could have proceeded so far among an isolated people? Did their country alone produce the raw materials and dyes which were necessary to carry them on?

The works in metal rank next to weaving. They carry us back to an age when the use of iron was yet unknown; for so far as we can judge from the colour, which is always green, all implements not of gold or silver were formed of bronze. It has already been remarked, that the war-chariots seem to be entirely made of bronze. Their green colour, their form, the lightness and neatness of the wheels, and their very beautiful ornaments, all prove this very satisfactorily. A great portion of their weapons were likewise of bronze; not only the swords, but also the bows and quivers. Both these and the cutlery represented among the hieroglyphics are always green. Whence did Egypt procure this great quantity of bronze? There were no mines in Egypt from which metal could be obtained. Was it supplied from the Nubian gold mines? Diodorus at least tells us that all the instruments used in them were made of metal.

These, as well as all other instruments and furniture, whether of wood or metal, were formed with so much elegance, and in such great variety, that the Egyptians in this respect rivalled every other nation of antiquity, the Greeks not excepted. Their beds and couches may even now be taken as models.[1] The silver tripods and basins, the neat baskets and spindles of the ladies, as now seen on the monuments, were celebrated in the time of Homer, and are praised by him.[2] Their musical instruments, particularly their harps, surpass our modern ones in the elegance of their shape.[3] The richness and variety which prevail in all these matters, cannot fail to give a high notion of the refinement of their daily and domestic life.

Finally, their earthenware composed an important branch of their manufactures.[4] Egypt produces an excellent clay, which possesses the peculiar quality of giving an agreeable coolness to the water kept in vessels made of it. This earthenware was not only in common use, but was also used in the

[1] *Descript.* plate lxxxix. vol. ii. [2] *Odyss.* iv. 128. [3] Plate xci. vol. ii.
[4] Reynier, *Economie des Egypt.* p. 274. Coptos is said to have been formerly the principal place for its fabrication, as Kuft in its vicinity is at present.

tombs, for the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals; such as the *ibis* and others. The variety and beauty of the shapes into which it was moulded, may be compared with the Grecian: they are also found painted of the most beautiful colours.[1]

The foregoing inquiry respecting the agriculture and manufactures of the ancient Egyptians will serve as the groundwork for an inquiry into their commerce.

Nature seems, by the advantages she has conferred upon Egypt, in its productiveness and geographical situation, to have destined it for one of the most important trading countries of the world. Neither the despotism under which it groaned for centuries, and still groans, nor the continual sanguinary broils and wars of which it was the scene, have ever been able to deprive it altogether of the benefit of these advantages: the decrees of nature may be partially impeded, as regards their execution, but cannot be totally frustrated.

An extensive and lively commerce would most easily, and therefore the soonest, be formed on the banks of large rivers running through countries rich in natural productions. Such streams facilitate the intercourse of the inhabitants; and a lively trade at home, which promotes national industry, is always the surest foundation of national wealth, and consequently of foreign trade. The course of the latter depends, in a great measure, upon exterior circumstances and relations, which cannot always be controlled; but internal commerce, being the sole work of the nation, only declines with the nation itself. The Egyptians dwelt on a river such as here described; the Nile afforded them all these advantages, and history proves that they profited by them. From Elephantis it is navigable without interruption, even during the dry season, through the whole of Egypt; and the navigation against the stream is rendered easy by the north winds which prevail during certain periods of the year.

The ships or boats which they used (they were called *baris*) were built entirely of native materials. They cut boards two yards long from the root of the papyrus, a low tree. The mast was of the same wood, and the ropes of byblus. Herodotus describes the structure of these vessels, and assures us that there were some of them of many thousand pounds burthen.[2]

[1] See *Descript.* plate lxxxvii. vol. ii. and many other plates.

[2] We know them now from the pictures preserved in the tombs of Eilethyia. *Descript. d'Egypt.* plates lxviii.—lxxi. It is here seen that they were impelled both by sails and oars

The Egyptians very early profited by the advantages which their country offered them. Even in the Mosaic age the ships of the Nile were known and common.[1] But when afterwards the country became every where, particularly on the western side, intersected with canals, navigation remained almost the only convenient way for mutual communication, and was indeed the only one during the floods. The establishment of canals, ascribed to Sesostris, was not, according to the express testimony of Diodorus,[2] designed merely for the extension of the inundation, but for the promotion of the national trade and intercourse. Sailors formed, as has been remarked above, one of the most numerous castes.

The inundation happens during the hot months, when the coolness of the water makes a residence on the river agreeable.[3] According to Herodotus,[4] the Egyptians celebrated every year six general national festivals, all in the cities of Lower Egypt; and it seems that at least one of them, that of Diana or Artemis in Bubastus, fell in this season. The people on this occasion sailed from city to city; and the inhabitants of each successively joining the throng, their number at least increased to 700,000. It could not well be otherwise than that these festivals, during which the people indulged in all kinds of luxury, (for in this single festival of Artemis, according to Herodotus, more wine was consumed than in all the year besides,) should become so many fairs and markets; and these must have very much promoted the internal commerce of Egypt,[5] as has been found to be the case among other nations.

This internal commerce, to which the government paid particular attention,[6] partly by prescribing the forms for the security of loans, partly by regulating the rate of interest, and partly by permitting the creditor to indemnify himself by the property, and not the person, of the debtor; this intercourse, I say, became the parent of foreign trade, by increasing the wealth of the nation. An opinion, however, has been frequently entertained, that the Egyptians were an isolated nation; that carefully shunning all communication with foreigners, and confining themselves within their own country, they were indebted to themselves alone for their civilization.

[1] Exod. ii. 3. According to Michaelis's translation.

[2] Diodorus, i. 66.

[3] Maillet, l. c.

[4] Herod. ii. 60.

[5] A picture, or at least a sketch of marketing affairs, may be seen at Eilethyia in the purchase of a beast, which is being weighed. *Descript.* ii. p. 64. The same manner of weighing is still in use in Egypt.

[6] Diodorus, i. 90.

Though there is some truth in this notion, I yet venture to hope it has been modified and corrected in various instances by the present inquiries.

This notion seems to have arisen from the contempt which the Egyptians (in common with other nations who observed a certain diet and mode of life prescribed by religion[1]) had for foreigners; and in addition to this, because they not only had no navigation on the sea themselves, but sought, previously to the time of Psammetichus, to prevent all foreigners from coming by sea to their country.[2] The causes of these peculiarities, however, seem very evident, and they may be easily accounted for, without having recourse to religious prejudices.

Neither Egypt nor any contiguous part of Africa produces wood fit for building vessels for the sea. We are ignorant where the early Pharaohs built the squadrons which they had on the Arabian Gulf and Indian Sea; probably on the coasts of the latter. The later Pharaohs, who succeeded Psammetichus, and the Ptolemies, could not fit out fleets till they had the command of the Phœnician forests; and it is well known what bloody wars were carried on between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ for the possession of those countries. But we easily perceive, that the Tyrians and Sidonians felt little inclination to make the Egyptians a maritime people, however the latter might have wished it.

One cause why the ancient Egyptians prohibited all access to their country by sea, may be found in the early state of maritime commerce. All the nations who traded on the Mediterranean, were at the same time pirates, whose particular business it was to kidnap men from the coasts. It was therefore natural, that a people who had no vessels with which they could retaliate or oppose them, should allow them on no pretence to land on their coasts.

There are, however, some traces of facts which would lead us to suppose there were occasional deviations from this rule. According to Homer, Menelaus sailed into Egypt; and Diodorus[3] mentions a sea-port, Thonis, to which he assigns a high antiquity. Even the colonies that went from Egypt into Greece, such as that of Danaus and Cecrops, for example, presuppose an acquaintance with navigation; although we

[1] Herod. ii. 77. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 80.
[3] Diodorus, i. p. 23. It is doubtful, however, whether this tradition did not arise from confounding the name in Herodotus. See Herod. ii. 113.

should admit, what indeed seems probable, that they were carried over by Phœnicians.

However this may be, we know, that among the ancients the proportion of trade which a nation possessed could not be estimated from the extent of its navigation and tonnage, as land trade was the most important; and the geographical situation of Egypt afforded it great advantages as soon as a connexion between Africa and Asia, or even between Ethiopia and Northern Africa, became established. Egypt was destined by nature to be the central point of the caravan trade; and such she has continued till the present day, notwithstanding navigation has so much diminished the great extent of over-land trade.

These advantages were certainly peculiar to Egypt, but more particularly to Upper Egypt, or the Thebaid. This country was so situated as to form, at a very early period, one of the most considerable marts for general trade.[1] Placed at the northern extremity of the desert, it became the emporium for the produce of the interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert; and, in addition to this, some of the most ancient and productive gold mines in the world existed close in its neighbourhood.[2]

Thus Egypt enjoyed at the same time the advantage of possessing the commodities most in request, and the greatest facilities for disposing of them. We cannot therefore be surprised that these regions, in which agriculture and commerce flourished for so many centuries, should become the most opulent and powerful in the world—that here should be erected those proud temples under the protection of which this trade was carried on;[3]—and that here should have been built the

[1] The situation of Upper Egypt, in the midst of rich commercial countries, leads us, as Denon truly and elegantly remarks, to imagine them all, as it were, close together. "When we reckon the number of days required for each journey, when we see the means before us of accomplishing those journeys, the distance no longer appears so great, the length of the way seems to vanish. Gidda and Mecca on the Red Sea," continues he, "were neighbouring towns to that in which he resided. India seemed to unite with them. On the other side, the Oases were but three days' journey from us; they were no longer as unknown lands. From oasis to oasis, which are two days' journey distant from each other, we approach Sennaar, the capital of Nubia; and Darfour, which lies on the road, and trades with Tombuctoo. After a forty days' journey to Darfour, it requires but another one hundred to Tombuctoo." Denon, ii. p. 195. These remarks, by a man well acquainted with the East, throw a much clearer light upon the facility of intercourse among the Oriental nations than the most learned commentary could have done. [2] See above, p. 440.
[3] The great importance of this trade of the southern world to those countries by which it was carried on, when favoured by exterior circumstances, as well as its great extent, is shown by an Arabian writer, of the middle ages: "For two centuries, from 1074 to 1280," says Makrizi, (Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii. p. 162,) "the road from Egypt and Asia to Mecca passed through the desert of Æidab. From another quarter came the merchants of India, Yemen, and Abyssinia, by sea to the port of Æidab, (on the Arabian

royal Thebes, the great storehouse and market of the world, and which Homer celebrates as the most flourishing city of his day.[1]

The preceding inquiries make us acquainted with those countries with which Egypt was thus connected; and the roads by which that connexion was kept up with the negro countries and Carthage, as well as with Ethiopia. By this connexion Egypt obtained an immense quantity of the most valuable foreign commodities:[2] from Ethiopia she procured gold, ivory, and slaves;[3] from Arabia incense, and from India spices; Greece and Phœnicia supplied her with wine;[4] and fine salt she procured in abundance from the African deserts.[5] In exchange for these Egypt could give the first and most indispensable necessary of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she attained very early to a high degree of perfection.

These useful productions of Egyptian industry must have had a very extensive sale, as they are frequently mentioned both by Jewish and Greek writers. In the time of Herodotus, Egyptian linen was greatly esteemed by the Greeks;[6] and, according to Scylax, it was one of the articles of the Carthaginian trade on the remotest coasts of Western Africa.[7]

Gulf, 22½° N. Lat.,) and thence traversed the desert to Egypt. The desert was, at this time, always covered with caravans of pilgrims and merchants, journeying to and fro: whole loads of pepper and other spices were often left by the way-side until the return of their owners; and although so many were continually passing, none thought of removing or injuring them. The harbour of Æidab was at that time the most frequented in the world, as well by the vessels of India and Yemen as by the barks which ferried over the pilgrims. Its inhabitants derived immense sums from these sources; they imposed a duty upon every load of meal, and let vessels to the pilgrims which carried them to Gidda and back again; but, after the time above mentioned, its commerce declined, and was finally shifted to Aden and Ormus. Æidab became again a desert, but Ormus, although situated on *a waterless island*, became one of the richest, most splendid, and luxurious towns in the world.

[1] Iliad, ix. 381. [2] See above, page 236.

[3] Herod. iii. 114. A proof of the connexion between Upper Egypt and Nubia is preserved in a remnant of the ancient road, leading from one country to the other. Denon relates: "We advanced to Philæ on a road through the desert. This road is worthy remark, as we saw that it was formerly constructed as a highway elevated, and much used. This district was the only one in Egypt where a great high road was necessary; for as the Nile is not navigable on account of its waterfalls, all merchandise from Ethiopia, going to Philæ, must have been brought by land to Syene, where it was again embarked. The blocks of stone on this road are covered with hieroglyphics; and seem to have been placed there for the gratification of travellers (plate lxvii. 1; lxviii. 1, 2). Another remarkable appearance on this route is the remnant of fortifications, which are built of brick stones, dried by the sun. The base is from fifteen to twenty feet broad; the wall was carried along the valley which borders the road, and ends in rocks and fortresses about three leagues from Syene. The great cost of such a building is a proof of the importance attached to the defence of this spot." Denon, ii. 79. Lancret, *Mémoire I.* in *Description d'Egypte*, gives a still more accurate description of this road. It seems originally to have been founded for the pilgrims to Philæ; but where in the East do these pilgrimages exist without trade?

[4] Herod. iii. 6. [5] Arrian, *De Expedit. Al.* iii. 4. [6] Herod. ii. 105. The λίνον here mentioned must be linen, and not cotton stuff, as it is opposed to the λίνον of the Colchians, where no cotton could be expected. [7] Scylax, p. 129.

It is probable that the Tyrian dyes first gave the full value to these articles: proofs at least are found, that carpets and garments were the principal goods imported by the Tyrians from Egypt.[1]

We have already observed that the Tyrians had a settlement at Memphis; Herodotus places it near the sanctuary (τέμενος) of Proteus, within which stood a temple dedicated to the hospitable Aphrodite.[2] It was called the camp of the Tyrians, and was an establishment for trade under the protection of a sanctuary, similar to one which will presently come under our notice, formed by the Greeks at Naucratis.

The corn trade was of no less importance to Egypt than her manufactures. This country, even in its infancy, appears to have been the granary of all the adjacent countries, which, by the nature of their soil, were ill adapted for agriculture. An unproductive harvest in Egypt caused, in Jacob's time, a scarcity of corn in Syria; and as soon as it was known that the Egyptians had stored up corn from former harvests, caravans were sent thither to supply the deficiency.[3] Arabia, also, had its corn from Egypt; and it was on this account that the Egyptians endeavoured to connect the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, by means of a canal. This trade must have become still more regular and extensive, when Egypt had secured its fruitfulness by digging the lake Mœris; a failure, at least in Lower Egypt, being rendered thereby physically impossible. It ought not to be thought surprising, that less notice is taken of this in the more early periods than in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans: the exportation was at that time by land; and it is in the nature of land trade to be less conspicuous than that by sea, and indeed the less so the more regular it is in its course. May not our knowledge of the African caravan trade be considered, to a certain extent, as a discovery of modern times? and yet it stands incontrovertible, that it has continued, with but few alterations, for many centuries. How important and necessary this trade must have been for Egypt, may be proved from an example quoted by Aristotle, in which an attempt to interdict the exportation of corn rendered the payment of the public taxes impossible.[4] There is scarcely another

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 7. See the translation of Michaelis.

[2] Herod. ii. 112. ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης. See also at Cythera, i. 105. Was it Astarte or another Phœnician goddess?

[3] Genesis xlii. 5. See the translation and remarks of Michaelis.

[4] Aristot. *De Re Famil.*, *Op.* ii. 395.

country in the world where the fertility of the soil, the little labour required, the certainty of produce, and the profit derived from exportation, concur in so great a degree to stimulate the inhabitants to agriculture; and where its promotion and protection were so evidently the best policy of the ruling class.

Notwithstanding this extensive trade, both in foreign and native commodities, it does not appear that the Egyptians ever themselves exported their wares. Local circumstances were the cause of this. The geographical situation of Egypt rendered it the great thoroughfare of commerce, as the great trading routes from South Africa and Asia ran through it; and its own native productions, moreover, were of such a kind, that they were not compelled to carry them to a foreign market, but might quietly wait till necessity drove purchasers to fetch them. I must here likewise call the reader's attention to a remark I have elsewhere made,[1] that the African caravans were chiefly composed of nomadic shepherds, who were employed as carriers, and not of the inhabitants of cities, or of people who had fixed habitations. It is known that Egypt still remains the principal seat of the caravan trade; yet but very few of its inhabitants form part of those travelling communities, which are chiefly composed of the nomad tribes of interior Africa.

This was the state of Egyptian trade, so far as we can discover, and the state in which it continued during the flourishing period, without any great changes, down to the time of Psammetichus. He, however, began them even during the dodecarchy, and while he resided at Sais, by throwing open Lower Egypt to the Phœnician and Greek merchants: the products of the latter countries were advantageously exchanged for the manufactures of Phœnicia and Greece, whereby he could not fail to obtain both treasures and friends in foreign countries.[2] The conquests of the Egyptians, however, and particularly their almost uninterrupted wars with the commercial cities of Phœnicia, must have been rather disadvantageous than otherwise: history, however, is entirely silent on the subject.

The whole internal commerce of Egypt, however, underwent an entire change in the reign of Amasis. This prince, who was a great admirer of the Greeks, and much given to luxury and rioting,[3] opened at last to foreign merchants the

[1] See above, p. 88. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 77. [3] Herod. ii. 173, 178.

mouths of the Nile, which had so long been barred against them: a concession which led to important changes in the moral and political character of the nation.

Naucratis, a city of Lower Egypt, situated on the Canopian arm of the Nile, near whose mouth Alexandria was afterwards erected, was assigned to such Greek merchants as wished to settle in Egypt.[1] The commercial states of Greece were, at the same time, permitted to found temples in certain places for the accommodation of their travelling merchants, and which might also serve as staples and marts for the merchandise which they should send into Egypt.

The endeavours of the Greeks, particularly those of Asia Minor, to profit by this privilege, and their competition, give the surest proof of its importance. The principal and largest of these sanctuaries, which was called Hellenium, was founded in common by nine Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor; namely, by the Ionian colonies of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; by the Doric colonies of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and by the Æolian colony of Mitylene.[2] Many other towns afterwards claimed the credit of having taken a share in it, but Herodotus expressly assures us, that these claims were without foundation. The Æginetæ erected besides a particular temple for themselves and their trade, which they dedicated to Jupiter; the Samians another, consecrated to Juno;[3] and the Milesians another, consecrated to Apollo.

Amasis at first only granted this permission to the Greeks, under such restrictions as prudence seemed to require. Their vessels were only allowed to enter the Canopian arm, and they were obliged to land at Naucratis. If a ship happened to enter another mouth, it was detained; and the captain was not set at liberty, unless he could swear that he had been compelled to do so by necessity. He was then obliged to sail to Naucratis; or, if continual north winds made this impossible, he had to send his freight in small Egyptian vessels round the Delta (more inland) to Naucratis.[4] However rigidly these restrictions were originally enforced, they must soon have fallen into disuse, as the mouths of the Nile were open to any one after the conquest of the Persians.

[1] Herod. ii. p. 179. [2] Ibid. ii. p. 178.
[3] Samos was at that time under the dominion of Polycrates, the friend and ally of Amasis, and one of the richest states. Herod. iii. 39. We have also here an example of another sort, of how usual the custom was in antiquity to make sanctuaries the privileged repositories of commerce. [4] Herod. ii. 179.

The Egyptians soon felt the good effects of this liberality. Every part of Egypt enjoyed more prosperity than it ever had done before; and the reign of Amasis was regarded as one of the happiest which had blessed the land. The dead capital, which must have accumulated by a long trade with the gold countries, was now put in motion; the new wares imported by the Greeks gave rise to new wants; and as a new market was now opened, new branches of industry naturally sprung up. This change in their trade, however, had the most striking effect in the extension and improvement of agriculture. "The Egyptians," we are told by Herodotus,[1] "had never before turned to so good account the produce of their fields:" a natural consequence of the quick and certain sale which they now found for their corn in the different countries of Europe and Asia. Amasis himself promoted this activity by wise regulations; by one of which he obliged every citizen under a heavy penalty to give yearly an account to the chief of his district, of the means by which he obtained his livelihood.[2]

Egypt certainly, in some measure, purchased this prosperity by the sacrifice of her national character. The Greek merchants and their agents, who now formed a separate and respectable caste, under the name of interpreters, whose origin I have already explained,[3] now spread over every part of Egypt; and introduced, with their Greek wares, Greek manners and ideas. A change of this sort, however, in the common course of affairs, must soon have taken place even without the intervention of Amasis: the Egyptians could scarcely have preserved their former government and manners after they had begun, by conquests and treaties, to come into political contact with foreign nations. But though the comparison of the Egyptian and Greek deities might cause some change in religious notions, the deeply rooted institutions of castes was a strong barrier against the introduction of novelties.

The Persian invasion must necessarily at first have had an unfavourable influence on Egyptian commerce, particularly that carried on over land. Cambyses directed his arms exactly against those places which we know to have been the principal seats of the caravan trade, against Ammonium and Ethiopia; and though his bad success made this interruption

[1] Herod. ii. 177.
[2] Ibid. l. c. It was the revival of a more ancient law: see above, p. 439.
[3] See above, p. 334.

only temporary, yet the re-establishment of the ancient course became difficult in proportion as it had been regular before.

As soon, however, as the first storms had subsided, Egypt seems to have revived very rapidly; particularly under the mild government of Darius. The yearly tribute which he imposed on this country, and towards the payment of which the neighbouring Libya, Barca, and Cyrene contributed, amounted to no more than seven hundred talents.[1] To this must be added the corn required for the maintenance of the Persian garrison at Memphis,[2] and the fishing of the lake Mœris, which produced, during the six months that the waters of the Nile receded, a talent a day, and during the other six about one third of that sum.[3] The Egyptians always bore a grateful remembrance of this prince, notwithstanding their frequent revolts against the Persians.[4]

When Herodotus visited Egypt, about thirty years after the death of Darius, the trade with the interior of Africa and with Ethiopia had again revived. Any one at this time could acquaint him with the commercial roads which led through Libya and to Meroë. He moreover enumerates the chief articles of trade which were imported at this period from the southern countries, as well as the productions of Ethiopia.[5] Egypt found a full equivalent for any loss she might have sustained in this land trade: it was fully made up to her by her maritime trade with the Greeks; which was less exposed to interruption, and must have increased in activity in proportion as the hatred felt by both nations against the Persians brought them more frequently into contact, and strengthened their connexion.

The Persian dominion, taken altogether, was not hurtful to commerce, though it occasioned some few deviations from its usual course in Asia.[6] The Phœnician towns lost nothing of their splendour under its sway; it made the people of Asia better acquainted with one another; and the lively intercourse to which it gave rise must, in consequence of the constant

[1] About 24,000*l.* of our money.
[2] Herod. iii. 91. 120,000 men were quartered in Memphis: Herod. l. c. Garrisons were besides placed in the fortified places on the frontiers, at Syene, Marea, and Daphne, (Herod. ii. 30,) whose strength we do not know; and, besides, Herodotus does not say whether they were maintained by the Egyptian or not. [3] Herodotus, ii. 149.
[4] But after the first revolt of the Egyptians under Xerxes, they were treated much more harshly than the Persians, Herod. vii. 7, which occasioned the rebellion of Inarus. It is much to be regretted that Herodotus has left us so little upon the latter regulations of the Persian government in Egypt. [5] Herodotus, iii. 114.
[6] See upon this subject my second disquisition upon ancient India, *De Viis Mercaturæ Indicæ*, Comment. Soc. Gott. vol. xi.

connexion between Egypt and Asia, have benefited the trade of that country. But the downfal of the Persian empire affected Egypt far beyond this: it gave rise to an entirely new order of things, the exposition of which must be reserved for the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. V. *Decline and Fall of the Empire of the Pharaohs.*

EGYPT IS LIKE A VERY FAIR HEIFER; BUT DESTRUCTION COMETH; IT COMETH OUT OF THE NORTH. JEREMIAH XLVI. 20.

IT may seem surprising that Egypt, which we have represented as enjoying, in some respects, its greatest happiness under its last, or last king but one, Amasis, should at the same time be so fast approaching its fall. But the happy period of a nation, so far as it depends on the wealth and well-being of the people, is not always the period of its courage and vigour. The throne of the Pharaohs had been long tottering; and had been brought into this state by a series of causes very different in their nature and operation.

We have placed the end of the splendid period of the Pharaohs at about 800 B. C.; and must return to those times in order to trace out these causes. Some time during the next century, probably about half way between 800 and 700 B. C., the conquest of Egypt by Sabaco the Ethiopian, and his two successors, Seuechus and Tirhaco, took place, in which Thebes and Upper Egypt were included, if not the whole of Egypt; though the two contemporary dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus continued in Lower Egypt.[1]

The Ethiopian dominion, which endured fifty years, seems to have laid the foundation of that general change in the affairs of Egypt which soon after took place under Psammetichus. For although, according to the tradition of the priests, the preceding king, who is said to have concealed himself for fifty years in the marshes, regained the throne; yet Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, soon afterwards usurped the government; and, by uniting in himself the dignity of high priest and king, materially changed the former constitution. He moreover exasperated the warrior caste by seizing their lands; and as they refused to serve him, he would have been unable to repel the

[1] The twenty-second and twenty-third of Manetho. The numerous rulers at that time in Egypt is confirmed by Isaiah xix. 13. The Zoan mentioned there is Tanis; the Noph, Memphis of Gesenius's Comment.

expedition marching against him under the victorious banners of the Assyrian conqueror, Sanherib, or Sennacherib, which is mentioned by Jewish annalists, had not a pestilence, which broke out in the army of the Assyrians, obliged them to retreat.[1]

That at this period the affairs of Egypt were in a very troubled and stormy state, we may conclude with certainty from the oracles of the first of the Jewish prophets. The predictions of Isaiah against Egypt, which form the subject of the whole of the nineteenth chapter, were delivered about this period, whether a few years later or earlier be fixed upon as the date.[2] Egypt is threatened both with physical and political miseries, with war, and the rod of tyrants.

Powerful convulsions, therefore, must have distracted Egypt at this period, of which history only mentions the result: namely, that the Egyptians shook off the yoke of Sethos, and instituted a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular part of Egypt was allotted. It is very probable that this division was made according to the former division of the land into nomes; although we cannot adopt the opinion of a modern critic, who says that this was the exact number of nomes which existed at that time.[3] According to the few and obscure accounts of the priests, given by Herodotus, it seems that these dodecarchi were taken from the warrior caste; it was evidently intended, however, that they should be subservient to the authority of the sacerdotal college, and the chief priest at its head. This plan was soon afterwards abolished by Psammetichus, to whom the dominion over Sais in Lower Egypt had been given; for by the assistance of Greek mercenaries he expelled the other rulers, and made himself sole master of Egypt.

Psammetichus thus re-established the fallen throne of the Pharaohs, and his reign forms an epoch in Egyptian history. From the time he obtained the sole dominion to the Persian invasion under Cambyses, Herodotus reckons one hundred and thirty years.[4] Egypt, during the whole of this period, continued without interruption one empire, and kept up a constant

[1] Herodotus, ii. 141, 142.

[2] Respecting the chronological difficulties, see the researches of Gesenius upon this chapter, already quoted.

[3] De Pauw, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 324.

[4] The succession of kings in Herodotus is as follows: *Psammetichus;* he reigned after the fifteen years of the dodecarchy, thirty-nine years († 617 B. C.); *Necho* sixteen years; *Psammis* six years; *Apries* twenty-five years; *Amasis* forty-four years; *Psammenit* a year and a half. Necho and Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) are also mentioned in the Chronicles and Prophets; cf. 2 Kings xiii. 29, etc.; Jeremiah xliv. 30. Diodorus, i. p. 106, according to his usual custom, only names individual kings, Psammetichus, Apries, (whom he places four generations after Psammetichus,) and Amasis.

connexion with foreign nations, both Greek and Asiatic. It numbered among its rulers some mighty princes, who became both warriors and conquerors, and even with very happy consequences formed Egypt into a maritime power. The obscurity, therefore, which hovers over the early history of this country becomes gradually dispelled; and the accounts of Herodotus, who himself tells us that they only here begin to possess a higher degree of historical credibility,[1] become the more authentic, because we can compare them with those of the Jewish annalists, who in their chronicles frequently refer to Egypt and its kings, with whom that people was by various relations closely connected.

But though the throne was re-established, and the unity of the empire restored, it no longer retained its former power. The manner of its restoration by foreigners gave birth to a series of events which decided the subsequent fate of the empire. The very elements which ought to have constituted its strength, brought on its weakness and overthrow.

Psammetichus, having acquired the sole dominion by the aid of Phœnician, Greek, and Carian mercenaries, but more particularly the latter two, was naturally considered as an usurper by a great part of the nation: he had consequently to struggle with a powerful party, and was obliged to keep those foreigners in pay to maintain the authority which he had acquired by their assistance. The Greek soldiers were presented with lands in Egypt, and formed a colony near Bubastus, in one of the nomes in which the Egyptian warrior caste had resided.[2] This Greek settlement was one of the chief causes of the great change which now took place in Egypt. The Egyptian warrior caste, who were most injured by these foreigners, were naturally their bitterest enemies: their lands had been already taken from them by Sethos; and they were now exasperated by seeing foreigners preferred to, or placed on an equal footing with them.[3]

They preferred emigration to subjection. Psammetichus vainly endeavoured to stop them; the greater part expatriated themselves from Egypt and settled in Ethiopia.[4] It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this must have greatly diminished the strength of the nation, whose whole armed force had consisted of this caste alone.

[1] Herod. ii. 147, 152. He refers to the agreement between Egyptians and foreigners.
[2] Herod. ii. 152, 154; Diodorus, i. p. 77.
[3] Herod. ii. 30; cf. Diodorus, i. p. 78.
[4] See above, p. 329.

The Greek auxiliaries were from this time considered as the sinews of the Egyptian armies; they formed indeed the body-guard of the king. They retained their settlement in Bubastus (where the remains of their dwellings existed in the time of Herodotus) until the reign of Amasis, who caused them to remove, for the protection of his person, to Memphis.[1] It is probable, as they formed the principal support of the royal power, that they had a decided influence in the affairs of Egypt.

Both Psammetichus and his successor usually lived at Saïs. Psammetichus was deeply indebted to the inhabitants of this town, who had restored him from exile,[2] before the institution of the dodecarchy; and he probably resided here for security, as the Greek mercenaries were not far distant. His successors moved nearer the sea, as that situation better suited their political views.

Notwithstanding this change Memphis was always considered as the capital of Egypt, and appears in that character at the Persian conquest, and even under the Ptolemies, as is shown by the inscription at Rosetta. Psammetichus seems to have paid much court to the priesthood, after the emigration of the warrior caste; and testified his friendship by resuming the building of the temple of Phtha, which had been neglected by his predecessors.[3] He built at Memphis the southern propylea, and opposite this a splendid aula and portico for the habitation of Apis.

The ambition of conquest displayed by the Egyptian kings throughout this period is remarkable: it formed at other times no part of the general character of the nation, but seems to have been called forth by the valour of the Greek mercenaries, and the success of their arms. Psammetichus and all his successors seem to have been animated with this feeling, which prepared the way for the destruction of their dynasty.

Both from the narrative of Herodotus and the Jewish annalists it is clear, that one leading object was hereditary, as it were, among them: the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia. The rich commercial cities of these countries, where for centuries the treasures of the world had been heaped together, proved too great a temptation to be resisted. They in some measure effected their object; but their mania for conquest was punished in the usual manner, by other enemies equally ambitious and

[1] Herod. l. c. [2] Ibid. ii. 152. [3] Ibid. ii. 153.

more powerful than themselves. The traditions of the expeditions and victories of the ancient Pharaohs, which they saw represented on the walls of their temples and palaces, probably stimulated them to these undertakings. But the situation of affairs was no longer the same. When the former undertook their expeditions, there was no powerful empire in the west of Asia; but victorious nations now dwelt here, ready to repel every invader.

Psammetichus himself made a beginning by besieging Azotus, a frontier town of Syria. He conquered it at last; but not till after many unsuccessful attempts, which occupied altogether twenty-nine years; for we cannot well imagine one siege, though turned to a blockade, to have lasted so long.[1] His son and successor, Necho, made a more rapid and more successful progress. He defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, captured Jerusalem, and overran Syria as far as the Euphrates.[2] He lost all these conquests, however, as rapidly as he had gained them. After the fall of the Assyrian power, a new conquering empire, the Chaldæan-Babylonian, arose in Central Asia, and, under its ruler Nebuchadnezzar, arrived at a high, though transitory pitch of greatness. The Egyptian and Babylonian conquerors met at Circesium, where a single battle not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests, but laid open their country to the danger of a hostile invasion.[3]

One of the first and most important consequences of these foreign conquests was the establishment of a navy. The Phœnician commercial towns were sea-ports, and the Egyptian kings must have soon discovered that these could not be overcome without fleets. Necho, therefore, resolved to have one; and prosecuted the formation of it with so much vigour, that greater results might have been expected from it. He built a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, and these he intended to join by means of a canal from one sea to the other.[4]

This undertaking, which at the first glance we should suppose would necessarily alter the general course of trade, was only half executed by Necho; but seventy years later it was completed by Darius the son of Hystaspes. Herodotus, who

[1] Herod. ii. 157.
[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. Herodotus (ii. 159) mentions also the conquest of Jerusalem, which he calls *Cadytis*.
[3] Compare the description of this battle as given by Jeremiah, xlvi., and the remarks of Michaelis. It seems that it led to an invasion of Egypt by the victors.
[4] Herod. ii. 158, 159.

saw this canal after it was finished, and who has described its direction, proves, by his statement, the incorrectness of all later writers, who assert that Darius abandoned the undertaking because he heard the Red Sea was higher than the Mediterranean, and that it was completed by Ptolemy the Second.[1]

The purpose for which it was cut, as well as other circumstances, show that it was originally intended for vessels of war rather than trade; for it was made sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail abreast.[2] It began immediately above the town Bubastus, and winding southwards till beyond Memphis, took its course thence near the great stone quarries, and joined the Red Sea. Natural obstacles, particularly the dangerous navigation of the upper parts of the Red Sea, were probably the chief reasons why it had so little influence upon commerce; for even in the period of the Ptolemies, when it must have been navigable, a caravan road was made a little more to the south from Coptos to the Red Sea, and the vessels coming from the southern seas went no farther than Myos Hormos.

The maritime power of the Egyptians ceased with their possessions in Asia. Apries employed a fleet in his war against the Phœnicians, and conquered Sidon;[3] but it afterwards fell into decay, and in Herodotus's time only some remnants of the vessels were left.[4]

The rebellion of the Egyptians against Apries, after his unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, which raised Amasis to the throne, sufficiently evinces that the extravagant projects of their kings were but little in unison with the feelings of the people. The consequence of this rebellion was a war between the Egyptians and the mercenaries,[5] in which the latter were defeated, and Apries soon after lost his life. Amasis, under whom Egypt is said to have enjoyed its greatest happiness, preferred peace to the splendour of conquests, and died just in time to escape being a witness to the capture of Egypt by Cambyses.

The causes, therefore, which led to the downfal of the Pharaohs will be immediately understood from what we have said. After the Ethiopian conquest and the usurpation of Sethos, their throne, which had been founded on the unity of the priest and warrior castes, never recovered its former stability. After

[1] Strabo, p. 1157, where will be found collected, in the notes, the testimony of other writers. The traces of many canals running from the eastern branch of the Nile are still visible; they unite, however, together near Belbeis. It is very well known that one of the first operations of the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt by Omar, was to open the canals, that Arabia might be supplied with corn from Egypt.
[2] Herod. ii. 158, 159. [3] Ibid. ii. 161. [4] Ibid. ii. 159. [5] Ibid. ii. 169.

the defection and emigration of the latter, the nation was left without succour. Foreigners, whom she hated, were called in to protect her. These strangers were employed in foreign wars and conquests, which the nation disliked; and these wars and conquests miscarried. Dislike broke out into open rebellion; the ruling dynasty was overthrown: a bold adventurer seized the crown; he favoured foreigners, and enriched Egypt thereby; but he at the same time excited the rapacity of conquerors. What had Egypt to oppose them with but an undisciplined mob?

Various causes are assigned for the Persian invasion; but whatever its pretext, the true cause was a hankering after the riches and good things of Egypt. A single battle and a ten days' siege of the capital, Memphis, decided the fate of the whole country.[1]

It is well known that excessive cruelty towards the priests, and the destruction and pillage of the temples, are imputed to Cambyses. The difference between the religious worship of the Persians and Egyptians is not often considered as the cause of this proceeding, and of the national hatred of the Egyptians against the Persians, and their frequent revolts, which do not seem to accord with their general character, if we may judge of it from their conduct towards the Ptolemies.

A more correct notion may be formed of all this by considering the whole conduct of the Persians in Egypt as a struggle, not so immediately directed against religious opinions and usages, as against the aristocratic body of the Egyptian priests; although it is impossible to separate one entirely from the other. Under the reigns of the latter Pharaohs, the Egyptian priest caste was certainly no longer what it had been; but its political influence, though weakened, was not destroyed. Both Psammetichus, and more particularly Amasis, had treated them with the greatest consideration, and testified their veneration by the building of new temples, or by extending and decorating those already erected.[2] They still formed the noble class of the nation; and they still continued to possess the learned sciences, and the same high offices of state which they had held formerly. The interests, therefore, of the ruling caste and of the foreign conquerors must have clashed; and the profanation of the temples and

[1] Herod. iii. 11, 13.

[2] Ibid. ii. 175, 176.

deities was a consequence of this political animosity. But the accounts respecting this are probably exaggerated, as all we know of Cambyses' character is drawn entirely from the statements of the Egyptian priests, who were his enemies. We are but imperfectly acquainted with the history of the succeeding revolts of the Egyptians against the Persians; and of their origin, and of the means by which the people were stirred up, we know nothing whatever. But that the priests were the principal movers seems evident from the fact, that after the re-establishment of the Persian monarchy in Egypt they were punished for it.[1]

A theocracy in itself bears the seeds of its own destruction, if the authority of the priesthood declines, and the troops withhold their obedience. Both happened in Egypt; and neither the swords of the mercenaries, nor the treasures of the people, were able to uphold the throne of the Pharaohs.

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 112. When Artaxerxes had driven away Nectanebus, and brought Egypt again under his authority, the persecution of the priests began. Their temples were pillaged, and even their sacred books taken from them; these, however, according to Diodorus's account, they got permission through Bagoas to redeem by the payment of a large sum of money.

APPENDIX.

I. *Aristotle upon the Carthaginian Government.*

(Aristot. Politica, ii. 11.)

The government of the Carthaginians seems to have been admirably adjusted, and in many things superior to others. This is especially the case in those matters in which it agrees with the Spartan. For these three governments, the Spartan, Cretan, and Carthaginian, bear a resemblance to one another, and are very different from all others: many of their institutions are excellent. But a proof of this being a well-constituted government is, that the people continued within the limits assigned them, without any act of sedition worth notice, nor did the government become tyrannical. The Carthaginian government also had, like the Spartan, common tables for the associates: it also resembled it in having its council of one hundred and four, similar to the Ephori at Sparta, but superior to it; for every one might attain to this dignity at Sparta, but at Carthage only the most worthy were elected. Again, the kings and the gerusia resembled those of Sparta, but were again superior; as the kings are not chosen from one family, neither from every one. But distinguished merit is preferred (and justly) to age and every other claim. For as the kings have the management of the most important affairs, it cannot fail to be hurtful to choose men to that dignity who have not the capacity fitted for it; the state of Sparta has already suffered from this cause. Most of the faults common to the above-mentioned governments have sprung from deviations (from the legal forms). With respect, however, to those principles which pertain to an aristocracy or republic, some of them incline towards a democracy, but others to an oligarchy. For the king and the senators have the power to determine respecting those matters upon which they are unanimous, whether they shall be brought before the people or not; but where they do not agree the matter is referred to the people. And upon what is thus brought before the people, they have the power not only to decide, but every one is free to speak against it, which is not allowed in other governments. But the *pentarchies*, who many and great affairs have to transact, choose one another, and also the council of the hundred, who form the highest magistracy; they also continue longer in office than any others, (for it commences before they enter into that office, and continues after they leave it,) and in this the government is oligarchic. As, however, they serve without pay, and are not elected by lot, and whatever else may be of this kind, is aristocratic. So also is the determining of all causes by the same magistrates, and not different causes before different tribunals, as is the case at Lacedæmon.

The Carthaginian government also leans, as many believe, in one respect towards an oligarchy; because it is there conceived that the magistrates should not be chosen merely on account of their personal merit, but also according to their property; for they say it is impossible for the needy to govern well and find sufficient leisure. Now because the choice according to property is oligarchic, and that according to personal merit aristocratic, there arises among the Carthaginians a third (middle) class of government; for they look to both these points in their choice, especially of the highest magistrates, their kings and generals. This degeneration of the aristocracy must be considered as a defect in the legislation; for it is highly necessary to see at the first, that the most worthy have leisure (for the affairs); and may do nothing indecorous either as

magistrates, or as private persons. If, on the other hand, it be necessary to look to affluence for the sake of obtaining leisure, it is (still) a fault, as the highest offices, the dignity of king and general, are venal. For this custom raises wealth above personal merit, and makes the whole commonwealth given to avarice. For that which the ruling classes hold to be honourable, will necessarily be so in the opinion of the other citizens. Where, however, merit is not especially honoured, it is impossible for an aristocracy to be firmly established. It is to be expected that those who purchase the magistracy will endeavour to enrich themselves by it; for it is absurd to suppose, that if a man, who is poor and worthy, be willing to enrich himself, that a depraved man, after the expenses he has incurred, should not be willing to do the same. Hence it is necessary that those should rule who are able to govern aristocratically. But it would have been better if the legislator had passed over the poverty of worthy men, and had paid attention to the leisure of those who hold offices. It would also seem to be a bad thing that one and the same person should hold several offices, which by the Carthaginians is held honourable; for one business is best performed by one person. The legislator, therefore, should have a care to this, and not appoint the same person to be a piper and cobbler. Where, then, the commonwealth is not small, it is more politic and more popular to permit many persons to have a share in the government; for it is better and more usual, as has been already said, that one thing should be done by one person; it is also executed more rapidly. This is also evident in many things pertaining to the army and navy, in which every one, as I may say, is commander, and, in his turn, under command. As the government of the Carthaginians inclines to the oligarchical, they avoid the bad effects of it, as they always enrich a portion of the people whom they appoint to the government of the cities. For they thereby escape the evil and make their government lasting. This is certainly a chance means; but states should by the laws be secure from seditions; but now, if an adverse fortune takes place, and the people revolt from their rulers, the law affords no remedy by which peace may be restored. In this manner, therefore, the celebrated governments of the Cretans, Spartans, and Carthaginians are carried on.

II. *Commercial Treaty between Rome and Carthage, concluded in the year* 509 B. C.[1]

(From Polyb. i. p. 434.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*,[2] unless compelled by bad

[1] I subjoin the following extracts,—which we might call Carthaginian records,—not merely because I have so often referred to them in these inquiries, but, rather, because I believe they illustrate much better the spirit of Carthage, than a long-winded commentary would do. The first two are also highly important in Roman history. They relate to the younger days of Rome, ere this city had even subjugated the whole of Latium; the first treaty was concluded a year after the expulsion of the kings, and the other one hundred and sixty-one years later. They both show us Rome in a somewhat different character from what Livy and other historians are wont to represent it.

[2] The *Fair Promontory* is accurately pointed out by Polybius himself to be the promontory lying north of Carthage, (τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους,) and cannot, therefore, well be any other than that which is elsewhere called the *Promontorium Hermæum*. (Compare the treatise of Heyne, in *Opusc.* ii. p. 47, where the other passages are collected, upon which some wished to decide upon another situation.) The authority of Polybius in this case is certainly superior to later writers. The sense therefore is, "The Romans shall not sail to the south of this promontory, along the coast of the Carthaginian territory, towards the Lesser Syrtis;" where a number of cities, and the most beautiful and fertile part of their possessions, especially in Byzacium, were situated. It is thus explained by Polybius, and this explanation will seem so much the more probable, if what has been already said be borne in mind, that just in these districts were the staples for the trade in Inner Africa. The only difficulty in this passage arises from the cities of *Tarseium* and *Mastia* being named in the *second* treaty together with this promontory. Now no cities of this name are known in the territory of Carthage, but only in the south-west of Spain, near Tartessus. (See Steph. *de Urb.* under Ταρσήιον and Μάστια.) But supposing that these cities are here meant, it does not then follow, that the Fair Promontory was situated near them, and to be sought for in Spain; (for Heyne, *Opusc.* i. p. 61, has already very properly remarked, that the words of Polybius, πρόσκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ καλῷ ἀκροτηρίῳ Μάστια καὶ Ταρσήιον, must not be translated, "but near the Fair Promontory lies Mastia and Tarseium," but rather, "to the Fair Promontory *is added* Mastia and Tarseium;") but the sense would then be, "beyond the Fair Promontory, on the one side, namely, towards the east, and beyond the cities of Mastia and Tarseium on the

weather or an enemy. And in case that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase anything, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice. They shall depart within five days. The merchants that shall offer any goods to sale in Sardinia, or any part of Libya, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the scribe and crier; and the public faith shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of these officers. If a Roman lands in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, he shall suffer no wrong or violence in anything. The Carthaginians shall not offer any injury to the people of *Ardea*, *Antium*, *Laurentium*, *Circeii*, *Terracina*, or any other people of the Latins that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction. Nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the Latins that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in its entire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortress in the Latin territory; and if they land there armed they shall not remain there a night.

III. *Second commercial Treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage, in the year* 348 B. C.

(From Polyb. i. p. 437.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians,[1] Uticeans, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The Romans shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffic, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not subjected to the Romans, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If the Carthaginians shall make any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports; in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim and set them free. The same condition shall also be observed by the Romans; and if a Roman lands, in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart, without offering any violence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the public cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia or Libya: nor shall they even visit those countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by a storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do everything that is permitted to the citizens of the republic. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians at Rome.

other, namely, towards the west, in the Atlantic Ocean, the Romans shall not sail," etc. This explanation must still gain in probability, if the great value be remembered which the Carthaginians placed upon their western possessions without the Pillars of Hercules, and the great secret they made of them. The objection, that the Romans at the time of this treaty did not navigate so far, seems to me to have but very little weight; for how do we know that? And then, it was about the period that this alliance was concluded, that the Carthaginians had stretched out the farthest, and it seems that they had extended their colonies beyond the Pillars, exactly in the interval between the first and second treaty, which explains why these cities came to be mentioned as the boundaries in the second treaty, and not in the first. On the other hand, it certainly may be objected, that this sense is not expressed with sufficient clearness in the words of the treaty; and it might consequently be asserted, that it is more probable that there were two, to us unknown, cities of this name in the Carthaginian territory, near the Fair Promontory, where there certainly were a much greater number of cities than is generally supposed. It may still, however, be, that the translation of the treaty by Polybius might not be so literally exact, but that a mere trifling variation might render the reference to the cities of Spain probable. Nothing, therefore, can be here concluded with certainty; and by mere verdicts without evidence nothing would be done.

[1] It is not probable that the Tyre in Asia should here be understood. Either there must have been a Tyre in Africa, or Tysdrus must be meant. See above, p. 13. If, notwithstanding this, some will still contend that the Phœnician Tyre must be understood; then, perhaps, the mutual piety which mother states and their colonies observe towards one another, may be given as the reason why Tyre was included in the treaty.

IV. *Treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Philip, king of Macedonia, in the fourth year of the second Punic war,* 215 B. C.[1]

(From Polyb. ii. p. 598.)

This is the treaty which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have sworn with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Poseidon; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and who are witnesses of this faith!

Hannibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said; with the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and of concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect and help the people of Carthage, Hannibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into friendship and alliance with us in those countries.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all the other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of those parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings, and cities, and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy peace. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them, we shall insist, that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall at no time make war against us: that they shall not remain masters of Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimalle, and Atintania. And that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos all the persons of his kindred who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against

[1] Hannibal was at this time in Lower Italy, and hoped by this union with Philip, who was to invade Italy by crossing the Adriatic Sea, to annihilate Rome.

us; those cities and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent.

V. *The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which he deposited in the temple of Saturn.*

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries.

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterium. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea, and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Caricontícos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytæ, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men, clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles and river horses; whence returning back we came again to Cerne.

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitæ, who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn. In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the day-time except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island. Sailing quickly away thence we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account

of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

Observation. The opinions respecting the Periplus of Hanno differ very widely from one another, both as regards its authenticity and the circumstances attending it. I cannot, however, believe that any critic will, in the present day, doubt its authenticity in the whole; though they may its completeness. Its shortness has led many to suppose that it is only the abridgment of a larger work; and this opinion is favoured by Rennel, and seems confirmed by the passage in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 67, where he says, Hanno sailed from Gades round Africa to Arabia, and has given a description of the voyage. But another writer has already justly observed, that Pliny had not himself read the Periplus, but depended on the uncertain testimony of another; and that the passage of Pomp. Mela, iii. 9, clearly shows that Mela had read *our* Periplus. Gosselin, *Recherches*, i. p. 64. The Periplus was not, certainly, the description of a voyage, in our sense of the phrase, but a public memorial of the expedition, being an *inscription* posted up in one of the principal temples of Carthage. This is evident, *first*, from its being a general custom of the Carthaginian commanders to leave behind them such public monuments of their enterprises, which is shown by the example of Hannibal, see above, p. 128; and, *secondly*, by the superscription of the Periplus itself. It is there called "Αννωνος Περίπλους ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει. "The voyage of Hanno, which he has *posted up* in the temple of Kronos." For so must ἀνέθηκεν be translated, which is well known to be the proper expression among the Greeks for the Donarii in the temples; on which account they were called *ἀναθήματα*. This inscription was, without doubt, in the Carthaginian language. We, however, have only the Greek translation, whose author is unknown. It is therefore highly probable that it was a Greek traveller, perhaps a merchant, who made a translation for his own use; and we know what a series of accidents must have happened to bring down to us this curious document, being the personal narrative of the commander of the first voyage of discovery on the western African coast, about five hundred years before Christ! To this translator, therefore, must be attributed, in my opinion, any irregularities in its form and contents; they cannot, however, justify us in asserting that there are any interpolations.

The more early commentators upon the Periplus are, Bochart, *in Geograph. Sacr.* i. 33; Campomanes in his *Antig. Maritima de Carthago*, vol. ii.; Dodwell, in *Dissert.* I. *in Geograph. Min.* ed. Hudson, vol. i.; and Bouguainville, *Mémoires sur les descouvertes d'Hanno*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. xxviii., all of whom make the navigation of Hanno reach to the coast of Guinea. Besides these, two of our most celebrated geographers have, more recently, bestowed considerable labour upon the Periplus, but differ in a remarkable manner in their conclusions; i. e. Gosselin in his *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens;* and Major Rennel in his *Geography of Herodotus*. The former of these so shortens the voyage of Hanno, as to make the island Cerne the most southern of the settlements he planted, the present Fedalla, which is found under 33½° N. Lat., while Rennel so extends it, as to place this island about thirteen degrees farther south, under 20½° N. Lat.; this difference naturally occasions a great discrepancy in the boundary of the more distant navigation, which Gosselin carries no farther than Cape Nun, in 28° N. Lat., while Rennel extends it to Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the equator. A difference of reckoning, which is the more surprising, as Hanno chiefly states the distances according to the number of days' sail. The calculation of Gosselin, however, is founded upon hypotheses to which but few critics will be inclined to assent. First, he would have it, that the expression, *without the Columns*, must include the strait itself, because the Columns of Hercules signify the two rocks Calpe and Abyla at the inner entrance of the strait. In accordance with this he computes from this point, and not only places the city of Thymiaterium within the strait, near the present Ceuta, but also holds the promontory Soloë, which it cost Hanno two days' navigation without the Columns to reach, for Cape Spartel, forming the outward part of the strait on the African coast. But the expression, *the Columns*, is not usually meant so much of the rocks, as of the strait in general; and the national resolution of the Carthaginians, that Hanno should found colonies "without the Columns," certainly could bear no other sense than that he should plant settlements on the western coast of Africa, in the Atlantic Ocean; nay, the following cities, according to

M. Gosselin's own statements, lay there. Secondly, M. Gosselin proposes a computation, by following which, a day's sail will amount to no more than five great leagues, or sea miles (20=1°). For as when Cooke sailed along the eastern coast of New Holland he could not make more than seventeen leagues in twenty-four hours, we ought not to allow to Hanno, who lay by during the night, and had a whole fleet in company, more than five such leagues a day. This comparison, however, is very little to the purpose. Cooke sailed along a coast of which he wished to draw an accurate map, while his progress was interrupted by the numerous coral reefs with which it was beset, and which compelled him to have constant recourse to the plumb-line. Hanno had no such hinderances, and sailed in a climate where the trade-winds and currents, both known to come from the north, were in his favour. M. Gosselin stands also opposed to the express authority of the most credible ancient writers, who state the day's navigation to be much greater; namely, Herodotus (iv. 86) at seven hundred stadia, sixty-eight geographical miles, and Scylax (p. 30) at five hundred stadia, fifty geographical miles. These hypotheses then of M. Gosselin being erroneous, his particular statements drawn from them of course lose their credit. Major Rennel, on the other hand, in my opinion, makes Hanno's voyage extend somewhat too far. I will not, however, here dispute his statements in detail, nor attempt a proper commentary upon the Periplus, which, without maps drawn expressly for the purpose, would not be understood. I shall, instead of these, make a few remarks, which I think will serve as general principles to explain it. Therefore,

1. It must not be expected that every point can be determined with certainty, as the author himself has not always stated the number of days' navigation, and consequently not the distance. Besides this, we have not yet, in my opinion, any sufficiently accurate description of the coast of this part of Africa, that can serve us for a guide. The reader will therefore necessarily be satisfied with some of the principal particulars.

2. In order to obtain these, we must separate the two great parts of the voyage, which had a double object; first, that of founding colonies, and these, as is apparent from the fact, not far beyond the straits; and secondly, that of exploring the more distant coast of Africa. According to this, therefore, the length of the day's voyage in the first and latter part of the expedition, though similar in all other respects, might not be the same; for the first part was performed with a whole heavy-laden fleet; the second, without doubt, with one or two vessels. The first part of the voyage extends to the island of Cerne, the second to the gulf called South Horn.

3. In the first half we come to *a*. the city of Thymiaterium, two days' voyage from the end of the strait, or Cape Spartel. Let us take the day's navigation here with the whole fleet at about ten sea miles—according to the above remarks a very moderate distance—then must this city be near El Haratch, or between El Haratch and Marmora; this cannot be far from their true situation. *b*. The promontory Soloë; Hanno does not say how far this was from Thymiaterium; but it is evident from his narrative that it must have been the first western promontory he came to. Herodotus also clears up this, who not only knew it, but quotes it as the most western point of Africa, Herod. ii. 32. From this I have no doubt of its being Cape Blanco, near Azimur, 33° N. Lat., (not to be confounded with the southern Cape Blanco, 20° N. Lat.,) which they would reach, according to the above calculation, in two days' voyage from Thymiaterium: and I prefer this on the above grounds to Cape Cantin, which is one day farther to the south, and therefore adopted by Rennel. *c*. The successive settlements of Acra, Gytte, Caricontícos, Melitta, and Arambys, lay at about a day and half's sail from the promontory; they must therefore have stood in the districts of Safy, or Asafy, just beyond Cape Cantin, about 32° N. Lat. The great river Lexitæ, at which they next arrived, would then be the river Morocco, (on which is built the city of the same name,) or, as it is called, the Tersif. From this point to the island of Cerne, the last of the settlements, the number of days' navigation is not stated; hence the conclusion that the voyage from the Columns to Cerne may have been just as long as that from Carthage to the Columns. If the distances be judged equal, then the island of Cerne must be sought for beyond Cape Bojador, where it is placed by Major Rennel, under 20° N. Lat. I cannot, however, believe that in the same length of time they would make the same way, as from Carthage to the Pillars they navigated a well-known sea, where they had no obstructions, and might sail as well by night as by day; but beyond the Pillars, in a sea of which they were entirely ignorant, much more circumspection was necessary. I think it therefore more probable that the island or islands of Cerne must be sought for either near Mogador, 31½°, or near Santa Cruz, 30½°. But though the situation of this place remains rather uncertain, there cannot be any great error in determining that of the others.

4. The second part of the expedition, starting from Cerne, is simply a voyage of discovery, and must as such be considered. This was, however, a double voyage. The first time, Hanno proceeded southwards, and came to a great river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. The number of days this occupied is not mentioned, but as no such river is found short of the Senegal, I hold that to be the one meant. From this point the expedition returned, from causes not stated, back to the island of Cerne; but it commenced from this place the second voyage, in which the number of days' navigation is mostly, though not always, noted; namely, first twelve days' voyage along the coast till they came to high mountains; then two days' voyage to a bay, where they took in water; then five days' navigation farther, till they came to another bay, which was named the West Horn; together nineteen days' voyage. After this the expedition proceeded along the hot region of Thymiamata, without determining the number of days' navigation. Then four days' voyage to the high mountain called *God's Chariot;* and then again three days' more to the bay called South Horn, whence they turned back. If we now allow four days for the voyage along the country of Thymiamata, the whole will make a voyage of thirty-one days from Cerne. Now, as in this whole voyage the current as well as the wind was always favourable to the navigators, as will be found noted upon Rennel's maps, it certainly is a very moderate computation to estimate a day's navigation at forty geographical miles=12¼ sea miles, which makes the whole distance from Cerne amount to 1200 geographical miles. Taking the island of Cerne to be near Santa Cruz, this will bring us to the mouth of the Gambia, and it seems a fair conjecture that the bay called South Horn was in fact the mouth of this river, and the West Horn that of the Senegal. It is well known that the Greeks called the mouths of rivers their horns. If this be granted, then the computed distance leads at once to the coast of Senegambia, which I take for the hot country of Thymiamata, and Major Rennel has already so validly shown, that all the particulars related exactly correspond with this conjecture, that it would be superfluous thereupon to dwell any longer. Against M. Gosselin, to whom this voyage appears much too long, I will only oppose the single fact which I have already set forth at page 84, but which has escaped his observation, that in the time of Herodotus the Carthaginians had a regular intercourse by sea with the Gold Coast, to which Hanno's voyage of discovery probably first paved the way.

VI. *Fragments of the Account given by the Carthaginian commander Himilco, of the Countries of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules.*

(Taken from RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS, *Ora Maritima*, ed. WERNSDORF, *Poetæ Latini Minores*, tom. v. p. 3.)

BESIDES the expedition of Hanno, another was fitted out at the same time, and sent, for the same purpose, to the western coast of Europe. A narrative also of this voyage, similar to that of Hanno's, was extant in antiquity,[1] but unfortunately has not descended to us. Festus Avienus, however, made use of it in the above-mentioned metrical composition, which was drawn up by him for the instruction of his relation Probus. The poem is only valuable from its bringing us acquainted with many ancient geographers, but is come down to us in a very imperfect state; and almost seems to have been rather a collection of materials than a finished poem. It is deficient in order, contains many repetitions, and the author does not appear to have had a clear notion of the coast which he describes. See the notice of it by Professor Ukert, (which is rendered more valuable by a map,) in †*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Th. ii. *Abth.* i. the second Appendix. I have extracted only those passages which relate to the document of Hanno and Carthage.

I. *Ora Maritima*, v. 80—130.

Terræ patentis orbis effuse jacet,
Orbique rursus unda circumfunditur,
Sed qua profundum semet insinuat salum
Oceano ab usque, ut gurges hic nostri maris
Longe explicetur, est Atlanticus sinus.
Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius:
Hic sunt Columnæ pertinacis Herculis,
Abila atque Calpe: * * * *
* * * * * * * *
Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput,
(Œstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius)

I. *Ora Maritima*, v. 80—130.

Where the ocean flood presses in, and spreads wide the Mediterranean waters, lies the Atlantic bay;[2] here stands Gadira, of old called Tartessus; here the Pillars of Hercules, Abyla, left of Libya, and Calpe.[3] * * * * * Here rises the head of the promontory, in olden times named Œstrymnon,[4] and below, the like-named bay and isles;[5] wide they

[1] Pliny, ii. 67. Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto: sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilcon.
[2] The bay between Cape Vincent and Trafalgar.
[3] Something is here probably left out, as he likewise mentions a second bay.
[4] The promontory of *Œstrymnon* must be sought for on the north coast of Spain. We may take it for *Cap Finis Terræ*, or some other; for how can an accurate statement be expected, where the poet himself seems to have had but a very confused idea of the subject.
[5] Sinus Œstrymnicus, et Insulæ Œstrymnides.

Molesque celsa saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime vergit notum.
Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice
Sinus dehiscit incolis Œstrymnicus,
In quo insulæ sese exserunt Œstrimnides,
Laxe jacentes, et metallo divites
Stanni atque plumbi, muta vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus:
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos: sed rei ad miraculum
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
Hæc inter undas multam cespitem jacet,
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
Tartessiisque in terminos Œstrymnidum
Negotiandi mos erat: Carthaginis
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora:
Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor,
Ut ipse semet re probasse retulit
Enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit.
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,
Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet,
Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites
Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti vice
Retinere puppim. Dicit hic nihilominus,
Non in profundum terga demitti maris,
Parvoque aquarum vix supertexi solum;
Obire semper huc et huc ponti feras,
Navigia lenta et languide repentia
Internatare belluas.

II. v. 263—274.

——————— Namque ex ea
Geryona quondam nuncupatum accepimus.
Hic ora late sunt sinus Tartessii;
Dictoque ab amni in hæc locorum puppibus
Via est diei; Gaddir hic est oppidum:
Nam Punicorum lingua conceptum locum
Gaddir vocabat, ipsa Tartessus prius
Cognominata est; multa et opulens civitas
Ævo vetusto, nunc egena, nunc brevis,
Nunc destituta, nunc ruinarum agger est.
Nos hoc locorum, præter Herculaneam
Sollennitatem, vidimus miri nihil.

stretch and are rich in metals, tin, and lead. There a numerous race of men dwell, endowed with spirit, and no slight industry, busied all in the cares of trade alone. They navigate the sea on their barks, built not of pines or oak, but wondrous! made of skins and leather. Two days' long is the voyage thence to the Holy Island, once so called, which lies expanded on the sea, the dwelling of the Hibernian race: at hand lies the isle of Albion.[1] Of yore the trading voyages from Tartessus reached to the Œstrymnides; but the Carthaginians and their colonies near the Pillars of Hercules, navigated on this sea, which Himilco, by his own account, was upon during four months; for here no wind wafted the bark, so motionless stood the indolent wave. Sea-weed abounds in this sea, he says, and retards the vessel in her course; while the monsters of the deep swarm around.

II. v. 263—274.

—— Far off is seen Geryon's hold; here wide expands the bay of Tartessus, and from the river thither is one day's voyage; here lies the town of Gadira, of yore called Tartessus; then great and rich, now poor and fallen; where I saw nought great but Hercules' festival.

[1] These statements clearly show, that the *Œstrymnide* islands were situate in the neighbourhood of *Hibernia* and *Albion*; they only agree with the Scilly islands, which are eighty miles from the Irish coast.

III. v. 304—317.

Gerontis arcem et prominens fani, ut supra
Sumus elocuti distinet medium Salum;
Interque celsa cautium cedit sinus.
Jugum ad secundum flumen amplum evolvitur:
Tartessiorum mons dehinc attollitur
Silvis opacus, hinc Erythea est insula
Diffusa glebam, et juris olim Punici:
Habuere primo quippe eam Carthaginis
Priscæ coloni: interflusque scinditur
Ad continentem quinque per stadia modo
Erythea ab arce, qua diei occasus est,
Veneri marinæ consecrata est insula,
Templumque in illa Veneris et penetral cavum,
Oraculumque.

IV. v. 375—412.

Ultra has Columnas, propter Europæ latus,
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam: mos at illis hic erat,
Ut planiore texerent fundo rates,
Quo cymba tergum fusior brevius maris
Prælaberetur, porro in occiduam plagam
Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta,
Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit,
Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,
Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet:
Dehinc quod æthram quodam amictu vestiat
Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitem,
Et crassiore nubilum præstet die.
Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul
Circum latrator, iste pontus maximus.
Hic gurges oras ambiens, hic intimi
Salis inrigator, hic parens nostri maris.
Plerosque quippe extrinsecus curvat sinus,
Nostrumque in orbem vis profundi illabitur,
Sed nos loquemur maximos tibi quattuor.
Prima hujus ergo in cespitem insinuatio est
Hesperius æstus, atque Atlanticum salum;
Hyrcana rursus unda, Caspium mare;
Salum Indicorum, terga fluctus Persici;
Arabsque gurges sub tepente jam Noto.
Hunc usus olim dixit Oceanum vetus,
Alterque dixit mos Atlanticum mare.
Longo explicatur gurges hujus Ambitu,
Produciturque latere prolixe vago,
Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,
Ut vix arenas subjacentes occulat.
Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens,
Atque impeditur æstus hic uligine;
Vis belluarum pelagus omne internatat,
Multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.

III. v. 304—317.

Geryon's fort and temple overtops the sea; a line of rocks crowns the bay: near the second rock disembogues the river. Close by rises the Tartessus' mount bedecked with wood. Next follows the island Erythea, ruled by the Carthaginians, for in early days the Carthaginians had there planted a colony. The arm of the sea, which divides it from the continent and from the fort, is but five stadia broad.[1] The island is sacred to Marine Venus, it contains her temple and oracle.[2]

IV. v. 375—412.

Beyond the Pillars, on Europe's coast, Carthage's people of yore possessed many towns and places. Their practice was to build flat-bottomed barks, for the convenience of navigating shallows; but westward, as Himilco tells us, is open sea; no ship has yet ventured on this sea, where the windy gales do not waft her, and thick fogs rest on the waters. It is the ocean which far roars around the land; the unbounded sea.—This the Carthaginian Himilco saw himself; and from the Punic records I have taken what I tell thee.

[1] Therefore a small inlet near Tartessus, like the opposite coast; perhaps St. Pedro, opposite Chicklana. [2] Probably Astarte: see above, p. 65.

To the Carthaginian documents also belongs a Punic inscription, which Professor Hamacker of Leyden, *Diatribe aliquot monumentorum nuper in Africa repertorum interpretationem exhibens, Lugd. Bat.* 1822, refers to the vintage; but privy-councillor G. Kopp, (Heidelberg Year-book, 1824,) on the contrary, takes it, I think rightly, for an epitaph, and translates it: *Deploravit familia traditum (positum) dum operata est (intulit) ad lapidem nostrum. Baal Haman (Deus Solis) vos subjecit succidendo tempora. Lex (fatum) Hassad filium Abamel subjecit.* The inscription should be compared with that of Bres, published in *Malta Antica*. Another epitaph, given by Bishop Munster, is so uncertain, that Professor Kopp could form no judgment respecting it. It makes mention of a college of priests.

VII. *Fragments of the Works of Mago on Husbandry.*

(See above, p. 48.)

[I deem it advisable, on many accounts, to give here a collection of the fragments of the only works of Carthaginian literature of which any remains are extant. The information which may be deduced from them is very interesting. They plainly evince that agriculture was considered in Carthage as the most honourable employment, and was followed by the first men in the state. It further appears that every branch of husbandry, and certainly with such helps to human industry as were then known, was cultivated. It is also evident that the work of Mago was not the only one of this kind, as Hamilcar and the Carthaginian writers in general are mentioned with him (No. 17). How much indeed must have been written previously, to complete a work like that of Mago's in twenty-eight books! Its value is sufficiently evident from the testimony of Columella, who calls Mago the *father of Husbandry*. Should some of his rules not seem convincing to our agriculturists, it must be remembered that he wrote in Africa, and that therefore they cannot fairly judge of his works, without some knowledge of the soil and climate.

The name of Mago and Hamilcar were very common among the Carthaginians. Which Mago and Hamilcar are in this case to be understood, we are not informed; thus much, however, we know, they were both renowned generals, who devoted the leisure which their profession of arms left them, to agriculture. But that this Hamilcar was not the father of Hannibal, will be readily acknowledged by every one, who remembers that the latter must have passed the greater part of his life out of his native country. I think I do not err in taking this Mago to be the same with the general who first established the dominion of Carthage, (Justin, xix. 2,) who was contemporary with Cyrus, and the founder of that house which for above a century stood at the head of the republic, and whose genealogy I have given in the next appendix. Hamilcar, then, would be his son, and the same who fell in battle, 480 B. C., against Gelon in Sicily. And besides, if my conjecture, which I think highly probable, be admitted, that Hanno and Himilco, who founded colonies in Africa and Europe, and explored their coasts, were his sons, it will throw a stream of light upon the most brilliant period of Carthaginian history; and account for the aggrandizement of a state, with a family of heroes at its head, which, during three generations, gave it chiefs, illustrious for their deeds as generals, writers, and adventurers; and who, with the noble simplicity of the truly great, and therein only faithful to their nature, returned to the ploughshare when their country no longer needed their services.]

I. From VARRO *de Re Rustica.*

1. The worth (*nobilitas*) of the writers hitherto quoted, is eclipsed by Mago the Carthaginian, in the Punic language, as he comprised the subject in its various branches in twenty-eight books, which Cassius Dionysius of Utica translated into Greek in twenty books, and sent to the prætor Sextius, whereto he added many things from the above-mentioned Greek writers, and omitted eight of the books of Mago. Diophanes brought these from Bithynia, in six books, and sent them to king Dejotarus. Varro, i. 1, 10.

2. Mago and Dionysius wrote, that mares and female mules do not bring forth till twelve months after they have been impregnated. Varro, i. 1, 27.

3. Upon the health of black cattle I have borrowed a good deal from the books of Mago, which I make my herdsmen carefully read. Varro, ii. 5, 18.

4. There are two sorts of feeding; one upon the lands for black cattle, the other in the farm-yard for poultry, doves, bees, etc. Of these Mago of Carthage and Cassius Dionysius have treated in several parts of their works. Sejus of Sicily seems to have read these, and, in consequence of it, to have raised more produce on a single farm, than others upon their whole estate. Varro, iii. 2, 13.

II. From COLUMELLA *de Re Rustica.*

5. Diophanes from Bithynia has collected together, in six books, the whole of Dionysius of Utica, the translator of the Carthaginian Mago, whose works fill many volumes. Col. i. 1, 10.

6. But, in addition to those mentioned, we would honour above all, Mago the Carthaginian, the father of husbandry, whose twenty-eight well-known books, in consequence of a *senatus consultum*, have been rendered into Latin. Col. i. 1, 13.

7. This I believe is what Mago the Carthaginian would express, who begins his work with the following sentence: "Who would buy an estate, let him sell his house, that he may no longer be encumbered with his town-house, but give himself up entirely to that upon his land. He to whom an abode in the city lies close at heart, has no need of a country estate."

8. Democritus and Mago praise a north aspect for the vine; because they believe it bears most in this situation. But in goodness it will not surpass others. Col. iv. 12, 5.

9. In the planting of vines, let the sides of the trenches every now and then be lined with stones, which should not, however, be above five pounds' weight. For these, says Mago, keep out the wet in winter, and in the summer the moist and damp from the roots.—Even so this writer is of opinion, that the pressed-out grapes, mixed with dung, strengthens the seed laid in the earth, because it draws new roots; but this in wet and cold weather warms at the proper time, and in summer nourishes the young vines, and makes them fruitful. If, however, the soil in which the vine is set be poor, then must rich earth be found and put in the trenches. Col. iii. 15, 4, 5.

10. For the pruning of the vine once every two years suits very well. The best time, however, as Mago says, is the spring, before the shoots become long, because, being still full of sap, they may be easiest and most evenly cut, and they do not oppose the sickle. Col. iv. 10.

11. Mago the Carthaginian adds also to the rule for setting the vine: that the seed being planted, the trench should not be immediately filled up, but half of it left to the following year; by which, he says, the root of the plant is forced to strike downward. Col. v. 5, 4.

12. In the purchase of cattle for the plough, there are certain rules for the farmer to attend to, which Mago the Carthaginian has thus laid down for his instruction. The steer should be young, strong, with large joints; long, blackish, and stiff horns; broad and curled forehead, rough ears, black eyes and lips, white and distended nostrils, long and bowed neck, white dewlap, which should hang down to the knees, a broad chest, large haunches, a spacious belly, extended sides, broad loins, exact and even pace, round buttocks, straight legs, not far asunder, and rather short than long, stiff knees, long and hairy tail, a short and thick head, red or brown colour, and soft to the touch. Col. vi. 1, 2, 3.

13. The castration of calves should be performed, according to Mago, while they are young, and not with an iron, but with a split rod, with which the testicles should be pressed together and gradually squashed. See further in Col. vi. 26, 1, sqq.

14. Some writers, not to be passed by, as Cato, and before him Mago and Dionysius, mention, that the foaling of she-mules was so far from being considered a prodigy in Africa, that it was almost as common as that of mares. Col. iv. 37, 3.

15. Mago, as well as Democritus and Virgil, asserts, that at certain times bees proceed from the belly of a slaughtered young cow. Mago asserts that it also happens in the paunch of oxen. Col. ix. 15, 3.

16. Some are of opinion, that among bees the ancient brood should be entirely destroyed, which I, referring to Mago, do not maintain. Col. ix. 15, 3.

17. History informs us that neither the Carthaginian nor Greek writers (upon farming), nor even the Roman, have neglected to attend to small matters. For Mago the Carthaginian, and Hamilcar, held it not beneath their dignity, when they were unoccupied by war, to contribute thereby their quota towards human life. Col. xii. 4, 2.

18. Mago gives directions for making the very best sort of wine, (*passum optimum*,) as I myself have done. Take bunches of grapes, quite ripe, and well boiled; take away the dry or faulty parts; form a frame of stakes or forks, spreading thereon a layer of reeds; spread the grapes upon these, and place them in the sun, covering them at night from the dew. When they are dry, pluck off the berries, throw them in a cask, and make of them the first must. If they have well drained, put them the sixth day in a vessel, press them, and take the (first) wine. After adding thereto must, quite cold, the berries must be again pounded and pressed. The second wine may then be placed in a pitched vessel lest it become sour. After twenty or thirty days, when it has fermented, clear it off into another vessel, whose cover must be immediately stopped close, and covered with a skin. Col. xii. 39, 1, 2.

19. Mago the Carthaginian directs, that the pomegranate should be dipped in hot sea-water, then rubbed with flax or tow till they lose their colour; they are next to be dried in the sun for three days, and afterwards hung up in a cool place. Before being used they must be soaked in cold fresh water for a night or day. He also recommends that they should be smeared over, when fresh, with thick chalk, and hung up in a cool place; before using, steep them in water to get off the chalk. He also gives another method, which is to lay them by layers in a new earthen vessel, strewing saw-dust between every layer, till the vessel be full, then place on the cover, which must be carefully smeared over with thick glue. Col. xii. 44, 5, 6.

20. Mago recommends that the olive-tree should be planted in a dry soil, soon after the autumnal equinox, before the shortest day. Col. *de Arb.* 17, 1.

III. From Palladius *de Re Rustica.*

21. Mago advises that the trench in which vines are planted, should not be filled up at once, but gradually, which causes the roots to strike the deeper. Pallad. *Feb.* x. 3.

22. Mago gives instructions for the castration of calves, etc. (See above, No. 13.) Pallad. *Maj.* vii. 1.

IV. From the 'ΙΠΠΙΑ'ΤΡΙΚΑ, *Basil*, 1538.

23. When a horse suffers from violent asthma (δύσπνοιᾳ) he draws in one side, his eyes are dull, if not both, at least the right one, his mouth is hot, and he stumbles in his gait. This disease, if taken at the beginning, may with proper care be easily cured. Examine, therefore, closely the shape of the horse; if he draws in his right side he will be soon healed, but if he draws in the left it is a chance if he gets over it. One of his veins must be opened, and a draught administered composed of crocus, myrrh, nard, white pepper, pure honey, old oil, resin oil (ἐλαίου ῥοδίνου), seethed together in honey water. *Medicinæ Veterinari*, lib. ii. p. 95.

V. From Plinii *Hist. Natural.*

24. Among the trees which are raised from kernels, Mago is particularly copious upon nuts. Almonds should be planted in soft loam, towards the south. They thrive best in hard, warm soils; in rich and damper ones they become unfruitful or die. The best sort to plant are the sickle-formed, after they have been three days soaked in muddy water. They should be set with the top downwards; the sharp side towards the north: they are planted in triangles, a palm from each other; and should be watered every ten days till they become of a good size. Plin. xvii. 11.

25. Mago recommends that poplars should be planted in trenches, which have been prepared a year before, whereby they imbibe the sun and rain. If this direction is not followed, let a fire be made therein two months before planting, which must only be done after rain. Plin. xvii. 16.

26. Mago says of olive trees, that they should be planted seventy-five feet from each other; or, in hard soil, exposed to the wind, at least forty-five feet. Plin. xvii. 19.

27. Mago says that the olive tree should be planted upon hills, in dry and stiff soil, between autumn and winter. In rich and damp soil, between harvest and winter. It may easily be seen that these directions were intended for Africa. Plin. xvii. 30.

28. Even kings have written upon agriculture, as Hiero, Attalus Philometor, and Archelaus; also generals, as Xenophon, and Mago the Carthaginian, whose work was so honoured by the senate, that when, after the conquest of Carthage, it sent the libraries of that city to the king's there, it caused his work in twenty-eight books to be translated into Latin, by persons well acquainted with the Punic language, among whom D. Silanus, belonging to one of the first families, surpassed all others. Plin. xviii. 7.

29. Mago goes rather beyond the mark, and not according to what is evidently best, when he desires, that he who would take a farm should sell his house. As he, however, thus opens his preface, he shows, at least, that it requires great industry and attention. Plin. xviii. 7.

30. Concerning the manner of grinding or pounding, Mago says, that maize should be first sprinkled with water, then cleaned, then dried in the sun, and pounded in a mortar. Barley the same. Twenty measures thereof should be moistened with two measures of water. Lentils should be first dried, then lightly pounded with the bran; vetches just the same. Sesame must be first soaked in warm water, then rubbed and thrown into cold, when the chaff will float on the top; it must then be dried in the sun upon linen cloths. Plin. xviii. 23.

31. Mago directs that the albucum should be mown, if it has blown, at the end of March or beginning of April. He also says, the Greeks named *pistana*, (what we call adder's-tongue,) arrow-head, among the *Sagittaria*. Plin. xxi. 68, 69. The further translation of the passage, which shows how accurately Mago treated of the various sorts of rushes, requires botanical explanations. The above shows that he was not unacquainted with Greek literature.

VIII. *On the Genealogy of the ruling Houses of Carthage.*

The whole tenor of Carthaginian history and government is much easier apprehended by our observing, that, even in the most flourishing times of the republic, before the commencement of the Roman wars, single families, throughout many generations, stood at its head. Among these, as is mentioned in the text, the first and most important is that of Mago, which for one hundred and fifty years gave generals to the republic. The genealogy of these houses is interwoven with great difficulties, because in Carthage there were no family names, and the

descent of each member can only be known by the father's name being stated. It may, however, and especially of that of the house of Mago, be collected from Justin and Diodorus, as the following attempt will show, in which I have set down the authority for every statement.

1. MAGO, the founder of the house, became also the founder of the Carthaginian predominancy, by the introduction of military discipline and tactics in the army. Justin, xix. 1. As his sons were contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, he must have been the contemporary of Cambyses and Cyrus, between 550—500 B. C. He left behind him two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who inherited at the same time his power and greatness. They were engaged in the African and Sicilian wars. Justin, xix. 1. The first of them,

2. HASDRUBAL, was eleven times general, and four times enjoyed triumphs. Justin, xix. 1. He fell, sorely wounded, in Sardinia, when the command descended to his brother,

3. HAMILCAR. This general carried on extensive wars in Sicily, during which ambassadors came to Carthage from Darius. He was killed in the Sicilian wars (Justin, xix. 2) while contending with Gelon of Syracuse, 480 B. C. Herod. vii. 165. Diod. i. p. 420.

Each of these brothers left behind three sons. Justin, xix. 2. Those of Hasdrubal were,

4. HANNIBAL. 5. HASDRUBAL. 6. SAPPHO. All three generals, probably in Africa, against the native tribes, by which Carthage was freed from paying tribute. Justin, xix. 2.

The three sons of Hamilcar were, Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco. Justin, xix. 2. The first,

7. HIMILCO, succeeded to his father in the command in Sicily; lost his army by a pestilence; and killed himself. Justin, xix. 2, 3. (Other historians relate the latter as happening to the younger Himilco, the grandson, No. 11. It is therefore very probable that Justin has here made a mistake.)

8. Hanno, the second son of Hamilcar, has nothing mentioned respecting him by Justin except his name. According to a conjecture, not improbable, he is held to be the author of the celebrated Periplus, in which case, his brother Himilco would be the author of the other Periplus, (now lost,) along the coast of Spain. See above, p. 43. He must not be confounded with the Hanno mentioned by Justin, xx. 5, and xxi. 4; but it is very probable that he is the father of Himilco spoken of under No. 11.

9. GISCO, the third son of Hamilcar, is known with certainty from history; as well as from Justin, xix. 2, and Diod. i. p. 574, 588. Through the defeat of his father, he was unfortunately doomed to exile, and closed his life at Selinus. Diod. l. c. He had a son named

10. HANNIBAL, Diod. i. p. 590. A successful commander in the Sicilian wars, 410 B. C. He was again elected general, 406, in the first war against Dionysius I., and chose as his colleague, on account of his own great age, his cousin.

11. HIMILCO, (or, as he is oftener called, HAMILCAR,) the son of Hanno, of the same family. Diod. i. p. 603. It seems therefore very likely that he was the son of Hannibal's father's brother, Hanno; but at all events of the house of Mago. He prosecuted the war with success, and brought it to a close in 405. It can scarcely be doubted but it was this same Himilco who, in the second war with Dionysius I., 398, obtained, as king, the command of the Carthaginians, Diod. i. 681, but who, in the year 396, losing his army by the plague, secured a safe retreat for the Carthaginians that still survived, and left the hired troops to shift for themselves. After his return to Carthage he made away with himself. Diod. i. p. 700, 701.

It seems very probable that with this Himilco his house fell into decay, at least there is no proof that the later generals belonged to it. His successor in the command was Mago, Diod. i. p. 711, whose father is not named. He closed the war, 392, by a treaty. Diod. *ib.* In the third war against Dionysius, 333 B. C., he again obtained the command as king; but was beaten and slain. His son, of the same name, quite a youth, was his successor, Diod. ii. p. 15, who successfully ended the war in the same year, by a treaty.

So far as can be gathered from the fragments that are left of the history of Carthage for the succeeding periods, there does not seem to be any single ruling house previous to the time of Hamilcar Barca, that maintained itself so long at the head of the government as that of Mago. What little is left to be said respecting the consanguinity of the chiefs and generals of the republic is as follows:

In the war against Timoleon we read of, as generals, Mago, who lost the command through a defeat, and killed himself, 341 B. C.; Plutarch. *Op.* i. p. 244. It is uncertain whether this be the same Mago who put an end to the war in the year 383. He was succeeded by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, slain by Timoleon, 340 B. C. Plutarch. i. p. 248. Their family is unknown.

Another house now raised itself, and became so powerful as to endanger the public liberty; that of Hanno, who had one son, Gisco, and he again two sons, Hamilcar, and one whose name is not stated, who was the father of Bomilcar.

1. Of HANNO, the founder of this family, nothing is known, if we do not take him for the Hanno whose unsuccessful attempt at a revolution, 340 B. C., is described by Justin, xxi. 4. We must, to be sure, in that case, change what Justin says, namely, that all his sons were executed with him, to a sentence of banishment, from which his son Gisco might then be recalled in the same year, 340. Perhaps this opinion will be strengthened by the reproach which Bomilcar cast upon the Carthaginians for their injustice, Justin, xxii. 7, when he takes the examples from his own family, and among them Hanno. However this may be, Hanno had a son named

2. GISCO, who was recalled from exile in order to take command, 340 B. C. Diodorus, ii. p. 144; Plutarch. in *Timol. Op.* i. p. 248. One of his sons,

3. HAMILCAR, (Justin, xxii. 23,) a Carthaginian of the highest rank, Diodorus, ii. p. 399, was general against Agathocles in Sicily, but being made prisoner by the Syracusans, he was by them put to death. Diod. ii. p. 426. Justin, xxii. 7, confounds him with another Hamilcar, who chiefly supported Agathocles, but who is carefully distinguished from him by Diodorus.

4. His BROTHER (whose name is not any where mentioned) is only known by being the father of

5. BOMILCAR, who, according to Justin, xxii. 7, wishing to desert to Agathocles, was, on that account, put to death by the Carthaginians, 308 B. C. But, according to Diod. ii. p. 473, this happened because he wished to obtain the chief authority by force.

HOUSE OF MAGO.

1. Mago, from 550—500 B. C.

2. Hasdrubal, general in Sicily and Sardinia.

3. Hamilcar, † in Sicily, 480 B. C.

4. Hannibal. 5. Hasdrubal. 6. Sappho. Generals, probably in Africa.

7. Himilco. General in Sicily.

8. Hanno. | 11. Himilco. General, 406—396. Killed himself, 395.

9. Gisco, † at Selinus, in exile. | 10. Hannibal. General, 410—406, B. C.

HOUSE OF HANNO.

1. Hanno, executed, 340 B. C.

2. Gisco. General, 340 B. C.

3. Hamilcar. General, 311 B. C. Prisoner, and put to death in Syracuse, 309.

4. Anonym. | 5. Bomilcar. Executed, 303 B. C.

For the next sixty years after this, when the house of Barca attained the lead, from 247 B. C., there was no ruling family in Carthage. The genealogy of this house, consisting of Hamilcar Barca, the son of Hannibal, (of whom we know nothing further,) his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, is generally known. While of the family of Hanno the Great, which so long maintained a preponderance, history has preserved no account.

IX. *See page* 145.

Since the year 1825, when the last German edition of this work appeared, considerable advances have been made in the exploration of the interior of Africa. By the travels of Denham and Clapperton, not only (as was remarked at p. 113) has the position of the kingdom of Bornou, formerly placed eight degrees too far eastward, been corrected, so that its western frontier town, Lari, and Angornow, lie under the same meridian as Mourzouk in Fezzan, thus the continuation of the road by Bilma, the seat of the Atlantes, brings us directly upon it, but also the kingdom of Cuffa and the Fellatahs, to which, however, no information of the ancients extend, are by their means freed from obscurity.

The question, too, respecting the mouth of the Joliba, is, according to the public Journals, now decided by the journey of Lander, the former servant of Clapperton, in such a way that this river, changing its eastward course, and turning westward, discharges itself into the Atlantic Ocean in the Bight of Benin; for that traveller, sailing down this stream, reached the sea in that bay, and thus ascertained that the mouths of the Benin river are those of the Joliba: we still, however, hope for more exact information on this matter.

But even now the general course of the rivers of Northern Africa or Soudan is very imperfectly known, and the question, how it came to be believed by the ancients (a belief which still exists) that the Nile flows from the west, and that it communicates with the Joliba, remains unanswered. It has been remarked already, that this opinion prevailed as early as Herodotus, and that he or his informants founded upon it their idea, that the stream which he knew of, and which the Nasamones had discovered, was the Nile. As long as the size of the large lake Tsaad, discovered by Denham and Clapperton, is unknown, and the course of the White River remains unexplored to its source, so long is there still a possibility that, at least during the annual inundations, such a connexion of their waters may still exist.

A recent historian, the late B. G. Niebuhr, has given a sense to the words of Herodotus, by which a completely erroneous idea of the geography of the interior of Africa is attributed to him.[1] He assumes that, according to Herodotus, the course of the Nile *immediately above Egypt or Elephantis* must be considered as flowing from the west. To agree with this, all that Herodotus places to the south of Egypt up to Meroë and the country of the Automoli (the emigrants of the Egyptian warrior caste) falls to the westward: so that on his map Meroë is placed on the southern frontier of Fezzan, the land of the Garamantes; and the Automoli near Bilma. This view of the subject is one of those paradoxes which are so abundant in this writer, though we willingly do justice to his acuteness and learning in other respects. But though Herodotus brings the Nile from the west, and founds upon this notion the conjecture, (for only as such does he give it, ii. 33,) that the Nile in Libya runs parallel with the Danube in Europe; he has *no where* stated that this is its direction immediately above Egypt and Elephantis. He rather asserts the contrary, since he makes it first run by the Automoli; and according to his notion the stream which the Nasamones discovered is probably the Nile (ii. 32, 33). But they did not reach this river till they had crossed the desert, consequently it lay much deeper in Africa. Besides, how could Herodotus have formed such an opinion, when he not only clearly drew his knowledge from persons who had followed the course of the stream above Egypt to Meroë, but had also—he himself having been at Elephantis (ii. 31)—seen the contrary?

The long-celebrated Tombuctoo also has been at last reached by the French traveller Caillié, and described by him in his *Voyage à Tombuctoo* (p. 292). It is true, that in splendour and size it is far from answering the expectation previously entertained respecting it. Nevertheless, it still appears as an important place of trade, especially as a staple for salt, so considerable an article of commerce even in ancient times.

[1] *A Dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus, with a Map*; and *Researches into the History of the Scythians, Getæ, and Sarmatians*, translated from the German of B. G. Niebuhr, in 8vo. Oxford, 1830.

How old the present Tombuctoo may be we do not know; the name does not occur in Edrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century; but is found in Leo Africanus in the fifteenth. But Ptolemy (*Geograph.* iv. 6) places his *Niger-Metropolis* on the north side of the Niger, in lat. 17° 40′ and long. 25°, which, after the reduction of the degrees of longitude necessary with him, gives 18° long. from Ferro, which suits the spot on which Tombuctoo stands in our latest maps. This then shows at least thus much, that in *his* age a considerable town existed in the neighbourhood of the modern Tombuctoo; whether such was the case in that of Herodotus we are unable to determine.

[ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.]

X. *The Travels of Mr. Hoskins into Ethiopia.*

Travels in Ethiopia, above the second cataract of the Nile, exhibiting the state of that country, and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohamed Ali, and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq., with a map, and ninety illustrations of the temples, pyramids, etc. of Meroë, Gibel el Birkel, Solib, etc., from drawings finished on the spot, by the author, and an artist whom he employed. Large 4to, xvi and 367 pp. 1835. Longman and Co.

This is the most extensive work that has been yet published upon ancient Ethiopia, and especially upon Meroë, which was the great object of the author's journey, and for which he prepared himself not only by a long abode in Greece and Italy, in order to study the monuments of these countries, but also in Egypt, where he resided a whole year, for the same purpose. He set out from Thebes in Upper Egypt, February 1st, 1833, penetrated as far as the ancient city of Meroë, and arrived, on his return, at Wadi Alfa, the second cataract of the Nile, on the 16th of June, when his account closes, so that his journey into Ethiopia lasted four months and a half. His retinue consisted of twelve persons whom he hired to accompany him; among them was an expert Italian painter named Baldoni, to whom we are mainly indebted for the beautiful drawings by which the descriptions are illustrated. The work is cast in the form of a journal; to which are added four chapters on the history and affairs of ancient Meroë.

It will be unnecessary, however, for us to follow the author step by step; it will be sufficient for our purpose to select such parts of his work as may serve to extend our knowledge of these remote regions. He obtained from the Ababdés, after some delay, eleven camels, the number he required. From Philæ, he at first followed the course of the river, but left it to cross the Nubian deserts to Korosko, which are already known by the Travels of Bruce and Burkhardt, whom this author always mentions with great respect. The party only in one place met with water, which was salt; the skeletons of famished travellers and dead camels were lying in heaps along the way. Near Macharif, the present capital of Nubia, they again reached the Nile, and henceforward continued their journey along the river; and thus, after passing the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile, they arrived on the 4th of March at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. The town has entirely disappeared; the Necropolis with its pyramids alone remains. With these we are already acquainted from the accounts of Caillaud; but the descriptions and drawings here given us are much more complete and accurate. "Never," says he, "were my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent, but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroë. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for awhile lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, whilst the dilapidated state of

many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful, as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination, and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to more distant ages." The author first gives the position of the single pyramids in a general plan, in which we remark twenty-one in greater or less preservation, as well as the traces of several others. These, however, are only the pyramids of the principal group, which the author first reached, on the west side of the river. But he mentions three groups, in which eighty pyramids may be counted. The principal group is situate on a hill, two miles and a half from the river. Drawings of some of them are given in the following part of his work, with their dimensions. The largest is sixty feet high, and the same in diameter. Most of them may be ascended, but others are without steps. One has a window, but it is only an architectural ornament, and not for the purpose of admitting light. All have a portico with an entrance, which always faces the west. The principal group contains thirty-one pyramids, and the plan of twenty-three of them may be distinctly traced. Another group contains thirteen; two out of three other groups consist each of two; a third, of six. At the distance of 6500 feet from the chief group towards the west may be discerned the remains of twenty-six pyramids, all of them, however, in ruins. The porticoes generally contain a room from six to twelve feet in length and as many in breadth, the façades of which are much ornamented. We may clearly recognise in them, says the author, the origin of the Egyptian propylons. At the end of most of these porticoes, opposite to the entrance, there is the representation of a monolithic temple, with sculptures, which are, however, much defaced. It is evident that attempts have been made, either from curiosity or rapacity, to break open several of these temples. No where is there the slightest vestige of their having contained corridors; probably they were erected over wells, in which the bodies were deposited. The entrance of one of these porticoes was arched, from which the author infers that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, which he considers to have originated in Ethiopia. But the example of a single one, which may possibly have been built at a later period, is by no means conclusive. And even had the arch been known in Egypt, it could not have been introduced in the temples, where everything was done in conformity to the strict rules laid down by the priests, from which no departure was allowed.

The walls of the portico are adorned with sculptures, of which fac-similes are here given. They consist of processions with libations and sacrifices, in honour of a goddess, or, as the author supposes, a queen represented as a goddess. The principal figure, which is in a sitting posture, is covered with a long close robe, which is not usual with Egyptian figures. The whole figure is unlike the Egyptians. It is also distinguished by marked corpulency, which, as is well known, is considered one of the principal beauties in the East. Two other sheets contain a representation of a second procession of the same kind, in which, however, it is impossible to determine the sex of the principal figure, or to distinguish whether it is a king or a queen. From the work of Caillaud we know that there are also representations of military subjects, such as the execution of prisoners, but none of these are here repeated. And whenever discrepancies are found between the drawings given here and those of Caillaud, the author vouches for the correctness of Mr. Baldoni's and of his own, the latter of which were executed partly with the assistance of the camera lucida. The pyramids are of sandstone. The quarries from which they were built are still to be seen in the mountains. Time, and the effects of a tropical sun, have given them a brownish, almost a black tinge. The climate is, however, favourable to the preservation of these monuments. Hence the dilapidated condition of many of them is the most convincing proof of their great age.

There are no remains of the ancient city of Meroë, except some masonry, and some of the bricks of which, according to Strabo, the houses were built. As at Memphis, there is scarcely a vestige of a temple or palace: the City of the Dead alone remains! Gazelles now fearlessly pasture upon the plain which surrounded it; the neighbouring hills abound in wolves and hyænas. But the name Meroë still lives in that of a neighbouring village. From thence the author went to Shendy, which is sufficiently known from the accounts of Burkhardt.

The town now only contains from 3000 to 3500 inhabitants, and from six to seven hundred houses. The bazaar is chiefly appropriated to the sale of slaves and camels; sheep and goats are also sold there. The coloured portraits of its inhabitants, of both sexes, show that their complexion was brown, but not black. Before their subjection to the pacha of Egypt, Shendy, Dongolah, and other towns, had their own chiefs, (meleks,) who were more or less subject to the great melek of Sennaar; these were so many petty tyrants, who, with their families, constituted the aristocracy of the country. Now they are all subject to Hurschid Bey, the governor of Sennaar, who sends from five hundred to three thousand slaves annually to Cairo to the pacha.

From Shendy the author went, on the 9th of March, through the desert to the ruins of Mezara or Wadi Owataib, which are already known from Caillaud, and drawings of which are again given here; and reached them on the following day, the 10th of March. "I was surprised to find such extensive remains of antiquity in such a situation, as it were, in the interior of the desert. They consist of a building containing temples, courts, corridors, etc., which were not only destined for religious, but also for civil and domestic purposes, and upon the whole measured 2854 feet in circumference. In the centre there is a small temple, forty-seven feet long and forty wide, which is evidently the principal temple. It is surrounded by a colonnade, which on the north side is double. The interior contains four columns. The temple is approached by a long corridor. At each side of the gate to which the corridor leads, there is a colossal image hewn in the wall; but it is mutilated, the head and arms being wanting. The style of the one is tolerably good; that of the other far inferior. An accurate notion of the buildings which surround the central temple cannot be conveyed by description; they must be referred to in the plan. This is the building in which the reviewer in his inquiries respecting Meroë thought he recognised the old temple of the oracle of Ammon. He considered himself borne out in this assumption partly by its situation in the desert, according to the statement of Diodorus, and partly by the enigmatic plan of the building itself, whilst the four columns in the interior immediately suggest the idea that they were destined to support the sacred ship, by means of which, as is well known, the oracles of Ammon were delivered, and a representation of which may be seen on many of his temples in Thebes. This, however, was limited expressly to the central temple, as it is obvious that the surrounding buildings were not erected all at once, but gradually, as occasion required, and especially as residences for the priests. But the author, who elsewhere generally coincides in the opinions of the reviewer, here objects that the temple would have had hieroglyphs upon it. He cannot form any more definite conjecture as to its purpose than that the whole was perhaps a pleasure-castle of the king's, or that it may have served as a hospital. The reviewer is far from being bigoted to his own opinion, but no one can deny that its destination was of a religious nature, as the principal building was a temple, the smallness of which will not excite surprise when it is considered that it was intended for the reception of the ship of the oracle; and as for the want of hieroglyphs, the six columns of the portico, according to Caillaud, certainly appear to be furnished with them. We willingly leave this to the judgment of the readers, especially as the reviewer has not made this assumption the basis of further hypotheses; and the above remark, that the whole building only arose gradually, also serves to explain the traces of Grecian architecture, as we know from Diodorus that the temple was still standing uninjured in the Ptolemaic age, in which king Ergamenes overthrew the priestly aristocracy.

From this monument the author went to the ruins of the temple of Abu-naga, of which nothing more than the area is given, and a drawing representing two pillars, which are also without hieroglyphs. The author considers these from their style to be the oldest monuments of ancient Meroë, "for," he observes, "the absence of hieroglyphs is either a proof of the highest or of a later antiquity. From hence he intended to go to the ruins of Mezaurat, eleven miles distant, for the first accounts of which we are indebted to Caillaud; this plan, however, he was obliged to relinquish. Even at the ruins of Maga they had been disturbed by lions, whose vicinity was announced by their traces and their roar; it was only by kindling fires at night that they could scare them away. The danger to be apprehended from these unbidden guests in case they penetrated farther into the desert, was depicted as so great that his companions refused to follow him, and thus he saw himself reluctantly obliged to return. To ascend the White River to its source the author considered at present impracticable, on account of the feelings which the inhabitants of its banks entertained towards the pacha of Egypt.

On the 14th of March the author set out from Shendy, on the opposite Metammah, on his return. He determined to return by another route, namely, to the west of the Nile, through the desert Bajoudah, his description of which is a valuable addition to our geographical knowledge. This desert is not destitute of trees and springs; the sand is not very deep, and in many places there was a pleasing prospect. The immediate object of his journey was Gibel el Birkel, with its monuments, and the place called Meraweh, in which the ancient name itself has been preserved, and in which, even without this, may be recognised a colony from ancient Meroë. They reached it on the 22nd of March. The plan and the drawings differ in many respects from those of Caillaud, but he assures us that he took the greatest pains to attain the utmost possible exactness, in which respect generally the author's work may claim the preference, as he had taken a skilful artist into his service for the purpose. The monuments here divide themselves into two classes, temples and pyramids. The temples stand at the foot of an isolated hill, 350 feet in height. Two of them are entirely in ruins, in consequence of the fall of a mountain; two are excavated in the rock; the others, eight in number, the remains of which may still be perceived, are above ground. They are built in the Egyptian style, and upon them are inscribed the names of the three Pharaohs of the Egyptian dynasty, Sabaco, Senachus, Tirhako, who also reigned in Egypt, and whose reigns fall between 800 and 700 B. C., to which period must also be referred the erection of these monuments. The author has not only given an exact architectural description of them, with ground-plans and drawings, but also of the ornaments on their walls, representing processions and military scenes, which are already known from Caillaud, but are here drawn more minutely, for which we must refer the reader to the work itself. The Necropolis, consisting of pyramids, is divided into two parts; the one on the west side of the river, by Gibel el Birkel, the other on the east side near Nuri. They are in better preservation than those of ancient Meroë, and also have porticoes; the highest, near Nuri, is eighty-eight feet high. They are also of sandstone, and the reliefs around, and in the porticoes likewise, represent religious processions and military subjects. The spectacle of all these ruins produced a grand impression. "I felt," says the author, "that I was indubitably in the vicinity of a once rich and flourishing country." The pyramids may be ascended, but not without great trouble. The height of most of them is between thirty and sixty feet. The plan exhibits fourteen pyramids near Gibel el Birkel. Those at Nuri, on the east side of the river, are more dilapidated; the author reckons them among the most ancient monuments; the number of those at Nuri is thirty-five, only fourteen of which are in any degree of preservation. The subjects described on the walls leave no doubt that they are mausolea of kings and queens.

On the 3rd of April the author embarked at Meraweh on his return, descended the Nile, and on the 10th arrived at Dongolah. Dongolah is a lively town, and carries on a considerable trade with various parts. The bazaars were abundantly stocked, as were the slave markets, of which there were several, classed according to the difference of age and sex. The slaves chiefly came from Abyssinia; the greater part of them are sent to Egypt. Dongolah formerly had its own chiefs or meleks, but it is now under the supremacy of the pacha of Egypt, who has a governor there. Much interesting information is given concerning the inhabitants, and their manners and customs. He continued his journey upon the river, which he descended as far as the island Argo, in order to see and describe its antiquities. These consist of two prostrate colossal statues of grey granite. The faces are Egyptian, but the sculpture Ethiopian. They appear never to have been entirely finished. The author was here informed that a re-

volt had broken out in the province of Mahas, which it was necessary that he should traverse. As it was impossible to continue his journey in that direction, he was compelled to return to Dongolah. It was not until the reduction of the insurgents had been effected that the journey could be continued, which was performed partly upon the Nile itself, but chiefly along its left bank. It has already been mentioned that his diary ends with his arrival at the second cataract of the Nile, at Wadi Halfa.

Four more chapters follow: the first two on the history of Meroë, the next on its trade, and the last on its art. The history of Meroë is founded upon those passages in sacred as well as profane writers, which mention that city; with the assistance, however, of the inscriptions in the temples, (as the names and titles of the Pharaohs in the hieroglyphic writing, which the author saw and carefully copied, are uniformly added,) whilst especial use has been made of the accounts of Rosellini, to whom the author does full justice. A field for investigation is here opened upon various points, (e. g. when the author identifies the Sethos of Herodotus with Tirhako,) but into which we cannot follow him without exceeding our limits. It may, however, be here remarked, that the author in these four chapters concurs upon the whole in the opinions of the reviewer, to which he often refers, and according to which Meroë was the mother-country of the worship of Ammon, which extended itself from thence, by means of colonies, into Egypt, and may consequently in so far be called the mother-country of civilization, which stood in the closest connexion with this worship; a connexion, however, which was first extended and matured in Egypt. It would be superfluous to enlarge upon this subject here, as the reviewer must naturally refer to his writings. Thus much, however, he must observe, that gratified as he must be once more to see the results of those investigations confirmed by the testimony of an eye-witness, he must still protest against its being supposed (as has already been asserted in an English journal) that he subscribes to all the author's conclusions.

We have already alluded to the valuable copper-plates and vignettes with which the work is furnished, and which are in various respects highly instructive. This may especially be asserted of the coloured portraits of the races of those regions whose complexion may here be distinctly recognised. The vignettes represent, for the most part, landscapes, and are chiefly executed with the camera lucida. The larger sheets, which exhibit drawings of the monuments, give partly the general plans, partly the ruins in their present, and some of them in their former state, as far as this can still be recognised. At the end of the work there is a drawing on four large sheets, representing a grand procession in one of the royal sepulchres of Thebes, (according to the author, Thutmosis III., c. 1500 B. C.,) on which are delineated the three races, namely, the red or brown, the black, and the white; besides which it exhibits various species of animals, even the giraffe and the elephant, and many varieties of monkeys; other objects of trade, as described in Hal. III. 97 and 114, are also represented, concerning which the author has treated, and given an explanatory commentary. The large map annexed comprehends the whole region of the Nile with its rivers from 15½° N. Lat. to its mouths.

XI. *A comparison of the ideas put forth by the author upon the high antiquity of Egypt, with those of Champollion and Rosellini.*

The progressive development of ethnographical science, and the more accurate examination and study of ancient monuments, have been of the utmost service to these researches; and in the various editions and translations of this work, which have been called for since its first appearance, (in a very imperfect form, in the year 1793,) it has been my earnest endeavour to keep pace with the age, and to take advantage of every new light which time and increasing information have brought to bear upon this subject. Egypt in this respect has been more highly favoured than any other country without the limits of Europe. Military and

scientific expeditions have greatly extended our information respecting its monuments and history. One of the most important of these, so far as science is concerned, was undertaken in 1828 and 1829, at the expense of the governments of France and Tuscany, and placed under the direction of Champollion and Rosellini. To whom, indeed, could more properly have been confided such a charge than to the learned Orientalist to whom we are indebted for the learned essay upon the interpretation of hieroglyphics? To him was committed the task of examining and developing his own system upon the very spot to which it referred. A cruel destiny, however, did not allow him to put together the materials which he had collected; scarcely had he returned to his native country when a premature death tore him from his literary labours, just as he was preparing a grammar of hieroglyphics, the publication of which is still anxiously expected.

It is some consolation to know, that those exertions which Mr. Champollion began, in conjunction with a friend every way fitted for the task, Rosellini, professor of the Oriental languages at Pisa, are still continued by that gentleman. This great work, so far as we can judge from the parts already finished, and now lying before us, could scarcely have been confided to abler hands. The plan on which the collection is made is deserving of much praise; it is divided into several sections, the subjects being arranged under separate heads; the first contains the historical part, the lives of the kings; the others treat of public and private life, arts and sciences, and the religion of the Egyptians. The author, who is much opposed to all hypotheses, and who has well studied the language and writings of this nation, strictly confines himself to the explanation of its monuments.[1]

Of the entire work, *I monumenti del' Egitto e della Nubia, designati ed illustrati dal dottore Ippolito Rosellini*, the first part, in two volumes, *I monumenti storici*, has only as yet appeared. It is accompanied by a superb atlas, containing portraits of the Pharaohs, and the inscriptions belonging to them.

It is hardly necessary, I think, for me to mention that I do not purpose to enter upon a detailed criticism of this work, for which, indeed, I do not possess the means. My object is simply to point out in what particulars, and how far, the principal results of these investigations confirm or contradict the opinions I have adopted in my works. It must not, however, be forgotten that the two volumes published by M. Rosellini only treat of the chronological history of the kings and various dynasties of Egypt; and say nothing, as yet, upon politics or commerce, the objects to which I have more particularly turned my attention. But before I enter upon this subject, there is one point to which I feel bound to direct the attention of the reader, even though I should thereby incur the charge of presumption for calling in question the opinions of men who have seen the country and examined its monuments upon the spot.

The history of Egypt, arranged according to the thirty-one incomplete dynasties of Manetho, is divided, as regards its sources, into two parts or periods; one comprising the seventeen first dynasties, the other the eighteenth to the thirty-first. It is only of this latter period, about eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, that any monuments remain, or, if any, they are mere fragmentary morsels of very trifling importance. It consequently follows, that, for this period, Champollion and Rosellini are scarcely more advanced than other historians who have not visited Egypt; and this dispenses me from dwelling upon those few points in this portion of history in which I do not altogether agree with those learned Orientalists. In the second period, in which they find monuments and inscriptions to consult and interpret, the case is altogether different.

1. *On the origin of the Egyptian nation.*

I have represented the Egyptians as an aboriginal people of Africa, and as descended from the same race as the present inhabitants of Nubia. This race insensibly spread itself by colonies along the valley of the Nile into Lower Egypt. I have confined this assertion, however, to the superior castes of priests

[1] Introduzione, p. x.

and warriors; since it appears, according to the relations of the Egyptians themselves, that it was a sacerdotal caste, emigrated from Meroë, which, by the aid of its religion and superior intelligence, founded a dominion over the nomad tribes, the primitive inhabitants of Egypt. Such is also the opinion of Rosellini, although he does not mention Meroë, but only cites the generic name of Ethiopia.[1] I shall show, a little further on, that Champollion also held the same opinion, which is still further strengthened by the statements of other travellers quoted in my work.

2. *Foundation of the first States of Egypt.*

These were formed, according to my representations, by colonies transported from Meroë into Upper Egypt and along the valley of the Nile. My grounds for this opinion are the ordinary propagation of nations in high antiquity, coupled with what Herodotus[2] tells us of this custom among the priests of Meroë, and of some of those colonies to which oracles were attached, as Thebes in Egypt, Ammonium in the Libyan desert, and even Dodona in Greece, which the Thebain priests claimed to have founded. I have shown also that there is still found upon the site of ancient Meroë, a little sacerdotal state, that of Damer, devoted at once to commerce and oracles.[3]

Every one, moreover, must perceive, as I have frequently proved as regards Egypt, that it is in the nature of these colonies that the central point of each of them should consist of a sanctuary or temple.

Champollion has laid down his notions respecting the first population and civilization of Egypt, in a memoir addressed to the viceroy, before his departure for France.[4] According to this, first, Egypt was peopled by colonies from Abyssinia and Sennaar (Meroë); secondly, the Egyptians derive their origin from the race of Berbers, or Nubians; thirdly, these Berbers arrived in Egypt as nomades, entirely ignorant of the arts and sciences; fourthly, in taking to agriculture and a settled form of life, they laid the foundation of cities which in course of time became great and powerful; fifthly, the most ancient of which cities were Thebes, Edfou, and others; Middle and Lower Egypt were not inhabited till a later period; sixthly, in the beginning, the Egyptians were governed by priests, each canton having its pontiff, who had other priests under his command, and who reigned in the name of some deity.

The sacerdotal caste was overthrown by the military caste, whose chiefs raised themselves to the rank of kings about 2200 years B. C., the epoch at which the regular establishment of royal power took place in Egypt.

The points upon which Champollion and myself agree and differ may now very easily be seen. I cannot think that the first tribes which came into Egypt, founding colonies and building temples, could be nomades altogether so barbarous. But, fully believing that the germs of civilization were brought from Meroë into Egypt with the worship of Ammon, I am still willing to admit, that it did not grow and flourish until it was brought into this latter country.

With regard to the victory gained by the warriors over the priests, not only is this fact destitute of proof, but it is refuted by all the following history, in which the sacerdotal caste always holds the highest place. If, at the commencement, these pontiffs reigned in the various districts of Egypt in the name of some deity, and not of a king, they were themselves naturally princes or kings, even though they did not bear that title. Hence also it follows that their authority was connected with the temples. It will consequently be seen, that with little more than the difference of title, this agrees with my assertions; for these cantons, placed with their capitals and temples under the dominion of independent pontiffs, formed, in reality, so many little states. Champollion himself would undoubtedly have come to this conclusion, if he had been permitted to examine, leisurely and seriously, the notions which he only hastily put together in the shape of a memoir.

[1] Rosellini, ii. p. 323. [2] Herodotus, ii. 29. [3] See above, p. 219.
[4] Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie, p. 432—440.

3. *Of the seventeen first Dynasties of Manetho.*

I must here refer my readers to the comparison made in my fourteenth Appendix, of the dynasties of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus distinguishes these dynasties; one merely observes that, according to a list given him by the priests, (probably of Memphis,) the first king, Menes, had three hundred and thirty successors, of which they knew only the names, because they had left no monuments. It is only in setting out from Mœris and Sesostris that he gives the names of some few kings, but certainly not a consecutive list, although the priests might have given it to him as such. Diodorus, it is true, mentions some other kings, but he does not determine the number. It follows, therefore, that it is quite impossible to found upon the dynasties of these two authors any exact chronology. But Manetho, in his work, of which we possess only a few incomplete extracts, classes in chronological order the thirty-one dynasties preceding the conquest of Alexander. The question, then, which here presents itself, is, whether the first sixteen or seventeen dynasties succeeded each other regularly, or, whether several of them reigned over various states at the same time in different parts of Egypt, in the cities whose names they bear?

This question has been solved in various ways by historians; the majority, however, have declared for the latter opinion, and I have enlisted into their ranks for the reasons which I have set forth in the body of this work, without, however, meaning to assert that all these dynasties taken separately were contemporaneous with one another.

It is known that in very early times sacerdotal colonies did, aided by oracles and a common worship, spread civilization among the natives of Egypt. Antiquity, moreover, offers us several examples of this same kind of civilization among other nations, and particularly among the Phœnicians and Greeks. But I by no means intend to maintain that these various little states of Egypt remained independent of each other; on the contrary, it appears to me very probable that they were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes and Memphis. Thus it may have happened, that the Pharaoh who assigned dwellings to Jacob and his family in Lower Egypt, and who himself probably held his court at Memphis, was also master of Upper Egypt. It may have happened even, that before the invasion of the Hyksos, the Pharaohs of the seventeenth dynasty might have reigned over all the valley of the Nile. Possessing, however, no historical documents of this period, it is quite impossible for us to decide this question. It is only upon the expulsion of the Hyksos, and with the eighteenth dynasty, that all these Egyptian states became re-united into one single empire. Independent of all the reasons already brought forward, it seems beyond the limits of probability, that more than three hundred kings of divers families should have regularly succeeded during a long course of ages. It is also difficult to conceive that Egypt was all at once formed into a large empire, especially as the occupation of the southern parts was not effected by conquest, but by a succession of migrations.

The contrary opinion, namely, that the list of the kings of Egypt from Menes downwards, the pretended founder of the first dynasty, suffered no interruption, is adopted by M. Rosellini, who has devoted a separate chapter of his work to the consideration and establishment of this notion.[1] His chief support is the authority of Manetho, who, he asserts, must be understood in this sense. This, however, is debateable ground, as Eusebius lets drop, at least under the form of a conjecture,[2] the opposite opinion, and as the passage cited from Manetho may be made to help the proof of the contrary. But even admitting that such was really Manetho's opinion, still there is the question to be considered, how did he arrive at this opinion? The Egyptian priests, anxious to give to their state a high antiquity, had already cited to Herodotus and Diodorus catalogues of kings, certainly not following one another in chronological order. Might not, then, the same thing have taken place with regard to the lists furnished to Manetho?[3]

[1] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 98—111. [2] See above, p. 310, note 2. [3] Ibid. p. 311, note 1.

Among the Hindoos the names of kings are often thus mentioned as sovereigns of all India, when the great epics prove that this country contained several small states.[1]

I must leave the reader to judge between the opinion defended by M. Rosellini and mine, founded upon incontestable proofs deduced from historical inquiries. Fortunately all this has no bearing upon the question respecting the brilliant period of Egypt, to which the monuments direct us. Here M. Rosellini and myself do not differ except in a few particulars of little importance. With regard to the question whether the Sesostris of Herodotus is the Ramesses of the eighteenth dynasty, as M. Rosellini believes,[2] or Ramesses IV., Sethos, the first of the nineteenth, as M. Champollion supposes, I will not attempt to decide, for in all these sacerdotal traditions Sesostris is always mentioned as the great king of the Egyptians, to whom is necessarily attributed the exploits of sundry Pharaohs.

Not having attempted a history of Egypt, and chronological investigations, in the strict sense of the word, forming no part of my plan, I shall not enter upon a discussion of this subject with M. Rosellini. I have strictly confined myself to the establishing of certain general epochs, so as to determine pretty nearly the period in which the great monuments were built under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. This period I have placed between 1700 and 1200 B. C. According to M. Rosellini, the eighteenth dynasty began in the year B. C. 1822, and ended in 1474; but the nineteenth reaches down to B. C. 1270. I will admit willingly that the eighteenth dynasty goes back a century earlier than what I have placed it at, since we are both agreed that the most brilliant period of these two dynasties fell between 1800 and 1200. With regard to the great uncertainty which prevails in the chronological classification of the fifteen or sixteen first dynasties, M. Rosellini has allowed himself such an ample latitude in his explanation of them, that the subject seems to me exhausted.[3]

4. *On the origin of the Hyksos.*

The Hyksos, who inundated a great part of Egypt in the time of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasty, and who established themselves in Middle and Lower Egypt, were nomades. In this fact M. Rosellini agrees with me, which, moreover, is placed beyond a doubt by their being represented on the monuments with their flocks and herds. All are very naturally led to consider them as being the nomad tribes dwelling on the borders of Egypt. I have believed that I could recognise in them the Arab race, characterized by their beards, their long garments, and clear complexion; an opinion strongly corroborated by the testimony of Josephus:[4] M. Rosellini, on the contrary, takes them for Scythians; although we cannot comprise under this vague denomination any but the nomad tribes of the Mongol race of Central Asia. But none of the given statements will apply to any of these tribes; besides which there is nothing whatever to show that they had ever thus early undertaken any expeditions for conquest so far distant. M. Rosellini founds his assertion upon no other proof than upon an etymology, according to which he makes the name these tribes went by in Egypt to have been *Scios*, which appears to him the same as *Scythes*, and which signifies *destroyers*.[5] I dare not enter upon this question, but I must confess that I cannot renounce my own explanation.

[1] See Heeren's Researches, India, p. 164, sqq.
[2] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 266.
[3] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 95.
[4] Josephus, p. 1040: Τινὲς λέγουσι αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. Syncellus calls them Phœnicians, a denomination which is applied to the neighbouring tribes of Syria and Arabia.
[5] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 172—177.

XII. *The passage of* Clemens Alexandrinus *respecting the Egyptian characters.*

These passages from St. Clement will be found in Stromata, v. 4, p. 555, Sylb. In the original it is as follows: *Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικήν· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ᾗ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν· ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική. Τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμούς. Ἥλιον γ' οὖν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος. Τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσι· τοὺς γ' οὖν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. Τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμοὺς, τρίτου εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὀφέων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον, τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου.* Jam vero qui docentur ab Ægyptiis, primum quidem discunt Ægyptiarum litterarum viam ac rationem, quæ vocatur epistolographica; secundo autem hieraticam, qua utuntur hierogrammates; ultimam autem hieroglyphicam, cujus una quidem species est per primas litteras, cyriologica dicta, altera vero symbolica. Symbolicæ autem una quidem proprie loquitur per imitationem; alia vere scribitur velut tropice; alio vero fere significat per quædam ænigmata. Qui solem itaque volunt scribere, faciunt circulum; lunam autem, figuram lunæ cornuum formam præ se ferentem, convenienter ei formæ quæ proprie loquitur. Tropice autem per convenientiam traducentes et transferentes, et alia quidem immutantes, alia vero multis modis transfigurantes, imprimunt. Regum itaque laudes fabulis de diis immiscentes, anaglyphicis describunt. Tertii autem generis, quod fit per ænigmata, hoc sit indicium: alia quidem astra propter obliquam conversionem assimilabant corporibus serpentum, solem vero scarabæo.

The principal difficulty found in this passage is the giving the correct signification of *κυριολογική* and *κυριολογεῖται*. But that this refers to a *phonetic* system seems pretty evident from its being opposed to the tropical; and from the fact that all the other varieties or applications of picture writing are distinctly enumerated and exhausted in the succeeding parts of the description. It is, therefore, expressive of objects in a *proper* (and not figurative) manner. Now this may be done in two ways, either by letters, or by proper pictures. If we therefore proceed bearing this in mind, the whole will be very intelligible. Clement first distinguishes the three sorts of writing in use among the Egyptians, the epistolographic, which is by others called the demotic, as it is found upon the Rosetta stone; the hieratic or sacerdotal writing, which was used by the *hierogrammatists*, or sacred scribes; it was, therefore, probable that in this the holy writings were written; finally, the hieroglyphic, whose proper destination was to be sculptured or engraved, as is afterwards shown by the word *χαράττουσι*. The first of these then is the alphabetical, by initial letters. It is called the kyriologic, because it expresses the objects *properly*, and not tropically. The other is the symbolic, which makes no use of letters, but only pictures. But the symbolic has again, first, a *proper* method, *κυριολογεῖται*, by imitation; that is, by a proper picture without allegory: secondly, *tropic*, because it makes use of pictures, from a certain similarity which they bear to the object they are intended to signify; therefore what we usually call hieroglyphic writing: thirdly, properly allegoric by riddles, where no such similarity exists, or is too distant to be perceived. This is further explained by examples; and these confirm the correctness of our interpretation. The example of the proper method by representation is the picture of the sun and the moon. The example of the tropic is the sacred traditions in praise of the kings, of which many are found in Herodotus, which cannot be understood in their proper signification. The example of the enigmatic is the indication of the course of the stars by a serpent, the sun by a beetle, etc. In this way every obscurity seems to me to be cleared up; and the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics furnishes a key to the proper meaning of the passage above quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus.

XIII. *Inscription on an Obelisk at Heliopolis; extracted from* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. xvii. 4; *and some remarks on the sacred dialect,* ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, *in* SYNCELLUS.

MARCELLINUS has preserved to us, from the writings of a certain Hermapion, the Greek translation of a hieroglyphic inscription on an obelisk, which stood originally at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, but which was transported to Rome by Cæsar Augustus, and placed in the Circus Maximus. The following are the words of Ammianus: "Qui notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti, interpretatum litteris subjecimus Græcis." Of this Hermapion we only know what Ammianus says, that he had written a book containing translations of hieroglyphics into Greek. He therefore must have understood hieroglyphic writing and language. It is very probable that he was an Egyptian priest, who, in the period of the Ptolemies or Romans, had written a book of this kind for the use of the Greeks. (See page 368.)

I give a translation of this inscription here for two reasons: first, to prove the correctness of my assertion, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments contain phrases in praise of the deities and kings, with their names and titles (see page 277.) Secondly, to prove that the titles deciphered by Champollion are pure Egyptian, without however vouching for the correctness of every interpretation. A commentary upon the inscription would require a separate treatise, and would contain but little that has not already been said by Zoëga (*de Obeliscis*, p. 26, etc.) and Champollion (*Précis*, p. 146, etc.).

I shall only further remark, that as the obelisk was erected at Heliopolis, it was natural that the deities worshipped there should be more especially mentioned on it, as the protecting deities of the king.

These names are expressed in Greek; the following are Egyptian: Helios, the god of the Sun, *Phré*. All the Pharaohs, according to Champollion, p. 166, were called sons of the sun. Apollo, in Egyptian *Arveris;* Ares, in Egyptian *Som;* (?) finally, Hephaistos, in Egyptian *Phtha*.

The king to whose honour the obelisk was erected is called Ramesses; but we have seen that there were several of this name. From his history we only know that he conquered the foreigners (ἀλλοεθνεῖς). This applies to Ramesses the Great, or Sesostris, the expeller of the Hyksos (see p. 424). The titles here given also agree very well with him. The expulsion of the foreigners must have been of great importance to Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, which had been most oppressed by them.

INSCRIPTION.

"Thus says Helios to the king Ramesses: I have given to thee with joy to rule over the world; whom Helios loves, and Apollo the powerful the true son of Heron, the son of the gods, the ruler of the world, chosen by Helios the brave, son of Ares, king Ramesses, to whom all the earth is subject by valour and boldness; the king Ramesses, the son of Helios, the everlasting."[1]

"Apollo the powerful, the true lord of the diadem,[2] of whom Egypt boasts; who has glorified the city of Helios; who rules over the earth; and who honours the gods dwelling in the city of Helios; whom Helios loves."

"Apollo the powerful, the beaming son of Helios, chosen of Helios, and who was gifted by Ares the brave; whose benefits never fail, whom Ammon loves; who fills the temple of Phœnix with blessings;[3] to whom the gods presented length of life; Apollo the powerful, the son of Heron, Ramesses to the king of the world; who has protected Egypt, by conquering the strangers; whom Helios

[1] The separate phrases στίχοι, form just so many vertical columns on the obelisk. Champollion, *Precis*, p. 146.

[2] Here there seems to be an omission of, *to the Ramesses*. As in the fourth paragraph.

[3] Or, according to another reading, *with the blessings of the Phœnix*.

loves, to whom the gods have given long life, the lord of the world, Ramesses the ever-living."

"Helios, the great god, the lord of heaven, I have to thee given life free from care, Apollo the powerful, the lord of the diadem, the incomparable, the statue has placed in this royal city of the lord of Egypt, and has adorned the city of Helios, and Helios himself the lord of heaven. He has completed the glorious work, the son of Helios, the immortal king."

"Helios the lord of heaven; to king Ramesses have I given might and power; whom Apollo loves, the lord of time, and the chosen of Hephaistos, the father of the gods through Ares, the glorious king: the son of Helios beloved of Helios."

"The great god of the city of Helios, the heavenly, Apollo the mighty, the son of Heron, whom Helios loves, whom the gods honour, who governs all the earth, whom Helios has chosen, the powerful king through Ares, whom Ammon loves; and the beaming one destined to be king for ever."

The translation of this inscription, moreover, seems to me important, because it brings us acquainted both with the contents and forms of these documents; because it acquaints us, to use a modern expression, with the style and language of the chancery of the Egyptians. It is in the nature of things, that this should differ from the language in common use. And I perfectly agree with Professor Seyffarth of Leipsic, in making a difference between the Coptic as the language of the people, and what is called the sacred language, ἱερὰ διάλεκτος. But if this difference is so great, that the key for the deciphering of the hieroglyphic texts is not to be found in the Coptic, I do not know where else it is to be sought for. It seems very doubtful to me, whether we ought, from the single passage in Syncellus,[1] in which a ἱερὰ διάλεκτος is mentioned, to understand a sacred dialect, altogether different from the vulgar; because this ἱερὰ διάλεκτος is here by no means opposed to the Coptic, or language of the nation, but to the Grecian. At all events this difference can have no influence on the deciphering of the names of the Pharaohs, and certainly but very little, if any, on that of their titles, of which alone use has been made in the present work.

XII. *A comparison of the Egyptian kings, as given by* HERODOTUS, DIODORUS, *and* MANETHO.

IN attempting here a comparison of the series of the Egyptian kings, it is not my intention to make them agree where they do not, but rather to show the relation in which they stand to one another in these writers. I flatter myself that even this attempt may lead to important results.

I shall proceed upon the principle, which I think sufficiently established in this work, that all the three writers drew from the tradition of the Egyptian priests, oral and written; but with this difference, that Herodotus used, in his succession of kings, the tradition of the priests at Memphis; Diodorus that of Thebes; and Manetho that of Heliopolis. From this variety of sources, the difference in their statements may be best accounted for.

I place first in one table the succession of kings according to Herodotus and Diodorus.

HERODOTUS, II. 99—182.	DIODORUS, I. p. 54—82.
Menes.	*Menes.*
He was followed by 330 kings belonging to the previous period, concerning whom nothing was known but their names, because they had left no monuments behind; among	Followed by 52 successors, ranging over a period of more than 1400 years.
	Busiris I. and 8 successors; the last of whom was

[1] Georg. Syncellus, *in Chronographia*, p. 40, ed. Paris. Μανεθὼ χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ τῇ κειμένων στηλῶν, ἱερᾷ φησι διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θώθ, καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, etc. Is not the opposition spoken of in the text, evident from these last words? Is an opposition made in them to the native language of the people? I think not. Before the passage can have any weight as a proof, the new reading proposed by Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 36, note, must be adopted, who, instead of εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, would read εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον. This, however, admits of a doubt.

Herodotus.	Diodorus.
those sovereigns were 18 Ethiopians, and 1 queen, named Nitocris.	*Busiris II.*, the founder of Thebes.
	Osymandyas and 8 successors; the last of whom was
	Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis.
	Ægyptus, grandson of the foregoing.
	After the lapse of 12 generations of men,
Mœris.	*Mœris.*
	7 generations of men.
Sesostris.	*Sesostris* or *Sesoosis.*
Pheron, the son of Sesostris.	*Sesostris II.*, son of the foregoing: he assumed his father's name.
	Interval comprising several generations of men.
	Amasis, and the Ethiopian.
	Actisanes.
	Mendes, or *Manes*, the builder of the labyrinth.
	Anarchy which lasted 5 generations of men.
Proteus, in the time of the Trojan war.	*Proteus*, or *Cetes*, in the time of the Trojan war.
Rhampsinitus.	*Remphis*, son of the foregoing.
	7 generations of men, in the course of which flourished *Nileus*, from whom the Nile took its name.
Cheops, builder of the great pyramid.	*Chemmis* or *Chembes*, from Memphis, builder of the great pyramid.
Chephres, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.	*Cephren*, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.
Mycerinus, son of Cheops, builder of one pyramid.	*Mycerinus*, son of Chemmis, builder of one pyramid.
Asychis the legislator.	*Bochoris* the legislator.
Anysis, who was blind.	Interval of several generations of men.
Sabaco, the Ethiopian.	*Sabaco*, the Ethiopian.
Anysis, king for the second time.	
Sethos, a priest of Vulcan.	
Dodecarchy.	Dodecarchy.
Psammetichus, from Sais, sole ruler.	*Psammetichus*, from Sais, sole ruler.
Nechos, his son, conqueror in Syria.	4 generations of men.
Psammis.	
Apries, with whom the house of Psammetichus becomes extinct.	*Apries.*
Amasis of Sais.	*Amasis*, defeated and taken by Cambyses.
Psammenit, conquered by Cambyses.	

In order to judge of the statements of the two writers, it is necessary that we should consider them each separately in their true light.

As to Diodorus, we perceive clearly that it was not his intention to give a complete and connected succession of Egyptian kings. He only mentioned such as were most remarkable, either because the accounts of the Theban priests contained no others, or because—which seems the more probable of the two—his intention was only to give extracts from them. He does not, however, totally neglect chronology; but endeavours, by stating the number of generations which lived between the kings he mentions, to fill up the chasms. But that it is impossible to settle the chronology by these, is clear from the fact, that two chasms of many generations occur, without the number being stated.

The tradition of the priests of Memphis, which was followed by Herodotus, was still more deficient; it consisted of only two elements. Previous to Sesostris, or his predecessor Mœris, it comprised merely the names of three hundred and thirty kings, "because they had left us no monuments behind;" and from Sesostris down to Psammetichus, only of such kings as had made additions to the great temple of Memphis, that of Phtha, and the neighbouring pyramids, no matter whether they had resided in Memphis or in Thebes, or in both. It is therefore a history dependent upon monuments. But the priests gave it to him, from Sesostris downwards, as an uninterrupted succession, in which the father was always followed by the son; and as such he gives it to us.

But that such was not really the case, is clearly evinced by comparing it with Diodorus's account. We therefore can only consider them as separate kings; and by so doing, Herodotus, except in the correct spelling of a few names, is brought to agree with Diodorus. There is no contradiction between them.

But if Herodotus's succession of kings is not a continuous one, it is impossible to build upon it a continuous chronology; as would also have been the case even if the length of each reign had been stated; which has not been done previous to the time of Psammetichus. Nevertheless Herodotus has left us an important help for determining the chronology, when he says, "Mœris, the predecessor of Sesostris, died nine hundred years before the time that I was in Egypt." And since, from his own reckoning, he was in Egypt about the year 450, the death of Mœris must, according to his calculation, have taken place about 1350 before the commencement of our era. And from this two important consequences result.

First: the age of Sesostris, a successor of Mœris, falls, according to Herodotus, in the midst of the fourteenth century before Christ. He certainly, therefore, places Sesostris a century later than we believe he should be. I am not able to give any further explanation, since Herodotus has withheld from us the data for his chronology. This discrepancy, however, does not affect the general statement respecting the chronology of the splendid period of Thebes.

Secondly: the three hundred and thirty kings previous to Mœris extend over this period.

Now let us inquire how the accounts of these two writers agree with those of Manetho. If we had his work entire, it would be the great authority for this history. The priesthood at Heliopolis was the most learned in Egypt (Herod. ii. 3). He was superintendent of this body, and wrote, moreover, by command of Ptolemy. Their archives were open to him. "I have made use," he says, "of the writings in the *adytum* of the temple; which Agathodæmon has copied and translated from the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments (obelisks) of Thos."[1]

But even in the scanty extracts which have come down to us of the dynasties, however defective and corrupt the errors of transcribers may have made them with regard to dates, he must still be considered the principal authority. I make use of the Armenian edition of Eusebius, cited at page 311, containing a Greek and Latin translation, as being the most critical. I shall have no recourse to alteration or expunging of names, much less of whole dynasties. The single remark, however, must be borne in mind, that the Sesostris mentioned in the twelfth dynasty, is not Sesostris the Great; and that the facts mentioned of him have been taken into the text, from a marginal gloss; which is the less to be doubted from Manetho himself having declared, that Sethos or Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty was the same as Ramesses. This being admitted, the great masses of history are easily arranged.

A comparison with Herodotus cannot begin before the time of Sesostris, and the period of the Sesostridæ; because previous to this he has given no names of kings. But the priests read to him the names of three hundred and thirty monarchs. But who are these? They are the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. For, first, the number of kings coincides. Eusebius certainly enumerates only two hundred and seventy-six; but of two dynasties, the sixth, lasting two hundred and three years, and the tenth, lasting one hundred and eighty-five years, the number of kings is not given. It therefore may have amounted to the number mentioned by Herodotus. Secondly, according to Herodotus, there was, among these three hundred and thirty sovereigns, one queen, whose name was Nitocris; she is also named by Manetho, in his sixth dynasty. Thirdly, according to Herodotus eighteen of them were Ethiopians. According to Manetho the fourth dynasty, consisting of seventeen kings, was a foreign one; and one of them, Suphis, who built the great pyramid ascribed by Herodotus to Cheops, was in the beginning a calumniator of the gods, which was also related of Cheops by the priests of Memphis. Fourthly, according to

[1] Syncellus, l. c. It seems therefore from this passage of Manetho, that the historical documents in the temples were commentaries and translations of the inscriptions upon the monuments; or were esteemed as such. Compare Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 36.

Herodotus these three hundred and thirty sovereigns had not immortalized themselves by any monuments. The same applies, with the exception of Suphis, to the kings of the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. This fact, then, cannot be doubted: the question is, how the names of Manetho's kings, from the nineteenth dynasty, agree with those of Herodotus and Diodorus. A general agreement is found here, but not without discrepancies. In Manetho they begin with Sethos or Sesostris, who was succeeded by his son, who, according to Diodorus, adopted the name of his father. In Manetho he is called Rhamasses or Ramesses, and then, as according to him the father was called so too, there can be no contradiction. The following names differ down to Bochoris,[1] who is mentioned also by Diodorus, and who was overthrown by the Ethiopian Sabaco. The difference in the other names may be accounted for, in my opinion, from the circumstance, that the kings of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties, were kings of Tanis and Bubastus; whose names therefore can scarcely be expected to be found in the tradition of the Theban priests. That the dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus ruled in these cities, has been shown in the last chapter. The only difficulty that remains therefore is, why the names of the kings mentioned by Diodorus between Menes and Mœris, Busiris, Osymandyas, Uchoreus, and Ægyptus, do not occur in Manetho. Upon this I have nothing certain to offer. They might, however, have belonged to the sixth and tenth dynasties, of which Manetho has left out the number and names of the kings.

XV. *Upon the Relation between Theocracy and the Monarchical form of Government.*

The study of the early government of Egypt naturally leads us to reflections upon theocracy, as this form of government arrived in no state at so high a point of perfection as in Egypt. The question is, what relation does this form of government bear to monarchy? And this will be best answered by taking a rapid survey of governments in general.

We make a distinction between republics and monarchies. One might expect that, after so many inquiries and so much experience, the nature of them would be understood, if our modern constitutions, which are considered as the ripest fruit of political wisdom, did not convince us to the contrary. I refer the reader to my treatise on the influence of political theories and the preservation of the monarchical principle in Europe, in which I have fully explained my opinions on this subject. I have there shown, that it is impossible to draw a line between monarchies and republics, so long as we apply popular sovereignty to monarchies; for it is the essence of monarchies that the ruler should be absolute (*supremus*); that is to say, that he alone should represent the state in foreign relations, and that in the interior nothing should be transacted but in accordance with his will: he thus stands *over* the people. The essence of republics, on the contrary, is, that the sovereign power is in the hands of the people, or a part of them; consequently, all magistrates, whatever title they may bear, are *subordinate* to them.

The monarchical forms of government, for these only come here under consideration, are determined by the relation in which the monarch stands with the people; which, without detriment to his sovereignty, may be of three kinds.

The *despotic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which places in the hands of the monarch not only the legislative and executive power, but also a power over the property and persons of individuals, of which he may dispose according to his will. For all despotism consists in the arbitrary encroachments of the higher upon the rights of the lower order. The monarch therefore, in this case, is proprietor of the persons and goods of his

[1] See above, p. 423, note. The attempt there (namely, in Manetho) to identify Thonis with the Polybus of Homer, is a bad proof of the learning of the Greek interpreters in Egypt. Polybus, who with his consort Alcandra made such splendid presents to Menelaus and Helen, is not called king by Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 125—130, but expressly an inhabitant of Thebes.

subjects: they are, in name and in fact, slaves or serfs, as in the negro empire of Dahomey and others.

The *autocratic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which confers upon the ruler the legislative and executive authority, but gives him no power over the private will of individuals. It is therefore perfectly consistent with personal liberty, but excludes political liberty, since it gives to the governed no share in the legislation. The people are no longer slaves, but subjects.

The *constitutional* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, in which the former certainly exercises the executive, but not solely the legislative power. The people have a share in this, either in popular assemblies, or by standing or chosen representatives; but still with this essential restriction, that without the consent of the monarch no law can be passed. Under this form of government the people enjoy both personal and political liberty—they are not only subjects, but citizens.

Let us now inquire in what relation theocracy stands with these various forms of monarchical government.

I understand by theocracy, that form of government in which the state is governed after the prescriptive laws of one or more deities. If the deity resided amongst us, he might govern immediately, and would thus be sovereign, and no other could stand near him; as this, however, is not the case, it follows, of course, that at least the executive power must be delegated to a monarch. Though the deity may prescribe laws for particular cases, it is not possible that they should contain directions for every case that might happen; hence the authority of the deities becomes principally limited to this, that nothing can be transacted without their consent.

Their will therefore must be consulted, their oracles interrogated. If the ruler did this himself, he found it no difficult matter to make them speak as he wished; he then stood, as it were, in the place of the deity himself, and instead of his power being limited thereby, it was rather extended. In consequence of this, it was usual in theocratic states to consider the usurpation of this power by the king as unlawful. Samuel broke with Saul as soon as he took upon himself to consult Jehovah. This right the priests reserved to themselves, and this was the foundation of their political power.

Theocracy, therefore, determines nothing with respect to the relation in which the ruler stands towards the people; it determines only the relation in which he stands towards the deity. It is compatible with the despotic and the autocratic form of government; only, however, with the essential restriction, that the relation of the priesthood to the monarchs differs from that of the rest of the people. With a representative government it seems to be incompatible; because the delegation of such a power would be superfluous here, where it seems already usurped by the priesthood.

But a theocracy may very well be composed of laws, as was the case in Egypt and other places. These laws, however, necessarily required a higher sanction —that of the deity—and therefore not only appeared to have, but had in reality, the efficacy of divine legislation. It follows as a consequence, that in all the Oriental countries legislation bears this character; government there having always been in a certain degree theocratic.

In a strict theocracy the ruler cannot possess absolute power, because there is a higher will in the state than his. Gradations, however, become naturally formed in theocracies; as monarchs cannot, or will not, question the deity upon every occasion: they also vary with the personal character of the rulers. The power of the ruler must, nevertheless, always be in a vacillatory state in a theocracy; because, from its very nature, it is impossible to determine precisely its relation with the deity.

That theocracy is also compatible with republican government, and to what extent, will appear from what has now been said. It would happen when the people in general obtained power, as in a democracy, or only a part of them, as in an aristocracy. Did not the auspices, so influential in the Roman government, give it a tinge of theocracy?

XV. *Upon the Commercial Routes of Ancient Africa.*

As I have annexed an Appendix to my Researches upon Asia respecting the trading routes of that quarter of the world, I shall now do the same for Africa. It is true that I have scattered much information respecting them over the whole work, and that I have scarcely anything new to add. My object, however, now is, to point out each route to the reader, with the bare quotations which prove their existence, so that he may be in a situation to form his own judgment respecting them. In this I shall likewise carefully distinguish the certain from the merely probable, as I have already done in the body of the work. In doing this I hope I shall have sufficiently fulfilled the duties of a fair critic. To facilitate the survey, I have distinguished the trading highways of the Carthaginians and the Egyptians, although they are connected, from one another.

I. THE CARTHAGINIAN ROUTES.

Under the Carthaginian trading routes I comprise those which led from the Carthaginian dominions or ended there, including that between Egypt and Fezzan, or Phazania, because that leading thence to the Syrtes districts was only a continuation of it.

1. *Route from Egypt to the country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan.*

It goes from Thebes in Upper Egypt to the borders of the land of the Garamantes near Zuila. It is certain, because Herodotus, iv. 181—185, describes it by stations and distances, across Ammonium and Augila. The omission of two stations, the great Oasis and Zala, (whether chargeable upon Herodotus or upon those from whom he obtained his information, the first of which, however, Herodotus himself refers to, iii. 26,) forms no objection, because, where the beginning and end of the journey are known, the intermediate stations are easily supplied, though they should not be all named.

2. *Route from the Garamantes to the Lotophagi in the two Syrtes, and therefore into the territory of Carthage.*

It is certain from Herodotus, iv. 183, who states the number of the days' journeys, and this is most accurately confirmed by modern travellers. See above, p. 106, sqq. Both these routes are the ones now in use.

3. *The route from the land of the Garamantes to that of the Atlantes.*

This is a continuation of the two preceding routes; and it runs in a southern direction into the interior of Africa. It depends upon the determination of the abode of the Atarantes and Atlantes. These are not given as historically certain, but as possessing a high degree of probability; because—1. No other direction can be reasonably adopted; and nothing in Herodotus contradicts it. Because—2. The distances agree; and—3. Not less the particulars respecting it. And, finally—4. It still continues the great trading route of interior Africa, as well to Bornou as Soudan.

A single apparent objection against this is, that the Atlantes, from their name, must be sought for in the Atlas mountain. That this, however, is not a necessary consequence must be plain to every one. But the difficulty is without any weight; for the name of the Atlas mountain is not a native African one, but is one bestowed upon it by the Greeks. According to the testimony of Strabo,[1] the mountain in Africa itself is called the Dyris mountain; and this name bears no affinity to the native proper name of the Atlantes. Why the trading route was directed to the Atlantes, is likewise in a very satisfactory manner proved by modern travellers. The Garamantes, Nasamones, and Carthaginians could give Herodotus no further information, because *their* trading journey ended here.

[1] Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1181.

That the trade of Inner Africa could only be carried on by caravans, is evinced by the nature of the country and of its inhabitants. It is proved that it was principally in the hands of the inhabitants of the Syrtes and the Garamantes; because—1. The people from their nomad life were best adapted to it, and were in possession of the necessary beasts of burden for carrying it on. Scylax, in *Geograph. Min.* i. p. 48. 2. Because Herodotus, as he says himself, could have obtained his information respecting it from them in Thebes. Herod. ii. 28, 32, 173. 3. Because they made regular journeys to Augila, Herod. iv. 172, and visited Ammonium, Herod. ii. 32. 4. Because there can be no doubt but that their voyage of discovery, Herod. ii. 32, reached to the banks of the Niger, or Joliba; as the accounts of Herodotus can be referred to no other stream. And this, *a.* Because it was a large stream beyond the desert, and we know of no other there. *b.* It flowed towards the east. There is no other that does. *c.* Crocodiles were found in it. We know of no other in which they are found. *d.* On its banks was a city inhabited by negroes. This will agree with no other. According to the rules of criticism, unless this can be altogether denied, I must consider the discovery of the Joliba by the Nasamones as certain. And admitting that the seat of the Atlantes is correctly determined to be the place of barter for the Libyans and the inhabitants of Soudan, how natural does all this appear! The Nasamones wished them to advance beyond the usual termination of their journey; and by doing so they naturally came to the Niger, because they were upon the high road to it.[1] That also beasts of burden, namely, the camel (it has been attempted to render this doubtful, and what is there of which man has not doubted?) and mules were at that time naturalized in Africa, has already been proved in the last chapter upon the trade and manufactures of the Egyptians.

II. THE EGYPTIAN COMMERCIAL ROUTES.

Under this head I comprise such roads as led from Egypt, or ended there. In the time of Herodotus all these went from Thebes; as at that place he obtained all his information respecting the interior of Africa, and from that place all his distances are reckoned.

1. *Trading route from Thebes to the land of the Garamantes and the Carthaginian territory.*

This has just been described.

2. *Trading route from Thebes to Ethiopia and Meroë.*

It was twofold: *a.* That along the banks of the Nile, and partly on the Nile. It is *certain* from Herod. ii. 29, who has described it in days' journeys.

b. That from Thebes to Merawé, the colony of Meroë, across the Nubian desert. It can scarcely be doubted, although not strictly proved from history. See above, p. 245.

c. The French have given it as their opinion, that a trading road went on the left of the Nile, from Merawé to Abydos in Upper Egypt, then the later principal seat of the Ethiopian slave trade.[2] As Abydos was one of the most important cities of Egypt, and only second to Thebes, Strabo, p. 1167, and as the Ethiopian conquerors seemed to have fixed their residence there, I cannot consider this opinion otherwise than as *very probable*, although I can give no other historical proofs in its favour.

3. *Trading route from Edfu in Upper Egypt to the Arabian Gulf and Berenice.*

This was discovered to be an Egyptian trading route by Belzoni;[3] and from the remains of Egyptian buildings being found upon it, its high antiquity is cer-

[1] Upon the map of course only the direct road can be given.
[2] *Descript. Antiquités*, liv. iii. p. 18.
[3] *Narrative*, p. 304, etc.

tainly *very probable;* though I can give no strict proof of it. According to another account,[1] a broad *trading route runs from Thebes to Cosseir*, the ancient Myos Hormos; which for two-thirds of the distance winds between rocky hills. Whether it existed in the time of the Pharaohs, I cannot determine; but if these maintained fleets upon the Arabian Gulf, there certainly must have been well-frequented roads leading to it; and the direction from Thebes makes its high antiquity very probable.

4. Trading route from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf.

It is pointed out by the ruins of Axum and Adule. Cf. Plin. vi. 34.

5. Trading route from Memphis to Phœnicia.

The proofs of this have already been given in my researches upon the Asiatic Phœnician trading routes.

Thus much of the trading roads, and their proofs in detail. A still stronger proof may be given of them in general: as the nature of the country admitted no other kind of trade, and no other roads, we are driven to this alternative; either there was a period in which the coasts of Africa were the seats of a commercial population without the existence of any commerce in the interior, (whose productions nevertheless appeared in it in large quantities,) or, it was carried on in this way and upon these routes, because it was indissolubly connected with nature.

[1] From *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy*, by the author of *Sketches of India*, Lond. 1824.

INDEX.

Abu-naga, temple of, 494.
Abyssinia, ruins of ancient towns in, 243.
Aden, ancient commercial importance of, 229, *n.*
Adule, an Egyptian colony, 242.
Æstrymnian islands, commerce of the, 81.
Æthalia, early manufactures of, 78.
Africa, the grand emporium of ancient commerce, x., xvii., 86 et seq. modern exploration of, xix., 491. the mysterious obscurity of its early history, xxiii. ancient circumnavigation of, *ib.* causes of its early civilization, xxiv. description of the northern part of, xxvi. et seq. causes of the rarity of large rivers, xxix., xxx. the Nile, *ib.* the want of navigable rivers an impediment to her civilization, xxxi. gold and salt abundant in, *ib.* on the celebrated nations of, xxxii. formation and condition of the Carthaginian dominions in, 3 et seq. contains the greatest variety of the human race, 143. divided into two distinct classes, the Libyans and Ethiopians, 147. north of, materially changed, 148. observations on the north-eastern districts of, 153. ancient commercial routes of, 508.
Agriculture, encouragement of, in Egypt, 343, 446—453.
Alaky, in Nubia, gold mines at, 441.
Aletes, the discoverer of the mines of New Carthage, 71. venerated as a demigod, *ib.*
Alua, empire of, 197.
Amada, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 184.
Amasis, ruler of Egypt, enters into commercial relations with the Greeks, 463.
Amber, ancient commerce in, 82.
Amenophis II., king of Egypt, 424. historical notices of, 425. founds the palace of Luxor, *ib.*
—— III., king of Egypt, 426.
Amenthes, the ancient belief in, 360, 364.
America, discovery of, ix. commercial impulse derived from, x.
Ammianus Marcellinus, on the wars of the Thebans, 433.
Ammon, temple of, 99, 101. rites of, 187. Ethiopian temple dedicated to, 203—205. on the worship of, 209, 210. oracles of, 207, 210, 244 *n.*, 359. the temple of Karnac dedicated to the worship of, 408. celebration of the annual festival of, 422. antiquity of his temple, 423.
Ammon-Chnubis, temple of, 425.
Ammonians, account of the, 96.
Ammonium, a city of Egypt, account of, 100, 103, 104, 443. ruins of the ancient temple of, 101. an Ethiopian colony in the Libyan desert, 222, 223. oracles of, 359.
Animal worship, its early origin, 356, 357.
Apis, worship of, 451.
Apries, of Egypt, built a fleet, 471.
Arabia Felix, ancient commerce of, 226 et seq.
Arabs, race of the, 156. known as the Hyksos, and enemies of the Egyptians, 318. See Hyksos.
Aræ Philænorum, Carthaginian landmarks, 19.
Architecture, different periods of, in Egypt, 283. cultivation of, 347. of the temples and palaces of Egypt, 409.
Argentais, account of the, 89, *n.*
Aristotle on the Carthaginian government, 474.
Army. See Soldiers and War.
Arts, state of the, in Egypt, 346. two branches of, architecture and sculpture, 347. a portion of the learning of the priests, 355.
Asdrubal, the governor of Spain, 135. assassinated, 136.
Asia, the grand emporium of ancient commerce, x.
Asseboa, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 184, 210.
Asses, breeding of, in Egypt, 451, 452.
Assur, monuments of, 200.
Assyria, the scene of the battles represented on the Egyptian sculptures, 416.
Astaboras, its junction with the Nile, 196. modern name of, 197.
Astapus, its junction with the Nile, 196. modern name of, 197.
Astorabas, a river of Ethiopia, 159. inhabitants on the banks of the, 160.
Astronomy of the Egyptians, 341. connected with the physical history of the country, 343, 344.
Atarantes, account of the, 97. inquiry respecting the, 114.
Atlantes, account of the, 97, 116.
Atlas, Mount, the loftiest in Africa, xxvi.

Augila, account of, 105.
Ausenses, African tribe of, 15.
Axum, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, general account of, 238 et seq. ruins of, *ib.* Bruce's account of, 239, 240. Salt's observations on, 240, 241.
Azab, ruins of, 240, 242.
Azotus, a town of Syria, besieged by Psammetichus, 470.

Babylon, ancient commerce of, xvi.
Bahr Bilama of Egypt, 298.
Baleares, the, taken possession of by the Carthaginians, 32. fought as slingers in the Carthaginian armies, 33, 126. commercial importance of, 78.
Barbaria, general name of the east of Africa, 65, *n.*
Barca, the Carthaginian House of, 490.
Baris, the name of the Egyptian boat, 456.
Battles, naval and military, represented in the sculptures of Egypt, 412—415.
Belzoni, his interesting discoveries in Thebes, 380.
Berbers, the aboriginal tribes of Africa, 148. description of, 156.
Bilma, natives of, 110. salt trade of, 117.
Bischaries, tribe of the, notices of, 157, 158, 161, 216.
Blemmies, race of the, 157.
Bocchoris, the Egyptian legislator, 346.
Bomilcar, biographical notices of, 489.
Bonjem, situation of, 112.
Bornou, a great empire, 113.
Bruce's account of the ruins of ancient Axum, 239, 240.
Bubastus, a burial-place of Osiris, 436. Egyptian festival of, 457.
Buffaloes, different species of, in Africa, 109.
Burial-places of Osiris, 436.
Butos, ancient lake of, 300.
Byblus, cultivation of the, 448, 449.
Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage, 5.
Byzantes, an African tribe, account of, 9.
Byzazium, a southern province of Carthage, 20.

Caillaud, his discoveries in Ethiopia, xx.
Calasiri, a soldier caste of Egypt, 328, 329.
Calcedonius, an article of ancient commerce, 119.
Cambyses, his invasion of Egypt, 464.
Candace, a queen of Ethiopia, 205.
Cannæ, battle of, 139.
Caravans, ancient routes of, x.—xii. commerce carried on by, 245.
Carthage, extensive commerce of, xvi. her native historians lost, 1. Herodotus her chief historian, 2. briefly noticed by other historians, *ib.* a colony established by Tyre, 3. chronology of, *ib.*, *n.* mutual regard for Tyre, 4. situation of, 5. her citadel of Byrsa, on the local situation of, 5, *n.* account of the surrounding tribes, 15. boundaries, 18. extent of the fertile provinces, 20. her attention directed towards Italy, 42. the government of, 46. attempts to overthrow the government of, 50. how the magistrates were chosen, 51. her government similar to that of Sparta, 52. the senate the highest political body of the state, 53. divided into two councils, 54. origin of the council, 55. elected by the pentarchies, 57. the duties of the senate similar to the Roman, 58. the Syssitia, and their duties, 59. secret assemblies, *ib.* the Suffetes at the head of the state, 60. the rank of general next to that of king, 61. the military and civil power distinct, *ib.* election of generals, *ib.* office of quæstor, 62. administration of justice, 63. the religion of, 64. their gods, *ib.* offices of priesthood filled by the highest personages, 65, 66. public revenue of, 66, 67. gold and silver the standard of value, 67. tokens used instead of money, 68. different sources of revenue, 69. amount paid by Little Leptis, *ib.* revenue of the customs regulated by Hannibal, 70. gold and silver mines, *ib.* Carthagena, wealth of its mines and where situated, 71. attempt to procure a foreign loan, 72. privateering resorted to, *ib.* the navigation and maritime commerce of, 73. commercial restrictions on the colonies of, 74. law of hospitality, 75. trade with Sicily and southern Italy, 76. articles of commerce given in exchange, 77. commercial intercourse with Spain and Gaul, 79. their trade in tin, 80. in amber, 82. navigation on the western coast of Africa, 83. the land trade of, 86 et seq. decline and fall of, 130. the causes of, 131. private feud between Hamilcar and Hanno, 132. evil consequences of, 133. second war with Rome, 137. struggles and fall of the empire, 143. Aristotle's disquisition on the government of, 474. commercial treaties with Rome, 475, 476. treaty with Macedonia, 477. Periplus of Hanno, 478—481. genealogy of the ruling houses of, 487. on the trading routes of, from Egypt to the Atlantes, 508.
Carthaginians, the, formation and condition of their dominions in Africa, 3. their policy with the nomad hordes, 7. principal sources of their revenue, 11. treaties with the neighbouring states, 12. alliance with Numidia and Mauritania, 19. foreign possessions, 22. limited chiefly to islands, 24. conquest of Sicily, *ib.* Mago and his descendants, *ib.* wars with the Greeks, 30. extent of possessions in Sicily, 32. settlements in Spain, 34. government of the provinces, 37. foreign colonies, *ib.* religion closely connected with the planting of colonies, 38. expedition of Hanno, 39. dependence of the colonies upon Carthage, 40. the Mediterranean the chief seat of their settlements, 41. extent of their colonies, 43. towers built by Hanno, 44. settlement at Cerne, its extent, *ib.* colonies on the coast of Morocco and Fez, 83. purpose in founding them, *ib.* description of the inhabitants, *ib.* articles of trade, *ib.* gold trade with Senegal and Gambia, *ib.* land trade, 86. information respecting it very scanty, *ib.* account of a caravan journey, 95. direction of the route, 98. general survey of the commerce, 118. war forces, 120. the navy confined chiefly to the Mediterranean, *ib.* the principal town, 121. number of war galleys, 122. sea deities, *ib.* number of vessels of war, 123. great attention paid to the cavalry, 124. tribes forming the army, 126. bad effects of hired troops, 129.
Cassiterides, islands of the, 80, 81.
Castes of Egypt, the priests, 323. the soldiers, 327. the trading citizens, 330. of husbandmen, 331. of navigators, 333. of interpreters, *ib.* of herdsmen, 334. the neat-herds, 336. the swine-herds, 337.
Catacombs, of Thebes, description of, 395 et seq. peculiar to various parts of Egypt, 396.
Cattle, on the breeding of, in Egypt, 451.
Cerne, colony of, 478, 480, 481.
Champollion, his discoveries in Egypt, xxi., 496. great work on Egyptian remains, 254. his explanations of phonetic hieroglyphics, 259, 260 et seq.
Chnubis, remains of, 294.
Chretes, the river, 478.
Chronicles of Egypt, by various authors, 310, *n.*, 319, *n.*
Cities, first establishment of, v. founded by Hanno the Carthaginian, 478.
Civilization, was Ethiopia or Egypt the original seat of? 220, 224, 230 et seq. the seats of, the first seats of commerce, 247. of the Ethiopians, 247 et seq.
Clemens Alexandrinus on the Egyptian hieroglyphics, 281, *n.*, 501.
Coinage of Carthage, 67.
Colonies, of the Carthaginians, 37, 83. of Ethiopia, 220—222. of Egypt, when founded, 321.
Colossi, " the field of," at Thebes, 378 et seq.
Commerce, early origin and progress of, ix.—xvi. Asia and Africa the grand emporia of, x. the Mediterranean the principal scene of, xiii. epochs of the Roman and Macedonian empires, xvi. of Carthage, xvi., 73 et seq. of Meroë and Ethiopia, 225 et seq. carried on by caravans, 245. the seats of, the first seats of civilization, 247. of the Egyptians, general treatise on, 446—466.
Coptic, the ancient language of the Egyptians, 273. not a living language, *ib.* entirely theological, 274. borrowed from the Greeks, 274, 275.
Copts, the ancient race of the Egyptians similar to the, 301.
Corn, an important article of commerce, xv. cultivation of, in Egypt, 447. Egypt the granary of, 461.
Corsica, early history of, 27. a Carthaginian province, 28.
Cotton, cultivation of, in Egypt, 447, 448.
Cow, considered sacred by the Egyptians, 451.
Customs, Carthaginian revenue derived from the, 70.
Cyrenaica, contraband trade of, 70.
Cyrene, the commercial rival of Carthage, xvi. ancient state of, 18.

Dakke, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 183.
Damer, priestly establishment at, 219, *n.*
Damy, colossal statue of, 378.
Dandour, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 182.
Dashour, pyramids of, 297.
Dates, an important article of trade in Africa, 88.
Death, existence after, Egyptian belief in, 359, 361, et seq.
Debod, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 178.
Delta of the Nile, numerous cities of, 299.
Demotic writing of the Egyptians, 260, 261.
Denderah, temple of, 353, *n.*
Denon, his description of the Theban monuments, 370.
Derar, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 184, 210.
Diodorus, his account of Phœnician colonization, 45. on the government and laws of Meroë, 212. his description of Thebes and its ruins, 367—369, 384.
Djizeh, pyramids of, 297.
Dodona, oracle of, 244, *n.*
Dongolah, Mr. Hoskins' visit to, 495.
Dyeing, art of, among the Egyptians, 454.
Dynasties, of the Egyptian kings, remarks on, 420 et seq. of Manetho, 499, 500.

Earthenware, manufacture of, among the Egyptians, 455.
East, commercial productions of the, xv.
Edco, lake of, 300.
Edfu, temple of, 294. trading route from, to the Arabian Gulf, 509.
Egypt, on the ancient commerce of, xvi. reign of Psammetichus, 216, 217. its most flourishing period, 223, 321. history of, connected with its monuments, 249

et seq., 255. ancient authors who have written on, 253. general view of, 286. its extent, *ib.* situation, 287. a gift of the Nile, *ib.* its fertility dependent on the Nile, *ib.* Upper, 291. Middle, 295. Lower, 298. pyramids of, 297. its original inhabitants, 309. their manners and mode of life, *ib.* by whom civilized, 310. divided into several states, 311. their number and situation, 312. originally colonies from Meroë and Ethiopia, 313. nomes or districts, 314. their origin proved by Herodotus, 315. chronology of, 319, *n.* various castes of, 323—337. cause of the perfection of trade, 331. peasants, 334. their food, 336. kings of, 338. dependent upon the priests, 340. intermarriage with, forbidden, 342. subject to the Theban kings, 432. population, 435. queens allowed to govern, 438. the laws, 443. inquiry into the commerce, 456. ships or boats, how built, *ib.* establishment of canals, 457. central point of the caravan trade, 459. emporium of the produce of Africa, *ib.* commodities of trade, 460. linen of Egypt greatly esteemed, *ib.* Tyrian dye, 461. corn trade, *ib.* changes in commerce by Psammetichus, 462. further changes under Amasis, *ib.* her commercial intercourse with the Phœnician and Greek merchants, *ib.* prosperity by increase of commerce, 464. on the foundation of the states of, 498. on the seventeen first dynasties of Manetho, 499, 500. a comparison of the kings of, from Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho, 503—506. the various trading routes of, 508, 509.

EGYPTIANS, numerous colony of, settled in Ethiopia, 216, 217. obscurity of their origin, 255. their language, 257. its resemblance to the Coptic, *ib.* how many dialects known, 274. the Saidic, or Thebaic, where used, *ib.* the Bahiric, *ib.* the Bashmuric, *ib.* its antiquity, *ib.* influence of the Greek and Roman upon the language, 275. their monuments, 280. their antiquity determined, 282. general appearance described by Herodotus, 301. colour of the, 304, 305. manners and habits, 307. divisions into castes, 308, 322. ancient political state, 309, 366. priests the ruling caste, 313. their office hereditary, 323. religion and state policy united, 315. wars with the neighbouring tribes, 317. the government assumes the form of an hierarchy, 320. dress, 326. household furniture, 338. ancient antipathy to pastoral life, 342. origin of mythology, 344. belief in an after state, 359. transmigration of souls, 360. sepulchres, 362. description of their funerals, 365. castes of thieves and prostitutes among the, 444, *n.* commerce and manufactures, 446. agriculture, *ib.* manner of sowing and reaping, 447. various sorts of, in use, *ib.* cultivation of cotton, *ib.* aquatic plants, 448. usual drink of the Egyptians, 450. breeding of cattle, *ib.* the cow sacred, horses common in Egypt, 451. mules and asses in general use, *ib.* sheep and camels not much known, 452. poultry abundant, 453. weaving carried on to a great extent, *ib.* art of dyeing in great perfection, 454. working in metal, 455. manufacture of earthenware, *ib.* great commercial advantages of the, 459, 460. unfavourable consequences of the Persian invasion, 464. decline of the empire of the Pharaohs, 465. conquest by Sabaco, 466. throne usurped by Sethos, *ib.* government of the twelve princes, 467. overthrown by Psammetichus, who assumes the chief power, *ib.* lands granted to the Greek soldiers, 471. emigration of the warrior caste, 469. Greek soldiers form the king's body-guard, *ib.* a navy established, 470. canal between the Mediterranean and Red Sea, *ib.* object in making it, *ib.* rebellion against Apries, 471. invasion and cruelty of Cambyses, 472. their hieroglyphics, 501. on the origin of the, 497. commercial routes of the, 509.

Elephantis, island of, 294, 314, *n.* monuments of, 295. a burial-place of Osiris, 436.

Eliethya, remains of, 294.

Emporia of Africa, fertility of the country so called, 20, 21. situation of, 120.

Epic poetry, never common in Egypt, 419.

Epistolographic writing of the Egyptians, 270.

Equality, political, impossibility of, vi.

Ergamenes, king of Ethiopia, overturns the domination of the priesthood, 212.

Esneh, temple of, 294.

ETHIOPIA, ancient commerce of, xvii. modern exploration of, xx. geographical survey of the various nations of, 143 et seq. one of the most mysterious nations of antiquity, 146. early renown of, *ib.* the aborigines of Africa, 147. hunted by the Garamantes, 152. Herodotus's description of the, *ib.* various tribes of, 156, 157. state of Meroë and its monuments, 173. ancient towns of, on the banks of the Nile, 176, 177. a numerous colony of Egyptians settled in, 216, 217. its dominion over Egypt, 466. Mr. Hoskins' travels in, 492—496.

ETHIOPIAN nations, general survey of the, 143 et seq. celebrated by the Grecian poets, 146. one of the two great aboriginal regions of Africa, 147. colour of the inhabitants, 149. Herodotus's account of, 152, 353. the Troglodytes, 157. the Macrobians, 161 et seq. land of frankincense, 165 et seq. gold a natural production of the country, 168, 169. a portion of them highly civilized, 171. state and city of Meroë, *ib.* et seq. (see MEROE.) towns and villages, 176 et seq. monuments and temples of, 178 et seq. religion and rites of, 187. the worship of Ammon every where predominant, 187, 207 et seq. priest-kings of, 190, 194. ancient queens of, 205. Diodorus's account of the government and laws of, 212. the priesthood destroyed by king Ergamenes, *ib.* powerful at the time of the Trojan war, 213. subdued Upper Egypt, 214. the mighty host sent against the Jews, *ib.* the primeval monuments of, more ancient than those of Egypt, 224. commerce of, 225 et seq. Axum the ancient capital of, 238 et seq. known as a civilized people in the time of Homer, 244, *n.* the civilization of the Egyptians derived from, 247. possessed the art of writing, 247, 248.

Etrurians, early history of the, 77.

Factions at Carthage, 137, 143.

"Fair Promontory," account of, by Polybius, 476, *n.*

Feasts, popular, of the Egyptians, 358.

Festivals of the Egyptians, 457.

Festus Avienus, fragments from, containing Himilco's account of the countries of Europe, 481—483.

Fezzan, the country of the ancient Garamantes, 106 et seq. once a great seat of trade, 114.

Fisheries, a source of revenue in Egypt, 442.

Foreign possessions of the Carthaginians, 22 et seq.

Frankincense, land of the, 165. situation of, 166.

Funerals of the Egyptians, 364, 365.

Gades, ancient navigation of, xvi. an important place of trade, 85.

Garamantes, account of the, 96, 105 et seq. the country of, a great seat of trade, 114. trading route from, to the Atlantes, 508.

Gaul, her commercial intercourse with Carthage, 79. soldiers of, in the Carthaginian armies, 126.

General, of the highest rank in the Carthaginian republic, 61.

Geometry, study of, in Egypt, 345.

Gerusia, a name given to the Carthaginian senate, 54, 55, 62, 63.

Ghizeh, pyramids of, 297.

Ghyrshe, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 182.

Gindanes, African tribe of, 15.

Gisco, the Carthaginian, notices of, 488, 489.

Gold, an important article of trade in Africa, 84, 88, 89, 119.

Gold mines in Nubia, productions of the, 440. where situated, 441.

Gorillæ, tribe of the, 479.

Gornou, palace of, 386.

Government, of Carthage, 46 et seq. on the relation between theocracy and the monarchical form of, 506.

Greece, ancient commerce of, xvi. received the early civilization of Ethiopia, 244, *n.*

Greek inscriptions sometimes found on Egyptian monuments, 258, 275, 282.

Greek soldiers established in Egypt, 468, 469.

Greeks, their writings of some authority in Egyptian history, 369. their trade with the Egyptians, 463.

Grottoes for the living, at Thebes, 395.

Gyzantes, an African tribe, account of, 9.

Hades, ancient belief in, 360.

Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, biographical notices of, 484, 488, 489.

Hamilcar Barca, faction of, 131. his feud with Hanno the ruin of Carthage, 132 et seq.

Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, successor of Asdrubal, 136. the leader of a faction, 137. his political reforms, 141. treaty of, with Philip of Macedonia, 477. notices of, 488 *bis*.

Hanno, the Carthaginian navigator, expedition of, 39. colonization of, 40, 45. towns built by, 44. account of his voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, 478, 479. various opinions on, 479—481. biographical notices of, 488, 489.

—— senator of Carthage, faction headed by, 130. his feud with Hamilcar Barca eventually the ruin of Carthage, 132 et seq.

—— pedigree of the House of, 490.

Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian, biographical notices of, 488.

Head-dresses of the Egyptians represented on the ancient sculptures, 418.

Hecatæus, writings of, 369.

Heliopolis, inscription on an obelisk at, 502, 503.

Hellenium, a Greek commercial depot in Egypt, 463.

Herdsmen, a caste of, in Egypt, 334, 335.

Hermapion, inscription on the obelisk of, 276.

Hermes, the alleged inventor of letters in Egypt, 372.

Hermonthis, remains of, 293.

Hermotybi, a soldier caste of Egypt, 328, 329.

Herodotus, his description of Northern Africa, xxvi. the great historian of Carthage, 7. his account of Africa, 91. his story respecting the Nasamones, 92. his accounts confirmed by modern travellers, 115 et seq.

Hieratic writing of the Egyptians, 260 et seq.
Hieroglyphics of Egypt, general disquisition on the, 256 et seq. used in the sacred writings of the Egyptians, *ib.* the Rosetta stone illustrative of, 257, 258. phonetic characters used in, 259 et seq. deciphered and explained by Dr. Young and Champollion, 259, 260 et seq. distinct kinds of, 260, 261, 270. not confined to the hierarchy, 264. always imperfect as a system of writing, 267. used to inscribe the names of kings, 276, 277. of the Mexicans, 278. compared with those of the Egyptians, 279. the invention attributed to Thot or Hermes, 280. explained by Clemens Alexandrinus, 281, *n.*, 501. the characters borrowed from nature and art, 351. not understood by the people, 358, *n.* inscription at Heliopolis from Ammianus Marcellinus, 502, 503.
Himilco, the Carthaginian, expedition of, 43. fragment of his History of Europe from Festus Avienus, 481—483. biographical notices of, 488 *bis.*
History, ancient, its advantages over modern history, iii. its objects, iv. held in estimation by the Egyptians, 346. of Thebes, chiefly derived from its monuments, 366 et seq. of Egypt, represented on their ancient sculpture, 417. fragments illustrative of the history of Thebes, 419.
Horses, breed of, cultivated in Egypt, 451.
Hoskins, G. A., his travels in Ethiopia, 492—496.
Human sacrifices, custom of, in Phœnicia and Carthage, 65, *n.*
Hunting of men in Africa, 110.
Husbandmen, a caste of Egypt, 331, 332, 335.
Husbandry, remarks on, from the Works of Mago the Carthaginian, 484.
Hyksos, expelled by the kings of Egypt, 311, 319, 423, 499. dynasty of the, 317, 318. the shepherd kings of Egypt, *ib.* delivery of Egypt from the, sculptured on the ruins of Karnac, 392. on their origin, 500.
Hylophagæ, tribe of the, 160, 161.

Ichthyophagi, race of the, 156. account of, 166, 170. their commerce, 246.
Idolatry, animal, its early origin, 356. general treatise on, 357 et seq.
India, ancient commerce of, 227—229.
Indian Ocean, the scene of ancient navigation, xiii.
Inscriptions, on the Egyptian monuments, 284. on the obelisk of Heliopolis, 502.
Interpreters, a caste of Egypt, 333.
Ipsambul, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177. monuments of, 185.
Isis, temple of, in Thebes, 385.
Italy, ancient fertility and opulence of, 42. early navigation directed to, 76. soldiers of, in the Carthaginian armies, 126. Carthaginian invasion of, 139, 140.

Joliba, a river of Africa noticed by Herodotus, 94. the course of, discovered by modern travellers, 491.
Joseph's canal connected with the Nile, 295, 296.
Jupiter Ammon, temple of, 99, 101. ruins of the ancient oracle of, 207. See Ammon.
Justice, administration of, in Carthage, 63.

Kalabshé, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177. monuments of, 178, 179. scenes sculptured at, 420, 429.
Kardassy, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 178.
Karnac (Thebes), magnificent temple of, 224, 393. built of the materials of a more ancient edifice, 349. stupendous ruins of, 390. bas-reliefs of, described, 392. its sculptures symbolic of the worship of Ammon, 408.
Kings, Egyptian, the names of, how written, 276.
Knights, order of, despotic power of, at Carthage, 141.
Kurgos, island of, 199. ruins of, 202, 204.

Labyrinth of Egypt, 296.
Land, division of, in Egypt, 331, 332. revenue derived from, 439.
Land trade of Carthage, 86 et seq.
Latona, oracle of, 359.
Laws of the Egyptians, study of, 345. synopsis of, 443, 444.
Leptis, Great, colony of, 21, 112.
Letters, represented by phonetic characters, 261.
Libyans, general character of, 6, 8. Herodotus's account of the, 96. the aboriginals of Africa, 147.
Linen, of the Egyptians, 460.
Lipara, ancient commerce of, 78.
Lixitæ, tribe of the, 478, 480.
Lotophagi, African tribe of, 15. ancient seat of the, 111, 112.
Lotus, described, 15. cultivation of the, in Egypt, 448, 449.
Luxor (Thebes), stupendous ruins of, 387. bas-reliefs described, 388. the temple, the remains of a more ancient edifice, 394.

Macedonia, commercial epoch of the empire of, xvi. treaty with Carthage, 477.
Macrobians, account of the, 161 et seq. visit of the Persian ambassadors to the, 162. a tribe of the Shangallas, 163. seat of the, 171.
Magistrates of Carthage, 51.
Mago, family of, the founders of Carthage, 24. pedigree of the House of, 490.
Mago, the grandfather of Hannibal, biographical notices of, 488.
—— the brother of Hannibal, 139.
—— the writer on Husbandry, works of, translated into Latin, 48, *n.* fragments of, from various Latin authorities, 484—487.
Maharraka, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 183.
Manetho, his History of Egypt, 310, *n.* writings of, 369. on the dynasties of Egypt, 311, 318, 423, 424, 499, 500.
Manufactures of the Egyptians, treatise on, 446, 453—456.
Marcellinus, his translation of an inscription at Heliopolis, 502, 503.
Mareotis, lake of, 300.
Massilia, ancient commerce of, xvi.
Massyli, nomad tribe of the, 127, *n.*
Maxyes, an African tribe, account of, 8, 15.
Medical science, study of, in Egypt, 345.
Medinet Abou, great palace of, 374, 409. sculptures of, 375, 376. temple of, 378.
Mediterranean, the principal scene of ancient commerce and navigation, xiii.
Megabari, race of the, 157.
Memnon, colossal statue of, 378—380.
Memnonium, palace of, 380.
Memphis, the city of, 296. the capital of Egypt and the shepherd kings, 318, 469. a burial-place of Osiris, 436. trading route from, to Phœnicia, 510.
Mendes, a symbolic representation, 344. a burial-place of Osiris, 436.
Menes, the first king of Egypt, 298.
Meroe, general inquiry into the state of, and its monuments, 171 et seq. its history involved in obscurity, 172. temples and pyramids of, 178. island of, where situated, 195, 198. size of, 197. city, where situated, 196, 198, 199. Bruce's account of, 199. ruins of, 200. not confined to one spot, *ib.* government in the hands of priests, who chose a king from their own body, 211. overthrown by Ergamenes, who kills the priests, 212. state of the empire at the Trojan war, and during the Persian period, 213. migration of the Egyptian warrior caste, *ib.* date of the flourishing period, *ib.* Sabaco, Senechus, and Tarhaco, kings of, conquer Egypt, 214. boundaries, 216. description of the priest caste, 218. settlement near Mount Berkal, 221. pyramids found there, *ib.* called Napata, *ib.* colony planted at Thebes, 222. observations on civilization of Meroë, *ib.* the market-place of Africa, 234. route from, to the Arabian Gulf and Yemen, 238. oracles of, 359. Mr. Hoskins' explorations of, 492—496. trading route from, to the Arabian Gulf, 510.
Messura, monuments of, 200, 203. Caillaud's description of, 206. conjectures respecting, 207.
Metagonitæ urbes, ancient towns of Carthage, 17.
Metals, the art of working, among the Egyptians, 455.
Mexico, hieroglyphics of, 278, 279.
Military art of the Egyptians, 445.
Minerva, temple of, in Egypt, 333.
Mines, Carthaginian revenues derived from, 70.
Misphramuthosis, king of Egypt, expels the Hyksos, 424.
Mœris, the great reservoir of the Nile, 296.
Monarchies, great, origin and formation of, vii.
Monarchy, treatise on, 506.
Money, trade of, never established among the ancients, xiv. on the money of Carthage, 68. of Egypt, 443.
Monuments of Egypt, illustrative of its history, 249 et seq., 255. ancient authors who have written on, 253. Champollion's great work on, 254. phonetic hieroglyphics explained, 260 et seq. two ways of determining the age of, 282. on the various remains of the, 293 et seq. illustrative of Egyptian manufactures, 453.
—— of Meroë on the banks of the Nile, 171 et seq. observation on the, 186. architecture of, 187. sculptures of, 189. origin and object of, 190. groups of, 200.
—— of Thebes, general dissertation on the, 366 et seq. described by Denon and others, 370. enumeration of the, 371 et seq., 378. on the eastern side of the Nile, 387 et seq. historical disquisition on, 405 et seq. their style of architecture, 407, 408.
Mummies, careful preparation of, 361, 362.
Munich, mummies preserved at, 304.

Naga, monuments of, 200, 203. conjectures respecting, 208.
Napata, a city of Ethiopia, 221.
Nasamones, of Africa, race of the, 16. account of, 92.
Nations, on the rise and progress of, iv.
Natron lakes, valley of the, 298.
Naucratis, a city of Egypt, 299, 463.
Naval engagement represented in Egyptian sculpture, 376, 412, 413.
Navigation and commerce of the ancients, xii. et seq. of Carthage, 73 et seq., 86.
Navigators, a caste of Egypt, 333.
Navy of Carthage, general inquiry respecting, 120 et seq.
Neatherds, caste of, in Egypt, 336.
Necho, king of Egypt, builds a navy, 470. cuts a canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, 470, 471.
Nile, ancient and modern explorations of the, xxix. xxx. monuments on the banks of the, 172. its course, 173, 287. its ancient course different from what it is

now, 173. Herodotus's description of the, 174. its cataracts, 175, 176. temples on the banks of the, 177 et seq. Strabo and Pliny's description of the, 196. bore the name of Astapus, *ib.* commercial voyaging up the, 238. utility of its inundations, 287, 288. the valley of the, 288, 289, 292. rich deposits of, 289. Theban monuments on the eastern side of, 387 et seq. fisheries of, a source of revenue, 442. the valley favourable to agriculture, 448. navigation and commercial advantages of the, 456.
Nilometer, use of, in Egypt, 439.
Nitocris, an ancient queen of Ethiopia, 205.
Nomades, of Northern Africa, 8. of Africa in the Carthaginian armies, 127. of Ethiopia, 243, 246.
Nomarchi, local governors of Egypt, 438.
Nome, a name given to an Egyptian city with its surrounding territory, 316, 317. Egypt divided into nomes, 314, 315, 438.
Nubia, account of the inhabitants, 154. their language, 155. monuments in, 223. early civilization of, 224. historical notices of, 434. gold mines in, 440.

Œa, a town of Carthage, 21.
Oil, an important article of commerce among the ancients, xv.
Olive, cultivation of the, in Egypt, 450.
Ombos, remains of, 294.
Oracles, delivered in the temples of Ammon, 209 et seq. of Ammon and Dodona, 244, *n.* established in the cities and temples of Egypt, 359. of the Thebans, 437.
Osiris, a symbolic representation, 342, 344. burial-places of, 436.
Osorthon, king of Egypt, 431.
Osymandias, the palace and tomb of, 380 et seq.

Papyrus, manufacture of, in Egypt, 450.
Periplus of Hanno, 478, 479. various opinions on the, 479—481.
Peristyles of Egyptian architecture, 374, 375.
Persia, dominion of, in Egypt and Phœnicia, not injurious to commerce, 465.
Pharaohs, period of the, 193. dynasty of the, 223, 224. of Egypt, historical notices of, 426 et seq. extent of their dominion, 434. revenues of the, 438—443. on the decline and fall of the empire of the, 466—473.
Pheron, king of Egypt, 430.
Philæ, inscriptions in the temples of, 193. island of, 294. ancient road of, 460.
Phœnicians, their early establishment of colonies, 3, 4, 12, 30. the government of, republican, 22.
Phonetic hieroglyphics explained by the Rosetta stone, 259 et seq.
Phtha, temple of, 427.
Picture signs of the Egyptians, 260, 261.
Picture writing of Ethiopia, 248.
Pigmies of Africa, 92.
Pillars of the Egyptian temples, architectural magnificence of the, 350, 374, 375.
Plautus, Pœnulus, information derived from, 75.
Pliny, fragments of Mago extracted from, 487.
Polybius, the commercial treaties between Rome and Carthage extracted from, 475, 476.
Posts necessary for commercial intercourse, xiv.
Poultry, breeding of, in Egypt, 453.
Priests, no distinct order of, in Carthage, 65. title of priest obtained by purchase among the Ethiopians, 192, *n.* the absolute rulers of Ethiopia, 212. their power annihilated by Ergamenes, *ib.* of Egypt, account of the, 323 et seq. the proprietors of all learning, 339. caste of, superior to the warrior caste, 418.
Priest-kings of Meroë, 190, 193, 194.
Processions, religious, represented in the temples of Egypt and Nubia, 210, 211.
Psammetichus, obtains the sole government of Egypt, 217, 322. reign of, 466—468. employs the Greek soldiers, 469. invades Syria, 470.
Psammis, tomb of, at Thebes, 401.
Psylli, an ancient nation buried by the Libyan sands, 16.
Ptolemies, reign of the, 310, *n.*
Punic inscription noticed, 484.
Pylones of Egyptian architecture, 374.
Pyramids, of Meroë, 200 et seq. of Egypt, situation of, 297. on the builders of the, 318, *n.*, 363, *n.*

Quæstor, duties of his office at Carthage, 62.

Race-course of Thebes, 373.
Rameses, the conqueror of Ethiopia, 214, 224. historical fragments of, 420, 421, 425, 426 et seq.
Red Sea, a canal cut from, to join the Mediterranean, 471.
Religion, influence of, in ancient states, vii. a bond of political union, viii. of the Carthaginians, 64. of Meroë, 187, 209 et seq. indissolubly connected with commerce, 232, 233. of Egypt, view of the, 339, 340. the popular religion, 355 et seq. Egyptian rites and popular feasts of, 358. See Oracles, and Priests.
Representative system scarcely known to the ancients, vi.
Republican constitutions, origin of, v. of Rome and Carthage, vi.
Revenues, of the Carthaginian dominions, 11. whence derived, 66, 67 et seq. of the Pharaohs of Egypt, 438—443.
Rhamnus lotus, the ancient lotus tree, 15.

Rites, sacred, of the Egyptians, 358.
Rome, commercial epoch of the empire of, xvi. Carthaginian invasion of the territories of, 139, 140. commercial treaties with Carthage, 475, 476.
Rosellini, remarks on his discoveries, 496, 499, 500.
Rosetta stone, discovery of the, 257. inscription on the, 258. the alphabetical key of Egypt, writing obtained from, 258, 259.

Saba, situation of, 171.
Sabaco, the powerful king of Ethiopia, conquers Upper Egypt, 214, 432.
Sabians, wealth and commerce of the, 227, 228.
Sahara, of Northern Africa, xxvii.
Sais, city of, 299. a burial-place of Osiris, 436.
Sakkara, pyramids of, 297.
Salt, an important article of commerce in Africa, 87.
Sanctuaries of Egyptian temples described, 349.
Sandstone, the chief material for building, 291.
Sappho, the Carthaginian, notices of, 488.
Sardinia, a granary for food, 75. a province of Carthage, 25. formerly little known, 26. historical notices of, 27. conquest of, *ib.*
Scheygias, the race of, 155.
Scilly Islands, ancient commerce of the, 81.
Scipio, his contests with the Carthaginians, 139, 140.
Sculptures, on the temples of Meroë, 189 et seq. cultivation of the art in Egypt, 347, 351 et seq., 375. of Thebes, 378 et seq. of the temples and palaces of Egypt, 410 et seq. representative of a naval engagement, 412, 413. of a land battle, 414. the early history of the Egyptians represented by, 417 et seq.
Sebennytus, a burial-place of Osiris, 436.
Sebha, situation of, 112.
Seboa, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177.
Senate of Carthage, duties of the, 58. ruled by a faction, 137, 143. two contending parties in the, 138.
Sennaar, ancient commerce of, 234 et seq.
Sepulchres, of Egypt, 362, 363. of Thebes, 398.
Sesonchosis, king of Egypt, the Shishak of Jewish history, 431. besieges Jerusalem, *ib.*
Sesostris, the conqueror of Ethiopia, 215, 224. Medinet Abou, the palace of, 409. conquests of, 412. historical fragments of, 420, 421, 426 et seq.
Sethos, the Egyptian priest, tyranny of, 466.
Seuechus, king of Ethiopia, conquers Upper Egypt, 214.
Shamy, colossal sculpture of, 378.
Shangallas, tribe of the, 161.
Sheep, breed of, in Egypt, 452.
Shendy, ancient commerce of, 234, 235.
Shepherd-kings of Egypt, 318.
Ship, a religious symbol in the worship of Ammon, 210.
Ships, represented in Egyptian sculpture, 376, 413. of the Egyptians, how built, 456.
Sicily, early history of, 29—31. a Phœnician colony, 30. partly possessed by the Greeks, *ib.* early navigation directed to, 76.
Silsilis, remains of, 294. sculptures on the tombs of, 304, *n.*
Sirbonis, ancient lake of, 299.
Siwah, identified with Ammonium, 103.
Slave trade of Africa, of remote antiquity, 87.
Sochna, situation of, 112.
Soldier caste of Egypt, next to the priesthood, 327. general account of the, 328 et seq.
Soleb, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 177, 186, 434.
Somaulies, race of the, 166, 167.
Souls, transmigration of, 366.
Spain, settlements in, possessed by the Carthaginians, 34. mineral wealth of, 36. ancient commercial importance of, 79. soldiers of, in the Carthaginian armies, 126. formerly the richest country in the world, 135. the great resource of Carthage, 138, 139.
Sparta, government of, similar to that of Carthage, 52.
States, on the rise and progress of, iv. et seq. domestic ties the first bond of, *ib.* republican, v. monarchical, vii.
Stones, precious, ancient trade in, 119.
Struthiophagi, tribe of the, 161.
Suffetes, the heads of the Carthaginian senate, 60, 64.
Sujah, empire of, 197.
Susa, country of, rich in gold mines, 165. situation of, 166.
Syene, the ancient rendezvous of Egyptian vessels, 238.
Symbolical characters of the Egyptians, 261.
Syria, invaded by Psammetichus, 470.
Syrtica Regio, situated between the two Syrtes, 21.
Syrtis, of Africa, remarks on the, 7, *n.* fertility of the country around, 20.
Syssitia, the clubs of Carthage, 59.

Tacazze, its junction with the Nile, 198.
Tafa, temple of, on the banks of the Nile, 178.
Tanis, ancient lake of, 300. a burial-place of Osiris, 436.
Tarhaco, the king of Ethiopia, conquers Upper Egypt, 214.
Tegaza, salt mines of, 117.
Tegerry, a town of Fezzan, 114.

Temples, of Egypt, hieroglyphic inscriptions on, deciphered, 284. of Thebes, 293, 294.
—— of Meroë, 177 et seq.; 186. architecture of, 187. sculptures of, 189 et seq. origin and object of, 190. groups of, 200. of Naga and Messura, 203 et seq. ruins of the temples of Jupiter Ammon, 207.
Tentyris, monuments at, 293.
THEBES, the commercial rendezvous of caravans, 99. an ancient Ethiopian settlement, 222. early importance of, 244, *n.* monuments at, 293, 294. bas-reliefs on the temples of, 302, 303. general dissertation on the monuments, 366 et seq. materials for its history, 367. Diodorus the principal historian of, *ib.* monuments of, described by Denon and others, 370, 371. its situation, 372. its monuments on the western side, *ib.* the race-course, 373. its extent, *ib.* antiquities of Medinet Abou, *ib.* palace of, 374. sculpture of, 375. description of that without, *ib.* description of that within, 376. mysteries, initiation into, 378. the colossi, Dami and Shami, *ib.* Memnon, *ib.* account of, *ib.* tomb of Osymandyas, 380. sculpture of, 382. temple of Isis, 385. palace of Gornou, 386. monuments on the eastern side, 387. ruins of Luxor, *ib.* description of the sculpture, 388. monuments of Karnac, 390. deliverance from the Hyksos, 392. the great temple, 393. catacombs, 395. grottoes for the living, *ib.* the royal sepulchres, 398. the harp tomb, 399. the temple of Ammon, 408. observations on the monuments, 409. their architecture, *ib.* the sculptures, 410. history of, 419. chronology of, not to be settled, 420. foundation of, unknown, 423. some account of its kings, *ib.* Nubia annexed to the empire of, by Thutmosis, 424. the most splendid period of, 431. decline of the Theban power, 432. extent of the empire, *ib.* political relation to Ammonium, 433. Ethiopia the object of conquest, *ib.* gold mines in the time of Pharaoh, 434. Thebes the usual seat of government, 435. a burial-place of Osiris, 436. government and hierarchy of, hereditary, 437. division of the empire, 438. the revenue of the Pharaohs, *ib.* et seq. its hundred gates, remarks on, 445, *n.* Mr. Hoskins' travels in, 492. trading route from, to the Garamantes, 509.
Theocracy, treatise on, 506.
Theut, a symbolic representation, 344.
This, a burial-place of Osiris, 436.
Thonis, an ancient sea-port, 458.
Thuoris, king of Egypt, contemporary with the Trojan war, 431.
Thutmosis, king of Thebes, the dynasty of, 215. expels the Hyksos from Egypt, 319, 424.
Thyamiaterium, city of, founded by Hanno, 478.
Thymiamata, the region of, 481.
Tibboos, ancient race of, 110. account of, 151.
Tin, early use of, 80.
Tombs of Meroë, 188, 202. of Egypt, 362, 363. of Thebes, 399 et seq.
Tombuctoo, recent visit to, 491, 492.
Toparchi, local governors of Egypt, 438.
Trade of Carthage by land, 86 et seq.
Trading citizens, a caste of Egypt, 330.
Transmigration, ancient belief in, 360.
Treaties, between Rome and Carthage, 475, 476. between Hannibal and Philip of Macedon, 477.
Tribes, the first commencements of states, iv., v.
Triton, the lake, situation of, 7, *n.*, 15. fertility of the neighbouring country, 20.
Triumphal procession, represented in Egyptian sculpture, 377.
Troglodytes, the inhabitants of the Baleares, 33. notices of the, 97, 157, 158. hunted by the Garamantes, 110. their commerce, 246. noticed by Hanno, 478.
Tuaricks, account of the, 150.
Turris Euprantus, a town of Carthage, 19.
Tyre, ancient commerce of, xvi. founded by the Phœnicians, 13.

Utica, an independent state established by the Phœnicians, 12, 13.

Varro, fragment of Mago's extracted from, 484.
Vine, cultivation of the, in Egypt, 450.

War-chariots of the Egyptians, 445.
War-forces of Carthage, general inquiry respecting, 120 et seq. chiefly consisted of foreigners and nomad tribes, 125, 127.
Warrior castes of Egypt, 328 et seq.
Weaving, art of, among the Egyptians, 453.
Wine, on the transport of, among the ancients, xv.
Women, armed, among the Ethiopians, 205.
Writing, art of, possessed by the Ethiopians, 247. various kinds of, possessed by the Egyptians, 256 et seq., 260. always very imperfect, 267.

Yemen, the ancient name of Arabia the Blest, 226.
Young, Dr., his discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics, 259.

Zabara, emerald mines of, 292.
Zaueces, an African tribe, account of, 8.
Zerah, the Ethiopian, his expedition against Judea, 214, 215.
Zeugitana, a northern province of Carthage, 20.
Zuila, the city of, 107. route of caravans, 112.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

6 b

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BRITTLE DO NOT PHOTOCOPY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
0032261918

930 H363 3

01363654

930.
H363 V3

FEB 10 1937

VOLUME 4

930 H363

Columbia University 4
in the City of New York

LIBRARY

GIVEN BY

Dr James Peck

ANCIENT GREECE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

ARNOLD H. L. HEEREN,

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

13/15

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP.		PAGE
	General Preliminary Remarks	vii
I.	Geographical View of Greece	1
II.	Earliest Condition of the Nation; and its Branches	21
III.	Original Sources of the Culture of the Greeks	26
IV.	The Heroic Age. The Trojan War	50
V.	The Period following the Heroic Age. Migrations. Origin of Republican Forms of Government, and their Character	62
VI.	Homer. The Epic Poets	67
VII.	Means of Preserving the National Character	80
VIII.	The Persian Wars and their Consequences	93
IX.	Constitutions of the Grecian States	104
X.	The Political Economy of the Greeks	123
XI.	The Judicial Institutions	146
XII.	The Army and Navy	154
XIII.	Statesmen and Orators	173
XIV.	The Sciences in Connexion with the State	191
XV.	Poetry and the Arts in Connexion with the State	217
XVI.	Causes of the Fall of Greece	235

ANCIENT GREECE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

ARNOLD H. L. HEEREN,

BY GEORGE BANCROFT.

ALSO

THREE HISTORICAL TREATISES,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

I.—POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.
II.—THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL THEORIES.
III.—THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CONTINENTAL INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCXLVII.

930
H363
v.4

Gift
Dr. JAMES PECK
June 7, 1913

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE volume of which a translation is here offered to the public, forms in the original a portion of an extensive work, entitled, "Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the chief Nations of Antiquity." Mr. Heeren has accomplished his design only with respect to the nations of Asia and Africa. On those of Europe he has published nothing further than the present series of essays, which relate solely to subjects connected with the political institutions of the Greeks, and may be regarded as an independent collection of historical sketches.

It is on that larger work that the literary reputation of Mr. Heeren primarily depends. With respect to the Asiatic and African nations, he has discussed his subject in its full extent, and furnishes a more distinct account of their ancient condition than has perhaps been given by any other writer. Early in life he was led to consider the history of the world as influenced by colonial establishments and commerce; and the results of his investigations, in a department of science to which he is enthusiastically attached, and to which he has uninterruptedly devoted the most precious years of a long life, are communicated in the elaborate production which we have named.

In that portion which relates to Asia, after considering the character of the continent itself, he first treats of the Persians, giving a geographical and statistical account of their ancient empire, their form of government, the rights and authority of their kings, the administration of their provinces, and their military resources.

The Phœnicians next pass in review; and a sketch is given of their internal condition and government, their colonies and foreign possessions, their commerce, their manufactures and inland trade.

The country and nation of the Babylonians, and their commerce, form the next subjects of consideration.

The Scythians are then delineated, and a geographical survey of their several tribes is naturally followed by an inquiry into the commerce and intercourse of the nations which inhabited the middle of Asia.

In treating of India, it was necessary to consider with careful criticism, the knowledge which still remains to us of that distant country, and to collect such fragments of information as can be found respecting its earliest history, political constitution, and commerce. The Indians are the most remote Asiatic nation which had an influence on the higher culture of the ancient world, and with them the division which treats of Asia is terminated.

To the lover of studies connected with antiquity, the history of the African nations possesses the deepest interest. Beside the physical peculiarities of this singular part of the globe, the Carthaginians present the most remarkable example of the wealth and power which a state may acquire by commerce alone; and at the same time, it shows most forcibly the changes to which such a state is exposed, when the uncertainty of its resources is increased by a want of the higher virtues, of valour, faith, and religion. In Egypt, on the other hand, the vast antiquity of its political institutions, the veil of uncertainty which hangs over its early condition, connected with the

magnificence of its monuments, that have, as it were, been discovered within the recollection of our contemporaries, all serve to render that country a most interesting subject of speculation and critical study.

The volume on Africa first introduces the Carthaginians, who had the melancholy fate of becoming famous only by their ruin. Mr. Heeren discusses the condition of their African territory, their foreign provinces and colonies, their form of government, their revenue, their commerce by land and by sea, their military force, and lastly the decline and fall of their state.

Before entering upon the consideration of the Egyptians, Mr. Heeren ascends the Nile, and presents us with a geographical sketch of the Ethiopian nations, an account of the state of Meroë, and of the commerce of Meroë and Ethiopia.

The Egyptians are then considered. A general view of their country and its inhabitants, its political condition and its commerce,—these are the topics, under which he treats of that most ancient people. The whole is concluded by an analysis of the monuments which yet remain of Egyptian Thebes.

These are the subjects which are discussed in the "Reflections of Heeren," a work which deservedly holds a high rank among the best historical productions of our age. Mr. Heeren's style is uniformly clear, and there are few of his countrymen whose works so readily admit of being translated. We may add, there are few so uniformly distinguished for sound sense and a rational and liberal method of studying the monuments of antiquity. He is entirely free from any undue fondness for philosophical speculations, but recommends himself by his perspicuity, moderation, and flowing style.

The business of translating is but a humble one; and yet it may be the surest method of increasing the number of good books which are in the hands of our countrymen. None can be offered more directly interesting to them, than those which relate to political institutions. Holding as we do our destinies and our national character and prosperity in our own hands, it becomes us to contemplate the revolutions of governments; to study human nature, as exhibited in its grandest features in the changes of nations; to consider not only the politics of the present age, but gaining some firm ground, such as history points out, to observe with careful attention the wrecks of other institutions and other times. The present volume may perhaps do something to call public attention to the merits and true character of the ancient Greeks. The admirers of Grecian eloquence will find in one of the chapters, an outline of the political career of Demosthenes. His reputation is there vindicated from the calumnies that have so long been heaped upon one of the noblest, most persevering, most disinterested advocates of the cause of suffering liberty.

The Translator hopes the work will prove acceptable to scholars and those who have leisure for the study of history; and that it will be received by them as an earnest of his desire to do something, however little it may be, for the advancement of learning in our common country.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

This translation, of which two or three editions have been published in England, has recently been adopted as a text-book in Harvard College. Hence it became necessary to reprint it; and the opportunity has been seized to revise it, and to adopt the few changes and additions, which were made by Mr. Heeren in the latest edition of his works.

Boston, February 12, 1842.

GENERAL PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

To the student of the history of man, there is hardly a phenomenon more important in itself, or more difficult of explanation, than the superiority of Europe over the other parts of our earth. Whatever justice may be rendered to other lands and nations, it cannot be denied that the noblest and best of every thing, which humanity has produced, sprung up, or at least ripened, on European soil. In the multitude, variety, and beauty of their natural productions, Asia and Africa far surpass Europe; but in every thing which is the work of man, the nations of Europe stand far above those of the other continents. It was among them, that, by making marriage the union of but one with one, domestic society obtained that form, without which the higher culture of so many parts of our nature could never have been attained; and if slavery and bondage were established among them, they alone, recognising their injustice, abolished them. It was chiefly and almost exclusively among them, that such constitutions were framed, as are suited to nations who have become conscious of their rights. If Asia, during all the changes in its extensive empires, does but show the continued reproduction of despotism, it was on European soil that the germ of political freedom unfolded itself, and under the most various forms, in so many places, bore the noblest fruits; which again were transplanted to other parts of the world. The simplest inventions of the mechanic arts may perhaps belong in part to the East; but how have they all been perfected by Europeans! What progress from the loom of the Hindoo to the power-looms driven by steam; from the sun-dial to the chronometer, which guides the mariner over the ocean; from the bark canoe of the Mohawk to the British man-of-war! And if we direct our attention to those nobler arts, which, as it were, raise human nature above itself, what a distance between the Jupiter of Phidias and an Indian idol; between the Transfiguration of Raphael and the works of a Chinese painter! The East had its annalists, but never produced a Tacitus, or a Gibbon; it had its poets, but never advanced to criticism; it had its sages, who not unfrequently produced a powerful effect on their nations by means of their doctrines; but a Plato or a Kant never ripened on the banks of the Ganges and the Hoangho.

Nor can we less admire that political superiority, which the nations of this small region, just emerging from savage life, immediately established over the extensive countries of the large continents. The East has seen powerful conquerors; but it was only in Europe that generals appeared, who invented a science of war really worthy of the name. Hardly had a kingdom in Macedonia of limited extent out-grown its childhood, before Macedonians ruled on the Indus as on the Nile. The imperial city was the heiress of the imperial nation; Asia and Africa adored the Cæsars. Even in the centuries of the middle age, when the intellectual superiority of the Europeans seemed to have sunk, the nations of the East attempted to subjugate them in vain. The Mongolians advanced into Silesia; nothing but the wastes of Russia long remained in their power: the Arabs desired to overrun the West; the sword of Charles Martel compelled them to rest contented with a part of Spain; and the chivalrous Frank, under the banner of the cross, soon bade them defiance in their own home. And how did the fame of Europeans beam over the earth, when, through Columbus and Vasco de Gama, the morning of its fairer day began to dawn! The new world at once became their prey, that it might receive their culture, and become their rival; more than a third part of Asia submitted to the Russian sceptre; merchants on the Thames and the Zuyder See seized on the government of India; and if the Turks have thus far been successful in preserving the country which they have robbed from Europe, will it remain to them for ever? will it remain to them long? The career of conquest may have been marked with severity and blood; the Europeans became not the tyrants only, but also the instructers of the world. The civilization of mankind seems to be more and more closely connected with their progress; and if, in these times of universal revolution, any consoling prospect for the future is opened, is it not the triumph of European culture beyond the limits of Europe?

From whence proceeds this superiority, this universal sovereignty of so small a region as Europe? An important truth presents itself at once. Not undisciplined strength, not the mere physical force of the mass,—it was intelligence which produced it; and if the military science of Europeans founded their sovereignty, it was their superior political science which maintained it. But the question which was proposed remains still unanswered; for we desire to know the causes of this intellectual superiority; and why it was in Europe that the faculties of human nature were so much more beautifully unfolded?

To such a question no perfectly satisfactory answer can be given. The phenomenon is in itself much too rich, much too vast for that. It will be readily conceded, that it could only be the consequence of many co-operating causes; of these several can be enumerated, and thus afford some partial solution. But to enumerate

them all separately, and in their united influences, could only be done by a mind, to which it should be granted, from a higher point of view than any to which a mortal can attain, to contemplate the whole web of the history of our race, and follow the course and the interweaving of the various threads.

Here attention is drawn to one important circumstance, of which the cautious inquirer almost fears to estimate the value. Whilst we see the surface of the other continents covered with nations of different, and almost always of dark colour, (and, in so far as this determines the race, of different races,) the inhabitants of Europe belong only to one race. It has not, and it never had, any other native inhabitants than white nations.[1] Is the white man distinguished by greater natural talents? Has he by means of them precedence over his coloured brethren? This is a question which physiology cannot answer at all, and which history must answer with timidity. Who will absolutely deny that the differences of organization, which attend on the difference in colour, can have an influence on the more rapid or more difficult unfolding of the mind? But, on the other hand, who can demonstrate this influence, without first raising that secret veil, which conceals from us the reciprocal connexion between body and mind? And yet we must esteem it probable; and how much does this probability increase in strength, if we make inquiries of history? The great superiority which the white nations in all ages and parts of the world have possessed, is a matter of fact, which cannot be done away with by denials. It may be said, this was the consequence of external circumstances, which favoured them more. But has this always been so? And why has it been so? And, further, why did those darker nations, which rose above the savage state, attain only to a degree of culture of their own; a degree which was passed neither by the Egyptian nor by the Mongolian, neither by the Chinese nor the Hindoo? And among the coloured races, why did the black remain behind the brown and the yellow? If these observations cannot but make us inclined to attribute differences of capacity to the several branches of our race, they do not on that account prove an absolute want of capacity in our darker fellow-men, nor must they be urged as containing the whole explanation of European superiority. This, only, is intended; experience thus far seems to prove, that a greater facility in developing the powers of mind belongs to the nations of a clear colour; but we will welcome the age which shall contradict this experience, and exhibit cultivated nations of negroes.

But however high or low this natural precedency of the Europeans may be estimated, no one can fail to observe, that the physical qualities of this continent offer peculiar advantages, which may serve not a little to explain the above-mentioned phenomenon.

[1] The Gipsies are foreigners; and it may seem doubtful whether the Laplanders are to be reckoned to the white or yellow race.

Europe belongs almost entirely to the northern temperate zone. Its most important lands lie between the fortieth and sixtieth degree of north latitude. Further to the north nature gradually dies away. Thus our continent has in no part the luxuriant fruitfulness of tropic regions; but also no such ungrateful climate, as to make the care for the mere preservation of life exhaust the whole strength of its inhabitants. Europe, except where local causes put obstacles in the way, is throughout susceptible of agriculture. To this it invites, or rather compels; for it is as little adapted to the life of hunters as of herdsmen. Although its inhabitants have at various periods changed their places of abode, they were never nomadic tribes. They emigrated to conquer; to make other establishments where booty or better lands attracted them. No European nation ever lived in tents; the well-wooded plains offered in abundance the materials for constructing those huts which the inclement skies required. Its soil and climate were peculiarly fitted to accustom men to that regular industry, which is the source of all prosperity. If Europe could boast of but few distinguished products, perhaps of no one which was exclusively its own, the transplantation of the choicest from distant regions made it necessary to cherish and to rear them. Thus art joined with nature, and this union is the mother of the gradual improvement of our race. Without exertion man can never enlarge the circle of his ideas; but at the same time his mere preservation must not claim the exercise of all his faculties. A fruitfulness, sufficient to reward the pains of culture, is spread almost equally over Europe; there are no vast tracts of perfect barrenness; no deserts like those of Arabia and Africa; and the steppes, which themselves are well watered, begin towards the east. Mountains of a moderate elevation usually interrupt the plains; in every direction there is an agreeable interchange of hill and valley; and if nature does not exhibit the luxurious pomp of the torrid zone, her awakening in spring has charms which are wanting to the splendid uniformity of tropic climes.

It is true, that a similar climate is shared by a large portion of middle Asia; and it may be asked, why, then, opposite results should be exhibited, where the shepherd nations of Tartary and Mongolia, so long as they roamed in their own countries, seem to have been compelled to remain for ever stationary? But by the character of its soil, by the interchange of mountains and valleys, by the number of its navigable rivers, and above all, by its coasts on the Mediterranean, Europe distinguishes itself from those regions so remarkably, that this similar temperature of the air, (which is moreover not perfectly equal under equal degrees of latitude, since Asia is colder,) can afford no foundation for a comparison.

But can we derive from this physical difference, those moral advantages, which were produced by the better regulation of domestic society? With this begins in some measure the history of the

first culture of our continent; tradition has not forgotten to tell, how the founder of the oldest colony among the savage inhabitants of Attica was also the founder of regular marriages; and who has not learned of Tacitus the holy usage of our German ancestors? Is it merely the character of the climate which causes both sexes to ripen more gradually, and at the same time more nearly simultaneously, and a cooler blood to flow in the veins of man; or is a more delicate sentiment impressed upon the European, a higher moral nobility, which determines the relation of the two sexes? Be this as it may, who does not perceive the decisive importance of the fact? Does not the wall of division which separates the inhabitants of the East from those of the West, repose chiefly on this basis? And can it be doubted, that this better domestic institution was essential to the progress of our political institutions? For we say confidently, no nation, where polygamy was established, has ever obtained a free and well-ordered constitution.

Whether these causes alone, or whether others beside them, (for who will deny that there may have been others?) procured for the Europeans their superiority, thus much is certain, that all Europe may now boast of this superiority. If the nations of the South preceded those of the North,—if these were still wandering in their forests when those had already obtained their ripeness,—they finally made up for their dilatoriness. Their time also came; the time when they could look down on their southern brethren with a just consciousness of their own worth. This leads us to the important differences, which are peculiar to the North and the South of this continent.

A chain of mountains, which, though many arms extend to the north and south, runs in its chief direction from west to east, the chain of the Alps, connected in the west with the Pyrenees by the mountains of Sevennes, extending to the Carpathian and the Balkan towards the east as far as the shores of the Black Sea, divides this continent into two very unequal parts, the Southern and the Northern. It separates the three peninsulas which run to the south, those of the Pyrenees, Italy, and Greece, together with the southern coast of France and Germany, from the great continent of Europe, which stretches to the north beyond the polar circle. This last, which is by far the larger half, contains almost all the chief streams of this continent; the Ebro, the Rhone, and the Po, of all that flow into the Mediterranean, are alone important for navigation. No other chain of mountains of our earth has had such an influence on the history of our race, as the chain of the Alps. During a long succession of ages, it parted, as it were, two worlds from each other; the fairest buds of civilization had already opened under the Grecian and Hesperian skies, whilst scattered tribes of barbarians were yet wandering in the forests of the North. How different would have been the whole history of Europe, had the wall of the Alps, instead of being near the Mediterranean,

been removed to the shores of the North Sea? This boundary, it is true, seems of less moment in our time; when the enterprising spirit of the European has built for itself a road across the Alps, just as it has found a path over the ocean; but it was of decisive importance for the age of which we are speaking, for antiquity. The North and South were then physically, morally, and politically divided; that chain long remained the protecting bulwark of the one against the other; and if Cæsar, finally breaking over these boundaries, removed in some measure the political landmarks, the distinction still continues apparent between the Roman part of Europe, and that which never yielded to the Romans.

It is therefore only the southern part of our hemisphere, which can employ us in our present inquiries. Its limited extent, which seemed to afford no room for powerful nations, was amply compensated by its climate and situation. What traveller from the North ever descended the southern side of the Alps without being excited by the view of the novel scenery that surrounded him? The more beautiful blue of the Italian and Grecian sky, the milder air, the more graceful forms of the mountains, the pomp of the rocky shores and the islands, the dark tints of the forests glittering with golden fruits—do these exist merely in the songs of the poets? Although the tropic climes are still distant, a feeling of their existence is awakened even here. The aloe grows wild in Lower Italy; the sugar-cane thrives in Sicily; from the top of Ætna the eye can discern the rocks of Malta, where the fruit of the palm-tree ripens, and in the azure distance, even the coasts of neighbouring Africa.[1] Here nature never partakes of the uniformity, which so long repressed the spirit of the natives in the forests and plains of the North. In all these countries there is a constant interchange of moderately elevated mountains with pleasant valleys and level lands, over which Pomona has scattered her choicest blessings. The limited extent of the countries allows no large navigable rivers; but what an indemnification for this is found in its extensive and richly indented coasts! The Mediterranean Sea belongs to the South of Europe; and it was by means of that sea, that the nations of the West were formed. Let an extensive heath occupy its place, and we should yet be wandering Tartars and Mongolians, like the nomades of middle Asia.

Of the nations of the South, only three can engage our attention; the Greeks, Macedonians, and Romans, the masters of Italy and then of the world. We have named them in the order in which history presents them as prominent, although distinguished in different ways. We shall follow the same order in treating of them.

[1] Bartel's Reise durch Sicilien. B. II. p. 338—340.

GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF GREECE.

WERE any one, who is entirely unacquainted with the history of the Greeks, to examine the map with attentive eye, he could hardly remain in doubt that their country, in point of situation, is favoured by nature beyond any other in Europe. It is the most southern of that continent. The promontory of Tænarium, in which it terminates, lies under almost the same degree of latitude with the celebrated rock of Calpe; and its northern boundary falls somewhat to the south of Madrid. In this manner it extends from that promontory to Olympus and the Cambunian mountains, which divide it from Macedonia, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from south to north.[1] Its eastern point is the promontory of Sunium in Attica; from thence its greatest breadth, to the promontory of Leucas in the west, is about one hundred and sixty miles. The greatness of the nation and the abundance of its achievements easily lead to the error of believing the country an extensive one. But even if we add all the islands, its square contents are a third less than those of Portugal. But what advantages of situation does it not possess over the Iberian peninsula. If this, according to the ideas of the ancients, was the western extremity of the world, as the distant Serica was the eastern, Greece was as it were in the centre of the most cultivated countries of three continents. A short passage by sea divided it from Italy; and the voyage to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Phœnicia, though somewhat longer, seemed hardly more dangerous.

[1] From 36½ to 40 degrees north latitude.

Nature herself, in this land of such moderate extent, established the geographical divisions, separating the peninsula of the Peloponnesus from the main land; and dividing the latter into nearly equal parts, northern and southern, by the chain of Œta, which traverses it obliquely. In every direction hills interchange with valleys and fruitful plains; and though in its narrow compass no large rivers are found, (the Peneus and Achelous are the only considerable ones,) its extensive coasts, abundantly provided with bays, landing-places, and natural harbours, afford more than an equivalent.

The peninsula of Pelops, so called in honour of Pelops, who, according to the tradition, introduced, not war, but the gifts of peace from Asia Minor, is about equal in extent to Sicily, and forms the southernmost district.[1] It consists of a central high ridge of hills, which sends out several branches, and some as far as the sea; but between these branches there are fruitful plains well watered by an abundance of streams, which pour from the mountains in every direction. This high inland district, no where touching the sea, is the far-famed Arcadia of poetical tradition. Its highest ridge, Mount Cyllene, rises, according to Strabo, from fifteen to twenty stadia above the sea.[2] Nature has destined this country for pastoral life. "The pastures and meadows in summer are always green and unscorched; for the shade and moisture preserve them. The country has an appearance similar to that of Switzerland, and the Arcadians in some measure resemble the inhabitants of the Alps. They possessed a love of freedom and yet a love of money; for wherever there was money, you might see Arcadian hirelings. But it is chiefly the western part of Arcadia (where Pan invented the shepherd's flute) which deserves the name of a pastoral country. Innumerable brooks, one more delightful than the other, sometimes rushing impetuously and sometimes gently murmuring, pour themselves down the mountains. Vegetation is rich and magnificent; every where freshness and coolness are found. One flock of sheep succeeds another, till the rugged Taygetus is approached; where numerous herds of

[1] See the map of the Peloponnesus by Professor C. O. Müller, on which the mountains as well as the different districts are given with critical exactness.

[2] Strabo, l. viii. p. 595, ed. Casaub. 1707. The indefinite nature of the account shows how uncertain it is.

goats interchange with them."[1] The inhabitants of Arcadia, devoted to the pastoral life, preferred therefore for a long time to dwell in the open country rather than in cities; and when some of these, particularly Tegea and Mantinea, became considerable, the contests between them destroyed the peace and liberties of the people. The shepherd life among the Greeks, although much ornamented by the poets, betrays its origin in this; that it arose among a people, who did not wander like nomades, but had fixed abodes.

Round Arcadia lay seven districts, almost all of which were well watered by streams, that descended from its highlands. In the south lay the land of heroes, Laconia, rough and mountainous, but thickly settled; so that it is said, at one time, to have contained nearly a hundred towns or villages.[2] It was watered by the Eurotas, the clearest and purest of all the Grecian rivers,[3] which, rising in Arcadia, was increased by several smaller streams. Sparta was built upon its banks, the mistress of the country, without walls, without gates; defended only by its citizens. It was one of the larger cities of Greece; but, notwithstanding the market-place, the theatre, and the various temples which Pausanias enumerates,[4] it was not one of the more splendid. The monuments of fallen heroes[5] constituted the principal ornament of the banks of the Eurotas, which were then, and still are, covered with laurel.[6] But all these monuments have perished; there is a doubt even as to the spot where ancient Sparta was situated. It was formerly thought to be the modern Misitra; this opinion has been given up; a more recent traveller believes, that about three miles to the south-east of Misitra, he has discovered, in the ruins of Mogula, the traces of the ancient theatre and some temples.[7] At the

[1] Bartholdy. Bruchstücke zur nähern Kenntniss Griechenlands, s. 239—241.

[2] Manso has enumerated sixty-seven: Sparta, i. 2. p. 15. And yet Laconia was not much more extensive than the territory of Nuremberg, when a free city.

[3] Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 228.

[4] Pausan. iii. p. 240, ed. Kuhn.

[5] See the long list of them in Pausanias, p. 240, 243, &c.

[6] Pouqueville. Voyage i. p. 189.

[7] See Chateaubriand. Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem, i. p. 25. This traveller was but *one* hour in going from Misitra to Mogula, by way of Palaiochoros, on horseback and in a gallop. Those discoveries belong to M. Chateaubriand; he remarks, however, that others before him had supposed Palaiochoros to be the site of ancient Sparta. The great insecurity of travelling in

distance of four miles lay Amyclæ, celebrated for the oracle of Apollo, of whose sanctuary not a trace is now visible; and a road of twenty miles led from Sparta to Gythium, its harbour in that period of its history, when, mistaking its true policy, it built a fleet. On the west and north, Laconia was surrounded by the lofty Taygetus, which separated it from the fruitful plains of Messenia. This country was soon overpowered by Sparta,[1] which, having thus doubled its territory, easily became the largest of all the Grecian cities. But after a long and quiet possession, Messenia was finally avenged; when Epaminondas, its restorer, crushed the power of humbled Sparta.

A neck of land, called Argolis, from its capital city Argos, extends in a south-easterly direction from Arcadia forty-eight miles into the sea, where it terminates in the promontory of Scillæum. Many and great recollections recall this country to memory from the heroic age; and the remains of the most ancient style of architecture, the Cyclopic walls, which are still standing on the sites of the west towns, make that age present even now. Here lay Tiryns, whence Hercules departed to enter on his labours; here was Mycenæ, the country of Agamemnon, the most powerful and most unhappy of kings; here was Nemea, celebrated for its games instituted in honour of Neptune. But the glory of its earliest times does not seem to have animated Argos. No Themistocles, no Agesilaus was ever counted among its citizens; and, though it possessed a territory of no inconsiderable extent, holding in subjection the larger western moiety of the district, while Epidaurus and Træzene remained independent;—still it never assumed a rank among the first of the Grecian states, but was rather the sport of foreign policy.

In the west of the Peloponnesus lay Elis, the holy land. Its length from south to north, if the small southern district

the Peloponnesus increases the difficulty of the investigation; yet by the work of Sir William Gell, in his *Itinerary of the Morea*, being a description of the Routes of that peninsula, London, 1817, with a map, the topography of the peninsula has received sufficient illustrations. The distances given in the text rest on his authority. He makes the distance from Misitra or Mistra to Sparta to be 52 minutes. The city lay on hills, and appears to have been about a mile long.—Gell, p. 222.

[1] In the second Messenian war, which ended 668 years before Christ.

of Triphylia be reckoned, amounted to forty-eight miles; its breadth in the broadest part was not more than half as much. Several rivers, which had their rise in the Arcadian mountains, watered its fruitful plains. Among them the Alpheus was the largest and the most famous; for the Olympic games were celebrated on its banks. Its fountains were not far distant from those of the Eurotas; and as the latter, taking a southerly direction, flowed through the land of war, the former, in a westerly one, passed through the land of peace. For here, in the country sacred to Jove, where the nation of the Hellenes, assembling in festive pomp, saluted each other as one people, no bloody feuds were suffered to profane the soil. Armies were indeed permitted to pass through the consecrated land; but they were first deprived of their arms, which they did not again receive till they left it.[1] This general rule was afterwards limited in its application to the time of the Olympian games; but even during the following wars, the treasures of art in the sanctuaries of Elis remained uninjured; and under their protection it long enjoyed a beneficent peace.

The country of Elis embraced three divisions. The woody Triphylia was in the south, and contained that Pylus, which, according to the judgment of Strabo, could lay a better claim than either of the other two towns of the same name, to have been the country ruled by Nestor.[2] The northern division was Elis, a plain enclosed by the rough mountains Pholoë and Scollis, both spurs from the Arcadian Erymanthus, and watered by the Selleis and the Elian Peneus, on whose banks lay the city that gave a name to the whole region, over which it also exercised supreme authority; for the district of the Elians, embracing both Pisatis and Triphylia, extended to the borders of Messenia.[3] The middle

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 247. Phidon of Argos was the first who violated this sanctity by an invasion, to appropriate to himself the holding of the Olympic games (about 900 years before Christ); yet this occupation must have been transient, for when Elis was built, (about 447 years before Christ,) that city, even then relying on this sanctity, was surrounded by no walls.—Strabo, l. c. It was not till after the Peloponnesian war, that this and so many other religious ideas appear to have died away.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 242. The two other towns were situated, one in northern Elis, the other in Messenia.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 247, relates the manner in which it came to be extended thus far by the assistance of the Spartans in the Messenian war.

territory, Pisatis, so called from the city Pisa, was the most important of all, for it contained Olympia. Two roads from Elis led thither, one nearer the sea through the plain, another through the mountains; the distance was from twenty-eight to thirty-two miles.[1] The name Olympia designated the country near the city Pisa,[2] (which even in Strabo's time was no longer in existence,) where every five years those games were celebrated, which the Elians established after the subjugation of the Pisans, and at which they presided. If this privilege gave to them, as it were, all their importance in the eyes of the Greeks; if their country thus became the common centre; if it was the first in Greece with respect to works of art and perhaps to wealth; if their safety, their prosperity, their fame, and in some measure their existence as an independent state, were connected with the temple of Jupiter Olympius and its festivals;—need we be astonished, if no sacrifice seemed to them too great, by which the glory of Olympia was to be increased? Here on the banks of the Alpheus stood the sacred grove, called Altis, of olive and plane trees, surrounded by an enclosure; a sanctuary of the arts, such as the world has never since beheld. For what are all our cabinets and museums, compared with this one spot? Its centre was occupied by the national temple of the Hellenes, the temple of Olympian Jove,[3] in which was the colossal statue of that god, the masterpiece of Phidias. No other work of art in antiquity was so generally acknowledged to have been the first, even whilst all other inventions of Grecian genius were still uninjured; and need we hesitate to regard it as the first of all the works of art, of which we have any knowledge? Besides this temple, the grove contained that of Juno Lucina, the theatre and the prytaneum; in front of it, or perhaps within its precincts,[4] was the stadium

[1] According to Strabo, l. c. 300 stadia.

[2] Barthélemy is not strictly accurate, when he calls (iv. p. 207) Pisa and Olympia one city. Pisa was but six stadia (not quite a mile) from the temple; Schol. Pind. ad Ol. x. 55. I have never met with any mention of a city Olympia.

[3] The temple of Jupiter Olympius, built by the Elians in the age of Pericles, had nearly the same dimensions as the Parthenon at Athens; 230 feet in length, 95 in breadth, and 68 in height. The colossal statue of Jupiter, represented as seated, nearly touched the roof of the temple, as Strabo relates; and is said to have been sixty feet high. Compare: Völkel über den grossen Tempel und die Statue des Jupiters in Olympia, 1794.

[4] According to Strabo, in the Altis: Barthélemy says, in front of it. We

together with the race-ground, or hippodromus. The whole forest was filled with monuments and statues, erected in honour of gods, heroes, and conquerors. Pausanias mentions more than two hundred and thirty statues; of Jupiter alone he describes twenty-three,[1] and these were, for the most part, works of the first artists; for how could inferiority gain admittance, where even mediocrity became despicable? Pliny estimates the whole number of these statues in his time, at three thousand.[2] To this must be added the treasuries (θησαυροι), which the piety or the vanity of so many cities, enumerated by Pausanias,[3] had established by their votive presents. It was with a just pride, that the Grecian departed from Olympia. He could say to himself with truth, that he had seen the noblest objects on earth, and that these were not the works of foreigners, nor the pillage of foreign lands, but at once the creation and the property of his own nation.

The territory of Elis was indebted for its repose to the protection of the gods; Achaia, the country which bounded it on the north, to the wisdom of men. Having once been inhabited by Ionians, this maritime country had borne the name of Ionia; which was afterwards applied exclusively to the neighbouring sea on the west side of Greece. But in the confusion produced by the general emigration of the Dorians, it exchanged its ancient inhabitants for Achæans.[4] Achaia, watered by a multitude of mountain streams, which descended from the high ridges of Arcadia, belonged, with respect to its extent, fruitfulness, and population, to the middling countries of Greece. The character of its inhabitants was analogous. They never aspired after aggrandizement, or influence abroad. They were not made illustrious

are still much in the dark respecting the situation of ancient Olympia. What Chandler says is unimportant. The only modern traveller, who has made *accurate* investigations, is M. Fauvel. But I am acquainted with his communication to the National Institute, *Précis de ses voyages dans le continent de la Gréce, etc.*, only from the short notice contained in Millin, *Magazin Encyclop.* 1802, T. II. He found, it is there said, not only the remains of the temple of Jupiter, but also of the hippodromus.

[1] Pausanias, v. p. 434, etc. has enumerated and described that number. Among them there was a colossus of bronze, 27 feet high.

[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 17. There were as many at Athens, Delphi, and Rhodes.

[3] Paus. vi. p. 497, etc.

[4] As early as 1100 before Christ.

by great generals or great poets. But they possessed good laws. Twelve cities,[1] each with a small territory, independent of each other in the management of their internal affairs, formed a confederacy, which, under the name of the Achæan league, could trace its origin to remote antiquity. A perfect equality was its fundamental principle; no precedence of rank or power was to be usurped by any single city. What an example for the other parts of Greece, if they had been able or willing to understand it! In this manner the Achæans continued for a long time in the enjoyment of happy tranquillity, having no share in the wars of their neighbours. Their country was in no one's way, and attracted no one; even during the Peloponnesian war, they remained neutral.[2] The Macedonian supremacy finally dissolved the confederacy, and favoured individual tyrants, to use them as its instruments. But the times were to come, when Nemesis should rule. The Achæan league was renewed, and enlarged, and it became most dangerous to the Macedonian rulers.

The small territory of the city Sicyon (which afterwards belonged to the Achæan league) divided Achaia from that of Corinth. In point of extent, this state was one of the smallest in Greece; but the importance of a commercial state does not depend on the extent of its territory. Venice was never more flourishing or more powerful, than at a time when it did not possess a square mile on the continent. Wealthy Corinth, more than four miles in extent, lay at the foot of a steep and elevated hill, on which its citadel was built. There was hardly a stronger fortress in all Greece, and perhaps no spot afforded a more splendid prospect than Acrocorinthus.[3] Beneath it might be seen the busy city and

[1] Dyme and Patræ were the most important; Helice was swallowed up by the sea.

[2] Thucyd. ii. 9.

[3] See Strabo, p. 261. Of modern travellers, Spon and Wheler ascended it in 1676. Chateaubriand, i. 36, says, that the prospect at the foot of the citadel is enchanting. If it is so now, what must it formerly have been? Clarke (Travels, vol. ii. § 5, p. 745, etc.) describes the few remaining ruins, and the whole country round Corinth; especially the isthmus. He too, and his companions, were refused admittance to the citadel, yet they obtained leave to climb the cliff on which it stands; and which might be made as strong as Gibraltar. They gained the summit just at sunset: "a more splendid prospect cannot be found in Europe." It extended even to the Acropolis at Athens. Travels, ii. p. 749.

its territory, with its temples, its theatres, and its aqueducts.[1] Its two harbours, Lechæum on the western bay, Cenchreæ on the eastern, filled with ships, and the two bays themselves, with the isthmus between them, were all in sight. The peaks of Helicon, and of Parnassus itself, were seen at a distance; and a strong eye could distinguish on the eastern side the Acropolis of Athens. What images and emotions are excited by this prospect!

Beyond the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, which the Grecians, acquainted for a long time with no other, were accustomed to call simply the Isthmus, lay the tract of Hellas. Its southern half, stretching as far as the chain of Œta, was divided into eight, or, if Locris, of which there were two parts, be twice counted, into nine districts; of these, the extent was but small, as their number indicates. Next to the isthmus, on which may still be seen the ruins of a stadium and a theatre,[2] and that temple of Neptune, in the grove of fir trees, where all Greece assembled to celebrate the Isthmian games, the small but fruitful territory of Megara[3] began; and through this, along the high rocky shore, where the robber Sciron is said to have exercised his profession, the road conducted to the favourite land of the gods, to Attica.[4]

A neck of land or peninsula, opposite to that of Argolis, extends in a south-easterly direction about fifty-six miles into the Ægean Sea, and forms this country. Where it is connected with the main land, its greatest breadth may be twenty-four miles; but it tapers more and more to a point, till it ends in the high cape of Sunium, on the summit of which the temple of Minerva announced to the traveller, as he arrived from sea, the land which was protected by the goddess of courage and wisdom. It was not endowed with luxuriant fruitfulness; it never produced so much corn as would supply its own inhabitants; and for this, neither the honey of Hymettus, nor the marble of the Pentelic mountains, nor even the silver mines of Laurium, could have

[1] Corinth is famous, even with the poets, for being well supplied with water; compare Euripides in Strabo, l. c. Pausanias enumerates, l. ii. 117, its many temples and aqueducts.

[2] Clarke's Travels, ii. p. 752. Even the sacred grove of firs still exists, from which, according to Pausanias, the crowns of the victors were taken.

[3] Like that of Corinth, not more than eight miles in length and breadth.

[4] On Attica, see the critical map of Professor O. Müller.

afforded a compensation. But the culture of the olive, mechanic industry, and the advantageous use made of the situation of the country for the purposes of commerce, gave to the frugal people all that they needed, and something more; for the activity of commerce was shackled by no restrictive laws. Almost the whole country is mountainous; the mountains are indeed of a moderate height, and covered with aromatic plants, but they are stony and without forests. Their outlines are, however, wonderfully beautiful; the waters of the Ilissus, the Cephissus, and of other rivers, or to speak more accurately, of other brooks, which stream from them, are clear as crystal, and delicious to the taste; and the almost constant clearness of the atmosphere, which lends very peculiar tints to the buildings, no less than to the mountains,[1] opens a prospect which distance can hardly bound. "For, without doubt," (says a modern traveller,[2]) "this is the most salubrious, the purest, and the mildest climate of Greece; as Euripides[3] has said, 'Our air is soft and mild; the frost of winter is never severe, nor the beams of Phœbus oppressive; so that for us there are no attractions in the choicest delights which are offered by the fields of Asia, or the wealth of Hellas.'"

But where the mountains open, and leave room for plains of a moderate extent, the soil is still covered by forests of olive trees, of which the eye can perceive no termination. "More beautiful are no where to be seen. Those of Palermo or on the Riviera of Genoa are hardly to be compared with these, which seem as it were immortal, and century after century send forth new branches and new shoots with renovated vigour."[4] Formerly they overshadowed the sacred road, and the gardens of the academy; and if the goddess herself, like her scholars, has deserted the soil, she has at least left behind her for posterity, the first of the presents, which she made to her darling nation.

The traveller from Corinth and Megara, passing the isthmus to Attica, reached the sacred city of Eleusis at the

[1] See the remarks of Chateaubriand on this subject. *Itinéraire à Jerusalem*, i. p. 191.
[2] Bartholdy, Bruchstücke, etc. p. 214.
[3] Euripides in Erechtheo, fr. i. v. 15, etc.
[4] Bartholdy, Bruchstücke, etc. p. 220. This account is confirmed by Clarke, ii. p. 783, who was told that the olive trees were 40,000 in number.

distance of about eight miles from Megara. When the inhabitants of that place submitted to Athens, they reserved for themselves nothing but their sanctuaries;[1] and hence the mysterious festivals of Ceres continued to be celebrated in their temple. From this place, the sacred road, of almost unvarying breadth, led to the city which Pallas protected.

Athens lay in a plain, which on the south-west extended for about four miles towards the sea and the harbours, but on the other side was enclosed by mountains. The plain itself was interrupted by several rocky hills. The largest and highest of these supported the Citadel or Acropolis, which took its name from its founder Cecrops; round this, the city was spread out, especially in the direction of the sea. The summit of the hill contained a level space, about eight hundred feet long, and half as broad; which seemed, as it were, prepared by nature to support those masterpieces of architecture, which announced at a great distance the splendour of Athens. The only road which led to it, conducted to the Propylæa,[2] with its two wings, the temple of Victory, and another temple, ornamented with the pictures of Polygnotus. That superb edifice, the most splendid monument which was erected under the administration of Pericles, the work of Mnesicles, was decorated by the admirable sculptures of Phidias.[3] They formed the proud entrance to the level summit of the hill, on which were the temples of the guardian deities of Athens. On the left was the temple of Pallas, the protectress of cities, with the column which fell from heaven, and the sacred olive tree; and that of Neptune.[4] But on the right, the Parthenon, the pride of Athens, rose above every thing else, possessing the colossal statue of Minerva by Phidias, next to the Olympian Jupiter,

[1] Pausan. i. p. 92.
[2] Compare the sketches and drawings in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*.
[3] A part of these master-pieces has perished. By robbing the Acropolis, Lord Elgin has gained a name, which no other will wish to share with him. The sea has swallowed up his plunder. The devastation made by this modern Herostratus, is described not by Chateaubriand only, Itinér. i. p. 202, but also, and with just indignation, by his own countryman, Clarke, Travels, ii. p. 483, an eye-witness.
[4] The two, forming one whole, were only divided by a partition. Consult on the details of the building: Minervæ Poliadis Sacræ et aedes in arce Athenarum; illustrata ab C. Odofredo Müller. Gottingæ, 1820. And the plan of the city by the same author, who, in his essay, followed a still extant Attic inscription; and in his plan of Athens differs widely from Barthélemy.

the noblest of his works. At the foot of the hill on the one side was the Odeon, and the theatre of Bacchus, where the tragic contests were celebrated on the festivals of the god, and those immortal master-pieces were represented, which, having remained to us, double our regret for those that are lost; on the other side was the Prytaneum, where the chief magistrates and most meritorious citizens were honoured by a table, provided at the public expense. A moderate valley, Cœle, was interposed between the Acropolis and the hill on which the Areopagus held its sessions; and between this and the hill of the Pnyx, where the collected people was accustomed to decide on the affairs of the republic. Here may still be seen the tribune, from which Pericles and Demosthenes spoke; (it is imperishable, since it was hewn in the rock;) not long ago it was cleared from rubbish, together with the four steps which led to it.[1]

If any desire a more copious enumeration of the temples, the halls, and the works of art, which decorated the city of Pallas, they may find it in Pausanias. Even in his time, how much, if not the larger part, yet the best, had been removed; how much had been injured and destroyed in the wars; and yet when we read what was still there, we naturally ask with respect to Athens, (as with respect to so many other Grecian cities,) where could all this have found room? The whole country round Athens, particularly the long road to the Piræeus, was ornamented with monuments of all kinds, especially with the tombs of great poets, warriors, and statesmen, who did not often remain after death without expressions of public gratitude, which were given so much the less frequently during their lives. A double wall, called the Northern and Southern, enclosed the road, which was nearly four miles long, on both sides, and embraced the two harbours of Piræeus and Phalereus. This wall, designed and executed by Themistocles, was one of the most important works of the Athenians. It was forty Grecian ells in height, built entirely of freestone, and so broad, that two baggage-waggons could pass each other. The Piræeus, to which it led, formed (as did Phaleræ) a city by itself, with its own public squares, temples, market-places, and its enlivening commercial crowd; and it seemed perhaps even more animated than Athens.[1] Its harbour, well provided with docks and magazines, was spacious enough to hold in its three divisions four hundred triremes; whilst the Phalereus and Munychius could each accommodate only about fifty.[2] All three were formed naturally by the bays of the coast; but the Piræeus excelled the others not only in extent, but also in security.

[1] Chateaubriand, Itinéraire, vol. i. p. 184; and Clarke, Travels, ii. 2, p. 450.

The plain of Athens was surrounded on three sides by mountains, which formed its limits within no very great distance of the city. The prospect from the Acropolis and the Parthenon commanded on the east the two peaks of Hymettus; on the north, Pentelicus with its quarries of marble; to the north-west, the Cithæron was seen at a great distance, rising above the smaller mountains; and Laurium, rich in silver mines, lay to the south-east almost at the end of the peninsula; but towards the south-west, the eye could freely range over the harbours and the Saronic bay, with the islands of Salamis and Ægina, as far as the lofty citadel of Corinth.[3] Many of the chief places of the cantons (δημοι) into which Attica was divided, (and of these there were more than one hundred and seventy,) might also be seen; and the situation was distinct even of the towns, which the mountains covered. No one of these was important as a city, and yet there were few which had not something worthy of observation, statues, altars, and temples; for to whatever part of his country the Athenian strayed, he needed to behold something which might remind him that he was in Attica. There were many, of which the name alone awakened proud recollections; and no one was farther than a day's journey from Athens. It required but about five hours to reach the long but narrow plain[4] of Marathon, on the opposite coast of Attica. It was twenty-four miles to Sunium, which

[1] The Piræeus was sometimes reckoned as a part of Athens; and this explains how it was possible to say, that the city was two hundred stadia, or twenty miles, in circumference. Dio Chrysost. Or. vi.

[2] The rich compilations of Meursius on the Piræeus, no less than on Athens, the Acropolis, the Ceramicus, etc. (Gronov. Thes. Ant. Gr. vol. ii. iii.) contain almost all the passages of the ancients respecting them.

[3] Chateaubriand, Itinéraire, etc. i. p. 206.

[4] Chandler's Travels, p. 163. Clarke, Plates ii. 2. Pl. 4. 5., gives not only a description, but a map and view of the country.

lay at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and about twenty to the borders of Bœotia.

This country, so frequently enveloped in mists, lay to the north-west of Attica, and exhibited, in almost every respect, a different character. Bœotia was shut in by the chain of Helicon, Cithæron, Parnassus, and, towards the sea, Ptoüs; these enclosed a large plain, constituting the chief part of the country. Numerous rivers, of which the Cephissus was the most important,[1] descending from the heights, had probably stagnated for a long time, and had formed lakes, of which Copäis is the largest. This lake must have subterraneous outlets; for while the canals, through which its waters were anciently distributed, have fallen into decay, it has so far decreased in modern times, that it is now almost dried to a swamp.[2] But these same rivers appear to have formed the soil of Bœotia, which is among the most fruitful in Greece. Bœotia was also perhaps the most thickly settled part of Greece; for no other could show an equal number of important cities. The names of almost all of them are frequently mentioned in history; for it was the will of destiny, that the fate of Greece should often be decided in Bœotia. Its freedom was won at Platææ, and lost at Chæronea; the Spartans conquered at Tanagra, and at Leuctra their power was crushed for ever. Thebes with its seven gates, (more distinguished for its extent than its buildings,) esteemed itself the head of the Bœotian cities, although it was not acknowledged as such by all. This usurpation by Thebes of a supremacy over Bœotia, was of decisive importance in several periods of Grecian history.

Bœotia was divided by Mount Cithæron from Attica, and by Parnassus from Phocis. This district, of moderate size and irregular shape, extended to the south along the bay of Corinth; and was bounded on the north by the chain of Œta. Here are the passes which lead from Bœotia to Attica. Of these the most important is near the city Elatea,

[1] Distinct from the Cephissus in Attica.

[2] Bartholdy, Bruchstücke, etc. p. 230. On the ancient subterraneous outlets of this lake, which form some of the most curious remains of the earliest hydraulic works, and on the geography and earliest history of Bœotia, a clearer light is spread in C. O. Müller's histories of the Hellenic Tribes and Cities, published in 1820, with a map.

and on that account was early occupied by Philip on his second invasion of Greece. The desolate mountain of Parnassus, once associated with the fame of Phocis, presents to the traveller of our times nothing but recollections. Delphi lay on the south side of it, overshadowed by its double peak; and not far above the city was the temple, the oracle of Apollo. Here the masterpieces of art were displayed in countless abundance under the protection of the god; together with the costly and consecrated offerings of nations, cities,[1] and kings. Here, in the Amphictyonic council, still more costly treasures, the first maxims of the laws of nations, were matured by the Greeks. Hither on the festival days, when the great games of the Pythian deity recurred, (games surpassed only by those of Olympia,) pilgrims and spectators poured in throngs; here at the Castalian fountain the songs of the poets resounded in solemn rivalship; and, more exciting than all, the acclamations of the multitude.

Of all this not a vestige remains. Not even ruins have been spared to us by time. Only one monument of doubtful character seems to designate the spot, where Œdipus slew his father Laius; and whilst every vestige of greatness and glory has vanished, nothing but the memory of a crime is perpetuated.[2]

Phocis and Mount Parnassus separate the two parts of Locris. The eastern part, inhabited by the two tribes which took their names from the city Opus and Mount Cnemis,[3] lies along the Euripus, or the long strait, which divides the island Eubœa from Bœotia; and would have almost nothing to show, that is worthy of commemoration, were it not that the inseparable names of Thermopylæ and Leonidas produce an emotion in every noble mind. "Here the long heroic file of three hundred Spartans takes precedence of others, as it moves through the gate of eternity."[4] "At Thermopylæ," says Herodotus,[5] "a steep and inacessible

[1] Many of them had, as at Olympia, storehouses of their own. Pliny, xxxiv. 17, estimates the number of statues at Delphi, as at Olympia and Athens, to have been even in his time 3000.

[2] Bartholdy, Bruchstücke, p. 251. Compare the view in Clarke, Plates ii. 2. Pl. 10, 11.

[3] Locri, Opuntii, and Epicnemidii.

[4] This grave is still shown. See the view of it and of the country, in Clarke, pl. 13.

[5] Herod. vii. 176.

mountain rises on the west side in the direction of Œta; but on the east side of the road are the sea and marshes. In the pass there are warm fountains, near which stands an altar to Hercules. On going from Trachin to Hellas, the road is but half a plethrum (fifty feet) wide, yet the narrowest place is not there; but just in front and back of Thermopylæ, where there is room for but one carriage." Thus Thermopylæ was considered as the only road, by which an army could pass from Thessaly into Hellas, for nothing more than a footpath ran across the mountains; and Thermopylæ, not only during the wars with Persia, but also in the age of Philip, was considered the gate of Greece.

The western part of Locris, on the bay of Corinth, inhabited by the Ozolæ, was greater in extent, but possessed fewer remarkable objects. Yet its harbour Naupactus has preserved its importance, while so many of the most celebrated cities have become insignificant. It is now called Lepanto, and is perhaps the only town of which the modern name is more harmonious than the ancient.

The western parts of Hellas, rough Ætolia and woody Acarnania, are indeed among the largest districts, but are so inferior to the rest in fame, that the historian can do little more than name them. Nature was here neither less sublime nor less munificent; both were situated on the largest of the Grecian rivers, the Achelous, which flowed between them; both were inhabited by descendants of the Hellenes; both were once celebrated for heroes; and yet the Ætolians and the Acarnanians remained barbarians, after the Athenians had become the instructors of the world.—How difficult it is to comprehend the history of the culture of nations!

The chain of Œta, which farther west receives the name of Othrys, and at last of Pindus, and taking a northerly direction, is connected with the mountains of Macedonia, divides the central part of Greece from the northern. Thessaly, the largest of all the Grecian provinces, (though its extent cannot be given with accuracy, for its boundary on the north was never defined,) forms the eastern, and Epirus the western part of this district. There is hardly any other in Greece, for which nature seems to have done so much as for Thessaly. The mountains which have been mentioned, surrounded it on three sides; while the peaks

of Ossa and of Olympus rose above them on the east along the coasts of the Ægean Sea. Thessaly can with justice be called the land of the Peneus; which, descending from Pindus, flowed through it from west to east. A multitude of tributary streams poured from the north and the south into this river. The traditions of the ancients related,[1] that it had stagnated for centuries, till an earthquake divided Olympus and Ossa,[2] and opened for it a passage to the Ægean Sea through the delicious vale of Tempe.[3] Thus the plain of Thessaly arose from the floods, possessed of a soil which they had long been fertilizing. No other district had so extensive an internal navigation; which, with a little assistance from art, might have been carried to all its parts. Its fruitful soil was fitted alike for pasturing and the cultivation of corn; its coasts, especially the bay of Pagasa,[4] afforded the best harbours for shipping; nature seemed hardly to have left a wish ungratified. It was in Thessaly, that the tribe of the Hellenes, according to the tradition, first applied themselves to agriculture; and thence its several branches spread over the more southern lands. Almost all the names of its towns, as Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis, recall some association connected with the primitive history and heroic age of the nation. The Doric tribe found in Estiæotis its oldest dwelling-places; and who has ever heard the name of Phthiotis, without remembering the hero of the Iliad, the great Pelides? Thessaly was always well inhabited and rich in cities. In the interior the most celebrated were Larissa, situated in the midst of the noble plain, and Pheræ; Iolcos, whence the Argonauts embarked, and Magnesia, were on the sea-coast. But it was perhaps the very fertility of the soil, which ruined the Thessalians. They rioted in sensual enjoyments; they were celebrated for banquets, and not for works of genius; and although

[1] Herod. viii. 6. Strab. ix. p. 296.

[2] To commemorate the event, a festival was instituted in Thessaly, called the Peloria, which festival seems to have been continued in a Christian one. Bartholdy, p. 137.

[3] "Tempe forms, as it were, a triple valley, which is broad at the entrance and at the end, but very narrow in the middle." These are the words of Bartholdy, who, of all modern travellers, has given us the most accurate account of Tempe, from his own observation. Bruchstücke, etc., p. 112, etc.

[4] Pagasa itself, (afterwards called Demetrias,) Iolcos, and Magnesia.

Olympus, the mountain of the gods, was on the boundary of their land, nothing god-like was ever unfolded within its precincts. Is it strange that in the midst of such gross sensuality, the love of self overpowered the love of country; that neither heroes nor poets were created among them by the inspirations of patriotism? Anarchy and tyranny commonly followed each other in regular succession; and thus Thessaly, always ripe for foreign subjugation, cowered of itself beneath the yoke of the Persians, and afterwards under that of Philip.

On the opposite side of the Peneus, the pure race and language of the Hellenes were not to be found. Other nations, probably of Illyrian descent, dwelt there; the Perrhæbians, the Athamanes, and others; who, as Strabo relates, sometimes claimed to belong to the Thessalians, and sometimes to the Macedonians.[1] The case was not different in Epirus, which lay to the west. The house of the Æacidæ, a Grecian family, the descendants of Achilles, were indeed the rulers over the Molossians; and the oracle of the Jupiter of the Hellenes was heard in the sacred grove of Dodona; but still the larger portion of the inhabitants seems hardly to have been of the Grecian race.

The main land of Hellas was surrounded by a coronet of islands, which were gradually occupied by the Hellenes, and came to be considered as parts of their country. They rose above the sea with beautiful verdure, and were surmounted by rocky hills. We can hardly doubt, that we see in them the remains of an earlier world; when the waters which covered the middle parts of Asia, and the deserts of northern Africa, retired, leaving behind them the Euxine and the Mediterranean Sea, as two vast reservoirs. Each of those islands commonly bore the name of the chief town, of which it formed the territory; with the exception of the three large islands, Eubœa, Crete, and Cyprus, each of which contained several cities. Almost every one of them contained its own remarkable objects, and its own claims to fame. Fruitful Corcyra[2] boasted then, as it does now, of its harbour and its ships. Ithaca, small as it is,

[1] Strabo, vii. p. 494. Others esteem them of Pelasgic origin. Compare C. O. Müller's Dorians, i. p. 25. [2] Now Corfu.

shares the immortality of Ulysses and Homer. Cythera, in the south, was the residence of the Paphian goddess. Ægina, unimportant as it seems, long disputed with Athens the sovereignty of the sea. What Greek could hear Salamis named, without feeling a superiority over the barbarians? Eubœa was celebrated for its fruitfulness; Thasos, for its gold mines; Samothrace, for its mysteries; and in the labyrinth of the Cyclades and Sporades, now called the Archipelago, what island had not afforded the poets the subject of a hymn?[1] Delos and Naxus had their gods; Paros, its marble; Melos, its misfortunes.[2] If so many of them are now desolate; if the alluring Cythera has become a naked rock; if Samos is poisoned by its swamps; if nature herself seems here to have grown old; shall we conclude that these things were so in ancient times? The Etesian winds blow certainly with more piercing roughness, now that the tops of the mountains are naked; the brooks stagnate in the desolate plains; but the change of seasons still produces varying visions; and the traveller, who at one time finds the Archipelago melancholy and waste, a few months later may contemplate a smiling prospect. "In spring, these islands are covered with green turf, with anemones and flowers of all colours. But in the month of August, when the northerly winds prevail, every thing is burnt and dried up, and the parched fields produce no more herbage till autumn."[3]

This view of Greece, though it cannot claim to be considered a regular description, leads us to several remarks, which may perhaps throw some light on the history of the nation.

First: Greece was naturally so divided and cut in pieces in a geographical point of view, that it could not have been easy for any one district to gain the supremacy over the rest. Thessaly could not well control the lands which lay to the south of Œta; and still less could Hellas sway the Peloponnesus, or the Peloponnesus, Hellas. Nature herself had erected breastworks for those, who desired and who knew how to

[1] Need we mention the hymns of Callimachus?
[2] See Thucydides, v. 116.
[3] Bartholdy, Bruchstücke, etc., p. 194. The whole description of the Archipelago, by this traveller, should be consulted.

be free. It was easy to defend Thermopylæ, or the Isthmus. We do not here take into consideration the superior power of a foreign conqueror; but even that could have effected little, so long as the nation refused to forge its own chains.

Again: If Greece was excelled by many countries in fertility, it would yet be difficult, and, at least in Europe, impossible, to find a land of such limited extent, where nature had done so much to prepare the way for the various branches of industry. Greece was not merely an agricultural, or a commercial country, or a land fitted for pasturing; it was all, at once; but different parts of it had different degrees of aptitude for the one or the other. The fruitful Messenia was fit for the growth of corn; Arcadia, for the nurture of cattle. Attica was proud of its oil, and the honey of Hymettus; Thessaly, of its horses. Of mines, there were not many; still they were not unknown in Laurium and Thasos. The maritime towns were suited for trade and commerce; and the coasts, indented with bays, and the islands, invited to navigation. This variety of pursuits in active life may have been the cause of an extensive intellectual culture, which was directed to many objects, and perhaps laid the foundation for the further improvement of the nation.

Lastly: No other country in Europe was so favourably situated for holding commerce with the oldest cultivated nations of the western world. On the way to Asia Minor and Phœnicia, one island almost touched upon another. It was easy to cross into Italy; and the coasts of Egypt were not far distant. Even in the times of fable, a path was discovered from the shores of Thessaly to those of Colchis; and how much earlier, and with how much greater facility, to those countries, where no rocks, like the Symplegades, opposed the passage of the daring Argo?

CHAPTER II.

EARLIEST CONDITION OF THE NATION; AND ITS BRANCHES.

THE nation of the Hellenes, as they called themselves after an ancient leader, (for they received the name of Greeks from foreigners,) preserved many a tradition respecting their earliest state, representing them to have been nearly on a level with the savage tribes which now wander in the forests of North America.[1] From these traditions, it would seem, that there was once a time when they had no agriculture, but lived on the spontaneous produce of the woods; and when even fire could not be appropriated to the service of man, till it had first been stolen from heaven. Yet, in the mean while, they gradually spread over the country, which they afterwards possessed; and all foreign tribes were either driven from the soil, or were mingled with them. Much is told of the emigration of individual tribes, from the southern districts to the northern, and from these back again into the southern; but the peculiar habits of nomades, as seen in the nations of middle Asia, belonged to the Greeks as little as to the Germanic race. The moderate extent and the hilly character of their country, which afforded pasture only for less numerous herds, did not admit of that kind of life.

As far as we can judge from the very indefinite accounts of this early period, it seems, especially in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries before the Christian era, that the race of the Hellenes was already so far extended over Hellas, as to be every where predominant. For it appears as such even then, before the Trojan war. The nation of the Pelasgi, which, no less than that of the Hellenes, belonged to the first inhabitants of the country, and which must be considered as having had a different origin, since their language was different,[2] may at an early period have been the

[1] Æschyl. Prom. vinct. v. 442, etc.

[2] Herod. i. 57. The relation of the Pelasgi to the Hellenes is of difficult solution. But the judgment of Herodotus in the passage now cited, rests on the comparison of the language of Pelasgi, of whom some were found even in his times, in the city Cruston, and Placiæ, and Scylace, the two last on the

most powerful, but was constantly reduced within narrower limits, and either emigrated to Italy and other countries; or, where it preserved its residence, as in Arcadia and Attica, was gradually mingled with the Hellenes, of whom the power was constantly increasing, until every vestige of it, as a separate race, was entirely lost. Whilst the Hellenes were thus spreading through Greece, the several chief tribes of them became more and more distinctly marked; and this division was so lasting and so full of consequences, that the internal history of the nation for the most part depended on it. Of the four most important branches, the Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Achæans, the two first (for the Æolians were chiefly mingled with the Dorians)[1] and the Achæans were so eminent, that they deserve to be regarded as the chief component parts of the nation. It is important, in order to become acquainted with the people, to know in what parts of Greece these several tribes had their places of residence. But these places did not remain unchanged; the event which had the greatest influence on them for the succeeding time, happened shortly after the termination of the Trojan war. Till then the tribe of the Achæans had been so powerful, that Homer, who, as Thucydides has already observed,[2] had no general name for the whole nation, commonly distinguishes that tribe from the others; which he sometimes designates collectively by the name of Panhellenes.[3] It possessed at that time almost all the Peloponnesus, with the exception of the very district which afterwards was occupied by it and bore its name, but which was then still called Ionia; and as the territories of Agamemnon

Hellespont. This was so different from the language of the Hellenes, as in his opinion to prove a nation of a different stock. True, this is at variance with his previous remarks, that the Dorians are of Hellenic, the Ionians of Pelasgic origin. But the Ionians whom he had in view, are the Athenians, who had become Hellenes, by the immigrations and intermarriage of Ionians with the native Pelasgi. Compare viii. 44. If difference of language proves difference of origin, we must discriminate between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. For to affirm that the Pelasgi of the cities above named, had exchanged their own language for another, would be a wholly gratuitous supposition.

[1] Euripides, enumerating in Ion, v. 1581, etc., the tribes of the Hellenes, makes no mention of the Æolians.

[2] Thucyd. i. 3.

[3] Πανέλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί, as Iliad ii. 530. The Hellenes of Homer are particularly the inhabitants of Thessaly; but the expression *Panhellenes* proves that even then, or soon after, when the catalogue of the ships was written, the name had begun to receive a general application.

and Menelaus, the most powerful of the Grecian princes, both lay in that peninsula, the first rank was clearly due to the Achæans. But soon after this war, it was the lot of that tribe to be in part subjugated and reduced to the severest bondage,[1] and in part to be expelled from the lands where it had resided, and confined to a small district, which from that time was called Achaia. This was a consequence of the immigration of the Dorians, under the direction of the descendants of Hercules; of which immigration the chief object was the conquest of the Peloponnesus; but it also occasioned a change in the places occupied by most of the other tribes of the Hellenes. From this time almost the whole of the Peloponnesus was occupied by the Dorians, and the kindred tribes of the Ætolians, who possessed Elis; the district of Achaia alone became the property of the Achæans, who, being in quest of refuge, drove from it the Ionians. But besides this, a large part of the rest of Hellas was occupied by tribes, which, though not expressly called Dorians, betrayed by their dialects their Doric origin; Bœotians, Locrians, Thessalians, and even the Macedonian Hellenes belonged to this class; and although the inhabitants of the western maritime tracts and islands were at first called Æolians, their dialects were so similar, that they soon ceased to be distinguished from the Dorians. This powerful tribe was also extended towards the east and west by means of its colonies. Several of the islands of the Archipelago were occupied by them; and they flourished on the coast of Asia Minor, and still more in Lower Italy and Sicily, and their colonies bloomed even in Africa in Cyrene. The Ionic branch, as far as we know, kept possession of no part of the main land of Greece, excepting Attica.[2] But Attica alone outweighed in glory and power all the rest of Greece. Most of the large island of Eubœa also belonged to the Ionians; many of the small islands of the Archipelago were

[1] The Helots of the Spartans were, for the most part, descendants of the conquered Achæans. Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi. p. 265.

[2] The other Ionians and even the Athenians laid aside the name; and none formally preserved it except those of Asia Minor. Herod. i. 143. Hence the extent of this tribe cannot be accurately given; and indeed no attempt should be made to trace every little Grecian tribe to its origin, and form a tree of descent for them all. This the Greeks themselves were never able to do; but the chief tribes remained distinct.

entirely occupied by them; and while their colonies in Asia Minor were decidedly superior, their colonies on the coasts of Italy and Sicily were but little inferior to those of other Grecian tribes.

From the earliest times, these two tribes were distinguished from each other by striking characteristics, which were not removed by the cultivation which was becoming universal. On the Doric tribe, the character of severity is imprinted, which is observable in the full tones of its dialect, in its songs, its dances, the simplicity of its style of living, and in its constitutions. It was most strongly attached to ancient usage.[1] From this its regulations for private and public life took their origin, which were fixed by the prescriptive rules of its lawgivers. It respected the superiority of family and age. The governments of the Doric cities were originally more or less the government of rich and noble families; and this is one cause of the greater solidity of their political institutions. Good counsel was drawn from the experience of age; wherever an old man appeared, the young rose from their seats. Religion among the Dorians was less a matter of luxury; but it was more an object of which they felt the need. What important transaction did they ever begin, without first consulting the oracle?—All this is true from the earliest times. When once the reverence for ancient usage was overcome, the Dorians knew no bounds; and Tarentum exceeded all cities in luxury, just as Syracuse did in internal feuds. After this tribe had once emigrated to the Peloponnesus, not only the greater part of that peninsula, but also of the neighbouring main land of Hellas was occupied by it.

The Ionians were on the contrary more distinguished for vivacity and a proneness to excitement. Ancient usage restrained them much less than it did the Dorians. They were easily induced to change, if pleasure could be gained by the change. They were bent on enjoyment, and seem to have been equally susceptible of refined gratifications of the mind and those of the senses. They lived amidst holidays; and nothing was pleasant to them without song

[1] The character of the Doric tribe, as well as its history, has been amply illustrated by C. O. Müller, in his History of Grecian Tribes and Cities, vol. ii.

and dance. Their soft dialect brings to mind the languages of the South Sea; but in both cases the remark is found to be true, that a soft language is by no means a proof of deficiency in warlike spirit. In the constitutions of their states, hereditary privileges were either rejected at once, or borne with only for a short time. The supreme authority rested with the people, and although it was limited by many institutions, the people still decided the character of the government. Any thing could be expected of these states, rather than domestic tranquillity. Nothing was so great that they did not believe they could attain it; and for that very reason they often attained greatness.

These differences in the natural character of the most important tribes, needed to be mentioned at the beginning. There are few subjects in history which have been so little illustrated, especially with reference to their consequences, as the characters of nations and their branches. And yet it is these peculiarities, which, in a certain degree, form the guiding thread in the web of the history of nations. From whatever they may proceed, whether from original descent, or the earliest institutions, or from both, experience teaches that they are almost indelible. The difference between the Doric and Ionic tribes, runs through the whole of Grecian history. This produced the deep-rooted hatred between Sparta and Athens, though that hatred may have been nourished by other causes; and who needs to be told, that the history of all Greece is connected with the history of those leading states.

The difference of tribes and their dispositions was also one of the chief causes of the subsequent political partitions of the soil. There probably was never a land of similar extent, in which so large a number of states subsisted together. They lived, both the large and the small ones, (if indeed we may call these large, which were only proportionally so,) each after its own customs; and hence Greece was saved from the torpor of large empires, and was able to preserve so much life and activity within itself.

Of the earliest history of the nation, we can expect only fragments. We leave it to the historian to collect them and to judge of their value.[1] But we must direct attention

[1] On this subject I refer to the work of Professor C. O. Müller:

to those general circumstances, which had a decisive influence on the earliest progress of national culture, if we would form correct opinions with respect to it. Before we can describe the heroic age, we must explain the influence of religion, of early poetry, and of foreign emigrations, and show how they served to introduce that age.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF THE CULTURE OF THE GREEKS.

RELIGION.

It is not easy to decide, whether the culture of a nation proceeds originally from their sacred or their civil institutions. The character of the domestic relations, the proper application of the means provided for the easier and more regular support of life, agriculture, and husbandry, constitute the first foundation of national culture; but even these can make but little progress without the assistance of religion. Without the fear of the gods, marriage loses its sanctity, and property its security. The earthly and the divine are so mingled in our natures, that nothing but a continued harmony between them both, can elevate us above the mere animal creation. But it has been wisely ordained by the Author of our being, that the feelings of religion can be unfolded, and thus the character of our existence ennobled, even before a high degree of knowledge has been attained. It would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to find a nation, which can show no vestiges of religion; and there never yet has been, nor can there be a nation, in which the reverence for a superior being was but the fruit of refined philosophy.

The foundation of all religion is the belief in higher existences, (however differently these may be represented to the mind,) which have an influence on our destinies. The

Geschichte Hellenischer Stämme und Städte, B. i. Orchomenos und die Minyer; B. ii. iii. die Durier. Müller's Orchomenos and the Dorians.

natural consequences of this belief are certain rites of worship; invocations, sacrifices, and offerings. All this is so connected with the feelings of man, that it springs from within him, and exists independent of all research or knowledge. And this is the religion of the people. But so soon as the intelligent spirit of man was somewhat awakened, a higher principle was separated (though in very different ways) from this simple faith; and that remained in the possession of a small circle of priests, of the initiated, of the enlightened. If the religion of the people reposed only on belief and indistinct conceptions, certain doctrines, on the contrary, belonged to those higher circles, although they were often represented by images, and exhibited to the senses by outward ceremonies. These two kinds of religion commonly remained distinct from each other; and the difference was the most clearly marked in such nations as had a caste of priests. But still there were some points, in which they both were united. Even a caste of priests, with whatever secrecy they guarded their doctrines, could influence the people only by means of external forms. But the less the order of priests is separated by a nice line of division from the mass of the people, the more faint becomes the distinction between the religion of the people and the doctrine of the priests. How far the two differed from each other, and remained different, must ever be an object of learned inquiry; to have confounded them, has been one of the chief sources of error with regard to the religion of the ancients.

Among the Greeks there never was a distinct caste of priests, nor even, as we shall hereafter observe, a separate order of priesthood. And yet, beside the popular religion, they had a religion of the initiated; and their mysteries were almost as ancient as the faith of the people. Each of these must be considered by itself, before we can draw any general conclusion respecting the influence of religion on their character.

The popular religion of the Greeks rested on a belief in certain superhuman beings, and in the influence exercised by them over the destinies of mortals; on the fear of offending them, resulting from this belief; and on the custom of worshipping them. Yet according to the account of

the earliest and most credible witnesses, these divinities were not of Grecian origin; and the learned investigations of modern writers on the origin of them individually, establish the fact beyond a doubt.[1] "The Hellenes," says Herodotus,[2] "have received their gods of the Pelasgi; but the Pelasgi, who at first honoured their gods without giving them particular names, took the names of their divinities from the Egyptians." This account of the historian has difficulties, which cannot be entirely cleared away. If it be granted, that certain divinities and the manner in which they were worshipped came from Egypt, we may still ask, how could the names have been of Egyptian origin, since the names of the Egyptian gods are almost all known to us, and are very different from those of the Greeks. We learn of Herodotus himself, that it was common for the Egyptian priests, even in his age, to institute comparisons between their gods and those of the Greeks, and to transfer the names of the latter to their own divinities. And this enables us, at least, to explain how the historian, who was accustomed to hear a Jupiter, a Bacchus, a Diana, mentioned in Egypt, could have thought the matter very probable. But the question is still by no means answered. For if the Egyptian priests, in the time of Herodotus, applied the Grecian names to their gods, how can we explain the alleged fact, that the Greeks first borrowed those names from them? There are, however, two circumstances, which we may infer from the words of Herodotus himself, and which throw some light on the subject. The historian has not concealed the source of his information. These assertions were made to him at Dodona; he heard, then, a tradition of the priests of that place. But the oracle of Dodona traced its origin to Egypt; can we wonder, then, that its priests should derive the gods of the Greeks from the same source? Again: it is clear from Herodotus, that the Hellenes did not receive them directly from the Egyptians, but through the Pelasgi; that is, they received them at second hand. We shall hereafter remark, that they came chiefly by way of Crete and Samothrace. Could such circuitous routes have left them unchanged? And is it not probable, that the Pelasgi essentially altered them in their own way, before delivering them to the Hellenes? Questions of this kind cannot now be answered with certainty; but, however many of the Egyptian gods may have been introduced into Greece, it is certain that not all were of that origin. The father of history has not forgotten to remark,[1] that Neptune, Juno, Bacchus, and others were not of Egyptian origin, and this has been fully substantiated by the acute investigations of the modern inquirers whom we have just cited.

[1] Compare, above all, Creuzer. Symbolik, b. ii. s. 376, etc., and Böttiger, Kunstmythologie, Abschn. i. über Zeus; Abschn. ii. über Juno.
[2] Herod. ii. 50, 52.

But to whatever country the gods of the Hellenes may have originally belonged, they certainly did not remain, in Greece, what they had been before. We need but throw a glance on the Grecian religion to convince ourselves, that the gods of the Greeks became entirely their property, if they were not so originally; that is, the representations which they made of them, were entirely different from the conceptions of those nations, of whom they may have borrowed them. Wherever Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, and Phœbus Apollo, may have first been worshipped, no country but Hellas adored the Olympian ruler of the world, the queen of heaven, the power which encompassed the world, the far-darting god of light. And it was the same with the rest. What the Grecian touched, became gold, though before it had been but a baser metal.

But if the popular religion of the Greeks was formed by changing the character of foreign gods, in what did the change consist? What were the characteristics of the Grecian assembly of divinities? This question is important, not for the history of the Grecian religion alone, but for the general history of religion itself. For the problem is nothing less, than to fix on the essential difference between the religion of the ancient eastern and western world.

This characteristic difference may yet be easily discovered, and may be reduced, we think, to a single head.

All inquiries relative to the divinities of the East, even though the explanations of individual ones may be various, lead to the general result, that objects and powers of nature

[1] Herod. ii. 50.

lay at their foundation. These may have been, first, corporeal objects, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the river which watered the country; or they may have been powers of nature, a creating, a preserving, a destroying power; or, which was more usual, both these may have been combined; and visible objects became objects of adoration, in so far as they were the expressions of a creating or destroying power. When the gods of the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Phrygians, the Phœnicians, and others, are analyzed, even in cases where the interpretation remains imperfect, it cannot be doubted, that some idea of this kind lay at the bottom, and was the predominant one. They had but one signification, as far as this idea was connected with it; and the sacred traditions and mythological tales respecting them, seem to us without meaning, because we have so often lost the key to their interpretation. "The Egyptians," Herodotus relates,[1] "had a sacred tradition, that Hercules once appeared before Ammon, and desired to see his face. Ammon refused, and Hercules continued his entreaties; upon this, Ammon slew a ram, veiled himself in its skin, put on its head, and in this plight showed himself to Hercules. From that time the Thebans ceased to sacrifice rams; only once a year, on the festival of Ammon, they kill a single one, hang its skin round the picture of the god, and show at the same time the picture of Hercules." Who understands this story and this festival from the mere relation? But when we learn that the ram, opening the Egyptian year, is the symbol of the approaching spring, that Hercules is the sun of that season in its full power, the story, as well as the festival, is explained as descriptive of the spring, and as a figurative representation of the season that is beginning. In this, as in similar cases, the object or power of nature was exhibited under a human form; for the tendency to copy that form, is too deeply fixed in our natures; or rather it results immediately from the limitations of the same. But in all such cases in the East, where the human form was attributed to the gods, it was but a secondary affair, the indispensable means of presenting them to the senses. It was never any thing more. And this is the

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

reason, why no hesitation was made among those nations to depart from this human form, and to disfigure it whenever it seemed possible to give, by that means, a greater degree of distinctness to the symbolic representation; or if any other object could thus be more successfully accomplished. This is the source of all those singular shapes, under which the gods of the East appear. The Indian makes no scruple of giving his gods twenty arms; the Phrygian represents his Diana with as many breasts; the Egyptian gave them the heads of beasts. Different as these disfigurations are, they all have their origin in this; the human form was but a subordinate object; the chief aim was the distinct representation of the symbol, under a form suited to their modes of comprehension.

As the Grecians received most if not all of their gods from abroad, they of course received them as symbols of those natural objects and powers; and the farther we look back in the Grecian theogony, the more clearly do their gods appear as such beings. He who reads with tolerable attention the earlier systems as contained in Hesiod, cannot mistake this for a moment; and it cannot be denied, that there are traces of this origin in the gods of Homer. That his Jupiter designates the ether, his Juno the atmosphere, his Phœbus Apollo the sun, is obvious in many of his narrations. But it is equally obvious, that the prevailing representation with him is not the ancient symbolical one, that rather his Jupiter is already the ruler of gods and men, his Juno the queen of Olympus.

This then is the essential peculiarity of the popular religion of the Greeks; they gradually dismissed those symbolical representations, and not only dismissed them, but adopted something more human and more sublime in their stead. The gods of the Greeks were *moral persons*.

When we call them moral persons, we do not mean to say, that a higher degree of moral purity was attributed to them than humanity can attain; (the reverse is well enough known;) but rather, that the whole moral nature of man, with its defects and its excellencies, was considered as belonging to them, only with the additional notions of superior physical force, a more delicately organized system, and a more exalted, if not always a more beautiful form. But

these views became the prevailing ones, the views of the people; and thus an indestructible wall of division was placed between Grecian and foreign gods. The former were moral beings; this was their leading character, or rather all their character; they would have been mere names, if this had been taken from them; but with the barbarians their gods remained only personifications of certain objects and powers of nature; and hence neither a moral nature nor character belonged to them, although the human shape and certain actions and powers were attributed to them.

Having thus illustrated the essential difference between the Grecian and foreign gods, and shown in what the transformation of the foreign gods, adopted by the Grecians, consisted, the question arises, how and by what means did that transformation take place?

By means of poetry and the arts. Poetry was the creating power; the arts confirmed the representations which she had called into being, by conferring on them visible forms. And here we come to the decisive point, from which we must proceed in continuing our inquiry.

"Whence each of the gods is descended, whether they have always existed," says the father of history,[1] "and how they were formed, all this the Grecians have but recently known. Hesiod and Homer, whom I do not esteem more than four hundred years older than I am, are the poets who invented for the Grecians their theogony; gave the gods their epithets; fixed their rank and occupations; and described their forms. The poets who are said to have lived before these men, lived, as I believe, after them."

This remarkable account deserves more careful attention. The historian expressly remarks, that this is his own presumption, not the assertion of others. He may certainly have been mistaken; but he would hardly express himself so explicitly, unless he had believed himself warranted to do so. We must receive his opinion therefore as the result of such an investigation as could in his age be carried on; and can we do more than he?

He names Homer and Hesiod; and naturally understands by them the authors of the poems which already bore their

[1] Herod. ii. 53.

names; the two great epic poems of Homer, and at least the Theogony of Hesiod. The case does not become changed, even if those productions are, agreeably to a modern opinion, the works of several authors. It would only be necessary to say, it was the ancient epic poets of the schools of Homer and of Hesiod, who formed the divine world of the Greeks; and perhaps this manner of expression is at all events the more correct. For it would be difficult to doubt that the successors of those poets contributed their share.

According to the assurances of Herodotus, these poets were the first to designate the forms of the gods; that is, they attributed to them, not merely the human figure, but the human figure in a definite shape. They distinguished, moreover, their kindred, their descent, their occupations; they also defined the personal relations of each individual; and therefore gave them the epithets which were borrowed from all this. But if we collect these observations into one, they signify nothing less, than that the poets were the authors of the popular religion, in so far as this was grounded on definite representations of the several divinities.

This is not intended to imply, that Homer made it his object to be the creator of a national religion. He did but make a poetic use of the previous popular belief. But that poetic spirit, which left nothing indistinctly delineated in the heroes whose deeds he celebrated, bringing before our eyes the persons and their characters, effects the same with the gods. He invented his divine personages as little as he did his heroes; but he gave their character to the one and the other. The circle of his gods is limited to a small number. They are inhabitants of Olympus, and if they do not all belong to the same family, they yet belong to the same place; and they usually live together, at least, when that is required by the purposes of the poet. Under such circumstances, an inferior poet might have felt the necessity of giving them individuality. And how much more a Homer? But that he executed this in so perfect a manner, is to be ascribed to the superiority of his genius.

Thus the popular notions entertained of the gods were first established by Homer, and established never to be changed. His songs continued to live in the mouth of the

nation; and how would it have been possible to efface images, which were painted with such strokes and colours? Hesiod is, indeed, named with him; but what are his catalogues of names compared with the living pictures of Mæonides?

In this manner, by means of the epic poets, that is, almost exclusively by means of Homer, the gods of the Greeks were raised to the rank of moral beings, possessed of definite characters. As such they gained life in the conceptions of the people; and however much may have been invented respecting them in the poetry of a later age, no one was permitted to represent them under a figure, or with attributes inconsistent with the popular belief. We soon perceive the various consequences, which this must have had on the culture and improvement of the nation.

The more a nation conceives its gods to be like men, the nearer does it approach them, and the more intimately does it live with them. According to the earliest views of the Greeks, the gods often wandered among them, shared in their business, requited them with good or ill, in conformity to their reception, and especially to the number of presents and sacrifices with which they were honoured. Those views decided the character of religious worship, which received from them, not merely its forms, but also its life and meaning. How could this worship have received any other than a cheerful, friendly character? The gods were gratified with the same pleasures as mortals; their delights were the same; the gifts which were offered them were the same which please men; there was a common, a correspondent enjoyment. With such conceptions, how could their holidays have been otherwise than joyous ones? And as their joy was expressed by dance and song, both of these necessarily became constituent parts of their religious festivals.

It is another question: What influence must such a religion have had on the morals of the nation? The gods were by no means represented as pure moral beings, but as beings possessed of all human passions and weaknesses. But at the same time the Greeks never entertained the idea, that their divinities were to be held up as models of virtue; and hence the injury done to morality by such a religion, however warmly the philosophers afterwards spoke against it, could hardly have been so great as we, with our pre-

possessions, should have at first imagined. If it was not declared a duty to become like the gods, no excuse for the imitation could be drawn from the faults and crimes attributed to them. Besides, these stories were esteemed, even by the vulgar, only as poetic inventions, and there was little concern about their truth, or their want of truth. There existed, independent of those tales, the fear of the gods as higher beings, who on the whole desired excellence, and abhorred and sometimes punished crime. This punishment was inflicted in this world; for the poets and the people of Greece for a long time adopted a belief in no punishment beyond the grave, except of those who had been guilty of direct blasphemy against the gods.[1] The system of morals was on the whole deduced from that fear of the gods, but that fear especially produced the observance of certain duties, which were of great practical importance, as, for example, the inviolable character of suppliants, (supplices,) who stood under the particular protection of the gods; the sanctity of oaths, and the like; of which the violation was also considered as a direct crime against the gods. Thus the popular religion of the Greeks was no doubt a support of morality; though never in the same degree as with us. That its importance was felt as a means of bridling the licentiousness of the people, is sufficiently clear from the care which the state took during its better days to preserve the popular religion, and from the punishments inflicted on those who corrupted it or denied its gods. When we may name the popular religion of the Greeks in one sense a religion of the poets, we by no means indulge merely in a play of fancy. But if the influence of the popular religion on the moral character of the nation should be differently estimated, there is less room to doubt as to its influence on taste; for that was formed entirely by the popular religion, and continued indissolubly united with it.

By the transformation of the Grecian divinities into moral agents, an infinite field was opened for poetic invention. By becoming human, the gods became peculiarly beings for the poets. The muse of the moderns has attempted to re-

[1] The reader may here compare an essay of Heeren on the notions entertained by the Greeks of rewards and punishments after death. Heeren; Historische Werke, Th. iii. s. 214.

present the Supreme Being in action; she could do so only by giving him as far as possible the attributes of men; with what success this has been attended, is known. It was in vain to endeavour to deceive us with respect to the chasm which lay between our more sublime ideas of the Divinity, and the image under which he was represented. But the case was altogether different in ancient Greece. The poet was not only allowed, but compelled to introduce the gods in a manner consistent with popular belief, if he would not fail of producing the desired effect. The great characteristics of human nature were expressed in them; they were exhibited as so many definite archetypes. The poet might relate of them whatever he pleased, but he was never permitted to alter the original characters; whether he celebrated their own actions, or introduced them as participating in the exploits of mortals. Although themselves immortal, they always preserved the human character, and excited a corresponding interest; with their weaknesses and faults, they stood nearer to man, than if they had been represented as possessing the perfection of moral excellence.

Thus the popular religion of the Greeks was thoroughly poetical. There is no need of a long argument to show, that it also decided the character of Grecian art, by affording an inexhaustible supply of subjects.

On this point a single remark only needs here be made. Among the nations of the East, the plastic art not only never created forms of ideal beauty, but was rather exercised in producing hideous ones. The monstrous figures of their gods, which we have already mentioned, are proofs of it. The Grecian artist was secure against any thing similar to this, now that their gods had become not merely physical, but human, moral beings. He never could have thought of representing a Jupiter or a Juno with ten arms; he would have destroyed his own work, by offending the popular religious notions. Hence he was forced to remain true to the pure human figure, and was thus brought very near the step, which was to raise him still higher, and give ideal beauty to his images. That step he would probably have taken without assistance; but the previous labours of the poets made it more natural and more easy. Phidias found in Homer the idea of his Olympian Jupiter, and the

most sublime image in human shape, which time has spared us, the Apollo of the Vatican, may be traced to the same origin.

Beside the popular religion, Greece possessed also a religion of the initiated, preserved in the mysteries. Whatever we may think of these institutions, and whatever idea we may form of them, no one can doubt that they were religious ones. They must then have necessarily stood in a certain relation to the religion of the people; but we shall not be able to explain, with any degree of probability, the nature of that relation, until we trace them to their origin.

We must preface this inquiry with a general remark. All the mysteries of the Greeks, as far as we are acquainted with them, were introduced from abroad; and we can still point out the origin of most of them. Ceres had long wandered over the earth, before she was received at Eleusis, and erected there her sanctuary.[1] Her secret service in the Thesmophoria, according to the account of Herodotus,[2] was first introduced by Danaus, who brought it from Egypt to the Peloponnesus. Whether the sacred rites of Orpheus and Bacchus originally belonged to the Thracians or the Egyptians, they certainly came from abroad. Those of the Curetes and the Dactyli had their home in Crete.

It has often been said, that these institutions in Greece suffered, in the progress of time, many and great alterations, that they commonly degenerated, or to speak more correctly, that the Grecians accommodated them to themselves. It was not possible for them to preserve among the Greeks the same character which they had among other nations. And here we are induced to ask: What were they originally? How were they introduced and preserved in Greece? And what relation did they bear to the popular religion?

The answer to these questions is contained in the remarks which we have already made on the transformation and appropriation of foreign gods by the Hellenes. Most of those gods, if not all of them, were received as symbolical, physical beings; the poets made of them moral agents; and as such they appear in the religion of the people.

[1] Isocrat. Paneg. op. p. 46. ed. Steph., and many other places in Meursii Eleusin. cap. i.

[2] Herod. iv. 172.

The symbolical meaning would have been lost, if no means had been provided to insure its preservation. The mysteries, it seems, afforded such means. Their great end therefore was, to preserve the knowledge of the peculiar attributes of those divinities, which had been incorporated into the popular religion under new forms; what powers and objects of nature they represented; how these, and how the universe came into being; in a word, cosmogonies, like those contained in the Orphic instructions. But this knowledge, though it was preserved by oral instruction, was perpetuated no less by symbolic representations and usages; which, at least in part, consisted of those sacred traditions or fables, of which we have already made mention. "In the sanctuary of Sais," says Herodotus, "representations are given by night of the adventures of the goddess; and these are called by the Egyptians mysteries; of which, however, I will relate no more. It was from thence that these mysteries were introduced into Greece."[1] If we find in this the chief design of the mysteries, we would by no means assert, that this was the only one. For who does not perceive how much more could be connected with it? With the progress of time a greater variety of representations may have arisen in the mysteries; their original meaning might perhaps be gradually and entirely lost; and another be introduced in its stead.[2]

[1] Herod. l. c.

[2] The investigation respecting the mysteries is a most extensive one, and yet very little has thus far been ascertained, as may be seen from the highly valuable work of St. Croix, especially in the German translation: Versuch über die alten Mysterien, translated by Lenz, 1790. I refer to this book for the necessary proofs. There has also appeared an excellent work by V. Ouwaroff: Essai sur les mystères d'Eleusis: Troisième Ed. à Paris, 1816. The learned author, p. 65, says: "Nous avons essayè de prouver, que les mystères réligieux de la Grèce, loin d'être de vaines cérémonies, enfermoient effectivement quelques restes de traditions antiques, et formoient la veritable doctrine ésotérique du polythéisme." With this we agree; at the same time we limit the esoteric doctrine originally to the meaning which the divinities of the Greeks, transformed as they were into poetic beings, still possessed as representing powers of nature; yet without excluding the inferences made above in the text. It does not belong to the political historian to pursue this investigation any farther; he must leave it to the student of the history of religions. Yet two remarks may here be permitted. First: Homer and Hesiod say nothing of mysteries; which may very possibly have been older than those poets, but are thus proved to have had in their time less importance than they afterwards gained. And this is immediately explained, so soon as the proper object of the mysteries is discovered, by making the difference between the popular religion, as modified by the poets, and the more ancient physical religion of the East. Secondly: Diodor. I. p. 393. The mysteries introduced from Crete, are said to have constituted the public worship of the Cretans. It was in Greece, then, that they first came to be mysteries. This, too, can hardly be more naturally explained, than by the departure of the popular religion, as established by the poets, from the other more ancient one.

Those passages may therefore be very easily explained, which import that the mysteries, as has been particularly asserted of those of Eleusis, illustrated the superiority of civilized over savage life; the invention and value of agriculture, to which the worship of physical deities had immediate reference; and gave instructions respecting a future life and its nature. For what was this more than an interpretation of the sacred traditions, which were told of the goddess as the instructress in agriculture, of the forced descent of her daughter to the lower world, etc.? And we need not be more astonished, if in some of their sacred rites we perceive an excitement carried to a degree of enthusiastic madness, which belonged peculiarly to the East, but which the Hellenes were very willing to receive. For we must not neglect to bear in mind that they shared the spirit of the East; and did they not live on the very boundary line between the East and the West? As those institutions were propagated farther to the West, they lost their original character. We know what the Bacchanalian rites became at Rome; and had they been introduced north of the Alps, what form would they have there assumed? But to those countries it was possible to transplant the vine, not the service of the god to whom the vine was sacred. The orgies of Bacchus suited the cold soil and inclement forests of the north, as little as the character of its inhabitants.

The secret doctrines which were taught in the mysteries, may have finally degenerated into mere forms and an unmeaning ritual. And yet the mysteries exercised a great influence on the spirit of the nation, not of the initiated only, but also of the great mass of the people; and perhaps they influenced the latter still more than the former. They preserved the reverence for sacred things; and this gave them their political importance. They produced that effect better than any modern secret societies. The mysteries had their secrets, but not every thing connected with

them was secret. They had, like those of Eleusis, their public festivals, processions, and pilgrimages; in which none but the initiated took a part, but of which no one was prohibited from being a spectator. Whilst the multitude was permitted to gaze at them, it learned to believe, that there was something sublimer than any thing with which it was acquainted, revealed only to the initiated; and while the worth of that sublimer knowledge did not consist in secrecy alone, it did not lose any of its value by being concealed.

Thus the popular religion and the secret doctrines, although always distinguished from each other, united in serving to curb the people. The condition, and the influence of religion on a nation, are always closely connected with the situation of those persons, who are particularly appointed for the service of the gods, the priests. The regulations of the Greeks concerning them, deserve the more attention, since many unimportant subjects of Grecian antiquity have been treated with an almost disproportionate expense of industry and erudition; but with respect to the priesthood of the nation, we are as yet left without any investigation, corresponding to the importance of the subject.[1] The very abundance of matter renders it the more difficult, for very little can be expressed in general terms; and many changes were brought about by time.

During the heroic age, we learn of Homer, that there were priests, who seem to have devoted themselves exclusively to that vocation. We readily call to mind a Calchas, a Chryses, and others. But even in that age, such priests appear but individually; no longer in colleges or societies, as the colonies of priests may have been, when in earlier times they migrated into Greece; and it does not appear that their influence over the rest of the people was very great and important. The sacred rites in honour of the gods were not performed by them alone; they were not even needed at the public solemnities. The leaders and commanders themselves offer their sacrifices,[2] perform the prayers, and observe the signs which indicated the result of

[1] The Prolegomena to a Scientific Mythology, by C. O. Müller, p. 249, etc., contain the outlines for the inquiry, and agree with the remarks made above.

[2] Instead of all other passages, see the description of the sacrifices which Nestor makes to Pallas. Od. iii. 430, etc.

an undertaking. In a word, kings and leaders were at the same time priests.

Traces of these very ancient regulations were preserved for a long time among the Greeks. The second Archon at Athens, who presided at the public ceremonies of worship, was called the king, because he had to prepare the sacred rites, which were formerly regulated by the kings. He had his assistants; and it was necessary for his spouse to be of irreproachable character, as she also had secret religious services to perform. He was, however, like the other Archons, annually appointed, and the election was made by lot.[1] The priests and priestesses of the several divinities were for the most part chosen. But the priestesses could be married, and the priests seem by no means to have been excluded by their station from participating in the offices and occupations of citizens. There were some sacerdotal offices, which were hereditary in certain families. But the number of them seem to have been inconsiderable. In Athens, the Eumolpidæ possessed the privilege, that the hierophant, or first director of the Eleusinian rites, as well as the other three,[2] should be taken from their family. But the place of hierophant could not be obtained except by a person of advanced years; and those other offices were probably not occupied during life, but frequently assigned anew.[3] How far the same was true in other cases, is but seldom related. At Delphi, the first of the oracles of the Hellenes, the Pythian priestess was chosen from among the women of the city;[4] and was obliged to have no intercourse with men. It is hardly probable from the extreme exertions connected with the delivery of oracles, that the same person could long fill the place. Here, as elsewhere, people were appointed for the service without the temple, some of whom, like Ion in Euripides, belonged to the god or the temple, and were even educated within its limits. But the service within the temple was performed by the most considerable citizens of Delphi, who were

[1] See the important passage in Demosthenes, in Neaer. Op. ii. p. 1370, ed. Reisk.

[2] The Daduchus, or torch-bearer; the Hieroceryx, or sacred herald; and the Epibomius, who served at the altar.

[3] St. Croix has collected examples in his Essay on the Ancient Mysteries.

[4] Euripid. Ion, v. 1320.

chosen by lot.[1] The sanctuary of Dodona, where the responses of the oracle were made, as at Delphi and in other temples, by priestesses, seems to have belonged to the family of the Selli, of which Homer had heard;[2] but we have no particular accounts respecting the situation of that family.

The regulations respecting priests, proposed by Plato in his books on laws,[3] show most clearly, that the ideas of the Greeks required, that the offices of priests should not long be filled by the same persons. "Let the election of the priests," says he, "be committed to the god, by referring the appointment to lot; those on whom the lot falls, must submit to an examination. But each priesthood shall be filled for one year only, and no longer, by the same person; he who fills it, may not be less than sixty years old. The same rule shall apply to the priestesses."

We infer from all this, that, though the regulations respecting the priesthood were not the same in all parts of Greece, that office was commonly filled for a limited time only, was regarded as a place of honour, to which, as to the other mysteries, appointments were made by lot, with an examination, and was subjected to the same rotation with the rest. They to whom it was intrusted, were taken from the class of active citizens, to which they again returned; and even whilst they were priests, they were by no means withdrawn from the regular business of civil life.[4] The priesthood did not gain even that degree of firmness which it had at Rome; where the priests, though they were not separated from secular pursuits, formed separate colleges, like those of the Pontifices and Augurs; and the members of whom were chosen for life. Since the priesthood then, among the Hellenes in general, and in the several states, never formed a distinct order, it could not possess the spirit of a party, and it was quite impossible for any thing like priestcraft to prevail. Religion and public acts of worship were so far considered holy and inviolable, that they were

[1] See the important passage in Euripid. Ion, 414: "I," says Ion, speaking to the foreigner on the service of the temple, "I have charge only of the outer part; the interior belongs to them who sit near the tripod, the first of the Delphians whom the lot selected."

[2] Il. xv. 235. [3] Plato, de Leg. l. vi. Op. viii. p. 266. Bip.

[4] Not even from the duties of war. The Daduchus Callias fought at the battle of Marathon in his costume as a priest. Plutarch in Aristid. Op. ii. p. 491, ed. Reiske.

protected by the state; and that a degree of intolerance was produced, which led even to injustice and cruelty. But we do not find that the priests were peculiarly active in such cases. It was the people which believed itself injured; or a political party; or individual demagogues, who had some particular object in view.[1]

As the priests of the Greeks formed no distinct class in society, it is evident, that they could have no such secret system of instructions, as was possessed by those of Egypt. No such system can therefore be contrasted with the popular religion; instead of it there were the mysteries; but the initiated were not all of them priests, nor was it necessary for every priest to be initiated into the mysteries. Any could be admitted to them, whose condition in life, and behaviour, were found to deserve the distinction.

These regulations led to important consequences. There was in the nation no separate class, which claimed an exclusive right to certain branches of scientific and intellectual culture; and preserved that exclusive right by means of written characters, intelligible only to themselves. That which should be the common property, and is the noblest common property of humanity, was such among the Greeks. And this made it possible to unfold with freedom the spirit of philosophy. The oldest philosophy of the Greeks, as it appeared at first in the Ionic school, may have originally stood in close union with religion, and may indeed have proceeded from it; for who does not perceive the near connexion between speculations on the elements of things, and those ancient representations of the gods as powers or objects of nature. But religion could not long hold philosophy in chains. It could not prevent the spirit of free inquiry from awakening and gaining strength; and hence it was possible for all those sciences, which are promoted by that spirit, to assume among the Greeks a decided and peculiar character. In the intellectual culture of the East, all scientific knowledge is connected with religion; but as these were kept

[1] Consult above every thing else, the oration of Andocides on the Profanation of the Mysteries, delivered on occasion of the well-known accusation of Alcibiades and his friends. Did we not know that a political party was active in that affair, it would hardly seem intelligible to us. It gives a remarkable proof of the ease with which the passions of the Athenians might be aroused, when any attack was made on the things they deemed sacred.

separate by the Greeks, science gained among them that independent character, which distinguishes the West, and which was communicated to the nations of whom the Greeks were the instructors.

As the priests never formed a distinct order, and still less a caste, in Greece, the religion never became a religion of state to such a degree as in other countries. It was sometimes subservient to public policy, but never became a slave to it. The dry, prosaic religion of the Romans could be used or abused to such purposes; but that of the Greeks was much too poetical. The former seems to have existed only for the sake of the state; and the latter, even when it was useful to the state, appears to have rendered none but voluntary services. The Patricians confined the popular religion of Rome within the strict limits of a system; but in Greece, religion preserved its freedom of character.

COLONISTS FROM ABROAD.

The race of the Hellenes was always the prevalent one in Greece; but it was by no means unmixed. The superior advantages of the country invited foreign emigrations, and its situation facilitated them. Many nations of Thracian, Carian, and Illyrian origin, descended at different times from the North by land.[1] These colonists, at least such as remained in the country, may by degrees have been amalgamated with the Hellenes; but, being themselves barbarians, they could not have contributed much towards softening the manners of the nation; although the poets of Thrace, an Orpheus and his school of bards, and Linus and others, were not without influence on them. The case was far different with those who came by sea. Greece, as we observed in a former chapter,[2] was surrounded at no great distance by the most cultivated nations of the western world, which nations were more or less devoted to commerce and the founding of colonies. This is well known to have been the character of the Phœnicians, and it is equally certain that it was so of the inhabitants of Asia Minor; and traces of Egyptian colonies are found no less in Europe than in Asia.

[1] Their names are for the most part mentioned by Strabo, l. vii. p. 494.
[2] Compare the close of chapter first.

If no accounts had been preserved of colonies of those nations, emigrating to Greece, they would of themselves have seemed highly probable. But we are so far from being without accounts of this kind, that they have been much more accurately preserved, than the remoteness of time and the condition of the nation would have authorized us to expect. The memory of them could not become extinct, for their consequences were too lasting; and if events which for so long a time were preserved by nothing but tradition, are differently related and sometimes highly coloured, the critical student of history can hardly make any valid objections against their general truth, if the narratives are interpreted as the mythical language of extreme antiquity requires. The first of the foreign colonies, which are mentioned as having arrived by sea, is that which, under the direction of Cecrops, came from Sais in Lower Egypt to Attica;[1] fifty years later, Danaus led his colony from Chemmis in Upper Egypt, to Argos in the Peloponnesus. These emigrations took place at the period in which, according to the most probable chronological reckoning, the great revolutions in Egypt were effected by the expulsion of the Arabian nomades; and the kingdom was restored to its liberty and independence; a period, in which emigrations were at least not improbable. The colony which, as Herodotus relates, was brought by Cadmus, together with the alphabet, from Phœnicia to Greece,[2] needs no further proof, when we learn how extensive were the colonies of that nation; we are only astonished, that we hear of but one such in Greece; since the common course of things would rather lead us to expect a continued immigration, such as took

[1] This is supposed to have taken place about 1550 years before Christ. The immigration by Cecrops from Egypt, is questioned by the investigations of C. O. Müller, in the History of the Hellenic Tribes and Cities, i. p. 106, etc., inasmuch as Theopompus is the earliest writer who mentions it. But Theopompus must have had before him an earlier authority. That a belief in a relationship with the Egyptians is as old as the age of Solon, appears to me certain, from the narration of Plato in Timæus (Op. ix. p. 293, etc., ed. Bip.). Further inquiries respecting the influence of Egypt on Greece, on which opinions are now so divided, will probably lead to the conclusion, that the truth is in the middle. Want of land, excessive population, and revolutions, which are the chief causes of emigration, existed no where in the old world in more force than in Egypt, and particularly at the time assigned for the emigration of Cecrops, during the dominion and after the expulsion of the Hycsos from Lower Egypt. [2] Herod. v. 58.

place in the islands, which became almost entirely Phœnician. Even this doubt vanishes, when we regard Cadmus, not as a person, but as the symbol of the Phœnician colonies in Greece; although the early and distinct notices of Cadmus in Herodotus, render it difficult to give up the usual representation. Nor should we forget the establishment made by Pelops of Lydia in the peninsula which bears his name.[1] That also was occasioned by the events of war. Tantalus, the father of Pelops, having been driven from Lydia by Ilus, king of Troy, sought and found in Argos a place of refuge for himself and his treasures.

Yet very different answers have been given to the question, What influence had the emigration of those foreign colonists on the culture of the Greeks? And more have denied than have conceded, that such an influence was exerted. Where cultivated nations make establishments in the vicinity of barbarians, it would be wrong to infer directly the civilization of the latter, unless it be confirmed by distinct evidence. The aborigines of America have been for more than two centuries the immediate neighbours of civilized Europeans, and yet how little have they adopted from them! And if doubts were entertained in the case of the Greeks, it was chiefly because their whole national culture was so remarkably different from that of those Eastern nations, that the former could hardly seem much indebted to the latter.

Yet the testimony of the Greeks themselves proves such an influence too clearly to be doubted. Cecrops is expressly mentioned, as having first established domestic union among the inhabitants of Attica, by the introduction of regular marriages; and as having built the citadel which afterwards bore his name. The same is true of the citadel which Cadmus built in Thebes; and if we interpret the account of Herodotus respecting the introduction of the alphabet by him, to mean only, that the Hellenes were indebted for it to the Phœnicians, (which on the whole can hardly be doubted,) the case would not be changed. And if Pelops not only emigrated to Argos with his treasures, but gave his name to the peninsula, the facts admit of no other interpretation than that his emigration was productive of the most important consequences.

[1] Strabo, p. 222.

But further. These foreigners not only became princes themselves, but made the royal power hereditary in their families. The earliest kings of Attica, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, were all descended from the house of Cecrops, although only by the female side. Perseus and his heroic family sprung in like manner from the family of Danaus. When we name Cadmus, we remember at the same time his descendants, the favourites of the tragic muse, Laius, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, the rulers of Thebes. But the posterity of Pelops, the house of Atrides, excelled all the rest in fame as in misfortunes. In this manner the traditional history of the nation is principally dependent on these families from abroad; they were not only the oldest rulers, but the memory of them continued to live in the mouth of the people from age to age; till the tragic poets conferred on them immortality. It is impossible that such a continued dominion of those families should have had no influence on the nation. To assert it would be to assert what is inconsistent with the natural course of things.

If these immigrations seem to have been occasioned by political causes, others had their origin in religion. In modern times the savage nature of barbarians has been tamed by missions; but although antiquity knew and could know none such, the early part of our present inquiries proves, that political and mercantile ends were none the less connected with sanctuaries and oracles. Greece received its colonies of priests; by which we mean the establishments of sanctuaries by foreigners, who brought with them their own peculiar forms of worship. The Homeric hymn to Apollo affords a remarkable proof, that such institutions were entirely in the spirit of the ancient Grecian world. When the Pythian god was establishing his oracle at Delphi, he beheld on the sea a merchant-ship from Crete; this he directs to Crissa, and appoints the foreigners the servants of his newly-established sanctuary, near which they settled and abode.[1] When this story, which we would not affirm to be historically true, is stripped of the language of poetry, it can only mean, that a Cretan colony founded the temple and oracle of Delphi. And the account given by Herodotus of the Egyptian origin of the oracle of Dodona, ceases to surprise us,[2]

[1] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. 390, etc. [2] Herod. ii. 54.

although that oracle owes its establishment to another cause, the Phœnician slave-trade, by means of which two consecrated women were carried, the one to Ammonium in Libya, the other to Dodona. If we knew more certainly who the Selli were, who are thought to have been a branch of the Pelasgi, and are said by Homer[1] to have been the servants of the god, and in possession of the oracle, we should probably be able to say more than we now can respecting its history. That it was of Egyptian origin, is acknowledged not only by the sacred traditions of Dodona, but also by those of Egypt. It was impossible for these settlements to assume in Greece the aspect which they took in Africa. The character of the country and the spirit of the people were alike opposed to it; for though the popular religion in Greece was not wholly unconnected with politics, the state had never, as in Egypt, been founded entirely upon religion. But those settlements became the central point of societies of nations; they subsisted as oracles; of which the Greek stood in need both in public and private life.

Similar sacred institutions arose very early on several of the islands round Greece, and were transplanted from them to the continent. Those of Crete and Samothrace were the most important. The first of these islands occupies, in many points of view, a very important place in the most ancient history of Grecian culture; but the culture, which sprung up in Crete, seems rather to have produced early blossoms than later fruits. All that we know of the glory of Crete, belongs to the age of Homer and the preceding times.[2] The period in which they cleared the sea of robbers; exercised supremacy over the islands, and a part of the country on the shore, even of Attica; and received their laws from Minos, the familiar friend of Jove, belongs to so remote an age, that it affords less room for certainty than for conjecture. But Crete still appears in Homer so flourishing, that hardly a country on the continent could be compared with it.[3] The situation of this large island can alone serve to explain how it came to precede Hellas in culture. It

[1] Il. xvi. 234.
[2] See the rich compilation of Meursius; Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, 1675.
[3] Crete awes the circling waves, a fruitful soil,
And ninety cities crown the sea-born isle.
Od. xix. 172, etc.; in Pope, 196, etc.

lay at almost equal distances from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece. If it was, as we are told, the country of brass and iron, and if these metals were first manufactured there,[1] the obscurity which covered the oldest tradition is at once removed. Late investigations have, however, led to more discriminating views; for they have shown, that by confounding the Ida of Phrygia or Asia Minor, with the Ida of Crete, many things have been applied to the latter, which should have been restricted to the former.[2] The prevailing minerals in Crete do not contain brass and iron;[3] and Crete has, therefore, been improperly regarded as the country of these metals. But they are found in the Ida of Phrygian Lydia; and that there was also the home of the fabulous personages, the Dactyli and Curetes, to whom tradition attributes the first acquisition and working of iron, is apparent even from the account in Strabo.[4] Yet they and their worship were transplanted to Crete; and with them the working of iron, which, though not originating in Crete, could easily have been introduced from Asia Minor and Cyprus. Nor can any one, who is familiar with the origin of the ancient religions of nature, be surprised to find this earliest metallurgy connecting itself with a worship, which generated sacred usages and mysteries.[5] As far as we can judge, the immigration of the Dactyli and Curetes into Crete belongs to the age before Minos;[6] and if manufactures of iron and brass were established there, the immigration into the island from various quarters, by the Pelasgi, Hellenes, and Phœnicians, are easily explained.[7]

[1] The most important passage in Diodor. v. p. 381.
[2] Hoeck's Kreta, I. Band.
[3] Hoeck, I. 42, and the appendix by Hausmann on the character of the geological formations of Crete, p. 443.
[4] Strabo, p. 725, and Hoeck, 284.
[5] Diod. I. p. 381. So too the workmen in the mines of Germany abound in superstitions.
[6] Hoeck, I. 359, first appendix.
[7] They are enumerated chronologically by Diodorus, I. p. 382. Hoeck, I. 52, proves that no evidence exists of immigrations from Egypt

CHAPTER IV.

THE HEROIC AGE—THE TROJAN WAR.

ALTHOUGH the history of the progress of the Greek nation during the early period of its culture, is imperfect and fragmentary, the progress itself is certain. In the age which we best designate in the spirit of the nation by the name of the Heroic Age, and which extends from about the thirteenth to the eleventh century before the Christian era, we find them advanced to a far higher degree of civilization, than that of which by their own accounts they were possessed before. The poet who delineates them in that stage is never untrue to the poetic character; and yet Homer was regarded even by the ancients as of historical authority; and, to a certain point, deserved to be so regarded. Truth was his object in his accounts and descriptions, as far as it can be the object of a poet, and even in a greater degree than was necessary, when he distinguishes the earlier and later times or ages. He is the best source of information respecting the heroic age; and since that source is so copious, there is no need of drawing from any other.

When we compare the Greeks of Homer with those of later ages, we immediately perceive a remarkable difference, to which we must at once direct our attention. His Greeks, to whatever tribe they belong, are all equal in point of culture. With him, the Thessalian differs in nothing from the inhabitant of the Peloponnesus, nor the Etolian from the Bœotian and Athenian; the sole points of difference which he marks, are merely personal; or, at most, result from the greater or smaller extent of the several territories. Hence we infer, that the causes which afterwards gave the inhabitants of the eastern part of Hellas so great an advantage over those of the west, had not then begun to operate. There must rather have been some causes of general influence, to produce that early progress; and therefore we have less reason to fear that we were mistaken in assigning the first place among them to religion.

Yet religion had no influence in exciting and developing

that heroic spirit, which is the characteristic of the age. In those later centuries of the middle age which embrace the Christian heroic age, a devotional spirit formed a prominent feature in the character of a knight; but nothing like this is to be found among the Greeks. The Grecian heroes always preserve a belief in the gods; are intimately and directly united with them; are sometimes persecuted and sometimes protected by them; but they do not fight for their religion, like the Christian knights. Such an idea could never occur to them; for their representations of their gods did not admit of it. And here we remark one great point of difference between the Grecian and Christian heroic character. A second, to which we shall return directly, results from the different condition of the other sex. But another prominent trait is common to both; the propensity to extraordinary and bold undertakings, not only at home, but in foreign lands, in countries beyond the sea, and of which tradition had, for the most part, spread none but indistinct accounts. This propensity was first awakened by the early immigrations of the Hellenes. But the exploits of the oldest heroes among the Greeks, Meleager, Tydeus, and others, before Hercules and Jason, were performed at home; and even those which are said to have been performed by Hercules out of Greece, are probably a later fiction, invented at the time when his name was first added to the number of the Argonauts, and the Grecian Hercules was confounded with the Phœnician. Adventures in foreign regions begin with Jason and the Argonautic expedition; and those adventures were destined soon to end in a general union of the nation for the purpose of carrying on a war beyond the sea.

As far as we can judge amidst the uncertainty of the chronology of that period, this adventurous spirit appears to have been awakened in the century immediately preceding the Trojan war. According to all possible chronological combinations, we must refer to this period the expedition of the Argonauts and the undertaking of Theseus against Crete; which events happened soon after the dominion of the sea had been gained for that island by Minos. The general condition of Greece in that period explains, in some measure, why the limits of that country began to grow too narrow, and a new theatre for the display of enterprise

to be sought for. The whole of Greece previous to the Trojan war, appears to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity within its own boundaries. The limits of the small districts into which Greece was divided, seem already to have been definitively established. We hear of no contention respecting them on the part of the princes; and Homer was able to enumerate the several possessions with precision. The war of the seven against Thebes had its origin in family discord; and the claims of the exiled Heraclidæ were not made valid till a more recent age. It was on the whole an age of internal peace, notwithstanding some interruptions. In such an age there was little opportunity for heroic exploits at home; and what was more natural than that the warlike spirit, which was once roused, should go in quest of them abroad?

But such was the situation of the country, that this could take place only by sea. There was in the North nothing which could invite the spirit of enterprise; and the country in that direction was possessed by warlike nations. On the other hand, the reports which came to the Greeks respecting the land beyond the sea, were numerous; even though they may have been brought by none but the Phœnicians. The countries and nations which were the chief objects of the voyages of that commercial people, the Cimmerians in the North, the Lotophagi, and the gardens of the Hesperides on the coast of Libya; Sicily with its wonders, the Cyclops, and Scylla and Charybdis; and even Spain, with the mighty Geryon and the pillars of Hercules, are dimly seen in the earliest Grecian mythology. These traditions did much towards awakening the spirit of adventure, and thus occasioned the Argonautic expedition.

These early voyages, by which so much activity was awakened, and so much energy called into action, were the chief means by which the circle of ideas in the nation was enlarged. This is obvious from those ancient mythological tales, which were thus introduced, and which were the fruit of the increased intercourse with foreign countries. The geography of Homer, limited as it is, not only extends far beyond the bounds of his native land; but shows a manifest desire of discovering the farthest limits of the earth. The ocean stream which flowed round it, is mentioned; the regions

are named, in which the sun has the gates of its rising and setting; even the entrance to the lower world is known. The obscurity in which all this was veiled, served but to excite the adventurous spirit, when once aroused, to new undertakings.

The internal political condition of Greece in the heroic age was in one respect similar to that of a later period; and in another essentially different. It was similar in the division into small territories; but it was altogether different in the constitutions of the states.

The division into territories, a result of the variety of the tribes, was in those times as great, or perhaps greater than in more recent ones. The district of Thessaly alone contained, in Homer's time, no less than ten small states, each of which had its prince or leader. In the central part of Greece, the Bœotians had five principalities;[1] the Minyes, whose capital was Orchomenus, the Locrians,[2] the Athenians, the Phocians, had each their own ruler. In the Peloponnesus, there existed, independent of each other, the kingdoms of Argos, of Mycenæ, of Sparta, of Pylus, that of the Elians, divided under four heads, and Arcadia. Many of the islands also had their own princes. On the west side, the government of Ulysses embraced, beside Ithaca, the islands Zacynthus and Cephallene, and Epirus which lies over against it. The flourishing island of Crete was swayed by Idomeneus; Salamis, by Ajax; Eubœa, inhabited by the Abantes, Rhodes, and Cos had their own rulers; Ægina, and probably others of the small islands, belonged to the neighbouring princes.

This political division was therefore from the earliest times a peculiarity of Greece; and it never ceased to be so. And here it is natural to ask, how it could have continued so long? How happened it, that amidst the early civil wars, and especially the later superiority of the Doric tribe, the supremacy of an individual state was never established? One principal cause of this is to be found in the natural geographical divisions of the country, which we have described in a former chapter; another, no less important, seems to lie

[1] Il. ii., catalog. nav. 1, etc., where also the passages may be found, which serve as proofs of the following statements.

[2] The Opuntii and Epicnemidii. Homer makes no mention of the Ozolæ.

in the internal division of the several tribes. Even where those of the same tribe made their settlements, they were immediately split into separate townships. According to these, the troops of soldiers are distinguished in Homer. Proofs of it are found in all parts of his poems, especially in the catalogue of the ships. If these townships stood under one common head, they were still united only by a feeble bond. The germ of division was deeply fixed, even in those earlier times; and as it unfolded, it was destined to mature the whole subsequent political condition of Greece.

Yet though the divisions of the country were then as numerous, the forms of government in those early times were entirely different from the later ones. We meet with no governments but those of princes or kings; there were then no republics; and yet republicanism was eventually to decide the political character of Greece. These monarchical constitutions, if that name may be applied to them, were rather the outlines of constitutions than regular, finished forms of government. They were a consequence of the most ancient condition of the nation, when either ruling families sprung up in the several tribes, or the leaders of foreign colonies had known how to secure to themselves and their posterity the government over the natives. The families of Peleus, Cadmus, Pelops, and others, have already been mentioned. It was a great recommendation of the later rulers, to be able to trace their lineage to one of the ancient heroes or gods; and Alexander himself sought the confirmation of his own descent from the temple of Ammon. But though much depended on descent, we learn from observing those ancient families, that it was not only necessary that the founder of the family should be a hero, but, if its elevation was to be preserved, that many heroes like him should arise among his posterity. For this the houses of Pelops and Cadmus were the most illustrious. But only certain branches of the family of Hercules, the first of Grecian heroes, were remembered by the nation, while others passed into oblivion. The Greeks paid respect to birth, yet they never attributed every thing to it; and if in those republican times, the noble families were preserved distinct from the rest, their superiority depended seldom on birth alone; and no line was drawn between them and the rest of the people, such as divided the

Patricians from the Plebeians in the early period of Roman history. The correct feeling of the Greeks is observable in this, as in so many other things. The respect for their illustrious families was continued in the recollection of their actions; but the descendants were not long permitted to live on the fame of their forefathers.

The constitutions of the heroic age were the result of circumstances, and wants which were felt. Esteem for the ruling families secured to them the government; but their power was not strictly hereditary. Princes were not much more than the first amongst their peers; even the latter were sometimes denominated princes.[1] The son had commonly the precedence over others in the succession; but his claim was measured by his personal qualifications for the station.[2] It was his first duty to lead in war; and he could not do this, unless he was himself distinguished for courage and strength. His privileges in peace were not great. He called together the popular assembly, which was chiefly, if not exclusively, composed of the older and more distinguished citizens.[3] Here the king had his own seat; the ensign of his dignity was a sceptre or staff. He had the right of addressing the assembly, which was done standing. In all important events he was bound to consult the people. In addition to this he sometimes acted as judge;[4] but not always; for the administration of justice was often committed to an assembly of the elders.[5] Nothing was known of particular taxes paid to the king. His superiority consisted in a piece of land, and a larger part of the booty. Excepting this, he derived his support from his own possessions and the produce of his fields and herds. The preservation of his dignity required an almost unbounded hospitality. His house was the place of assembly for persons of the upper class, who almost always sat at table with him; to turn away strangers, who asked for shelter, or only

[1] As, in Od. viii. 41, the *σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες* of Ithaca.
[2] Observe the description of the situation of Telemachus in this respect. Odyss. i. 392, etc.
[3] Compare the description of the assembly of Phæacians. Odyss. viii.
[4] Aristot. Polit. iii. 14. *Στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ βασιλευς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς θεοῦς κύριος.*
[5] See e. g. the representation on the shield of Achilles. Il. xviii. 504.

seemed to stand in need of it, would have been an unexampled outrage.[1]

Greece, even in those times, was a thickly peopled and well cultivated country. What a crowd of cities is enumerated by the poet! And we must not imagine these to have been open towns with scattered habitations. The epithets applied to them frequently prove the reverse. They are in part surrounded with walls; have gates and regular streets.[2] Yet the houses stand by themselves; having in front a court, and in the rear a garden.[3] Such at least were the houses of the most respectable. Others appear to stand directly on the street without any court in front. In the middle of the city there is a public square or market-place; the common place of assembly for the citizens, whether on solemn occasions, or for deliberation, or courts of justice, or any other purpose. It is surrounded with seats of stone, on which the distinguished men are wont on such occasions to take their places.[4] No trace is to be found of any pavement in the streets.

The different branches of agriculture were already well advanced. Property in lands was universal; of which the boundaries were fixed by measurement, and often designated by stones.[5] The poet describes to us the various labours of farming, ploughing, whether with oxen or mules, sowing, reaping, binding the sheaves, and treading out the corn by oxen on the threshing floor. Nor does he omit to mention the culture of the grape, the tilling of gardens, and the various duties of the herdsman.[6] It may be doubted whether the soil was much better cultivated in the most flourishing period of Grecian history.

The houses of the heroes were large and spacious, and at the same time suited to the climate. The court was surrounded by a gallery, about which the bedchambers were

[1] How warmly Menelaus reproaches Eteoneus for proposing to send the strangers some where else. Od. iv. 31.

[2] E. g. Athens with broad streets (*εὐρυάγυια*). Od. vii. 8. Gortys with firm walls (*τειχιόεσσα*); and others.

[3] Thus the palace of Menelaus, Od. ii.; and of Alcinous, Od. vii. Others on the street. Il. xviii. 496.

[4] The city of the Phæacians, Od. vii., gives proof of all this.

[5] Il. xii. 421, xxi. 405.

[6] I need only call to mind the representations on the shield of Achilles. Il. xviii. 540, etc.

built. There was a direct entrance from the court to the hall, which was the common place of resort.[1] Movable seats (*θρόνοι*) stood along the sides of the walls. Every thing glistened with brass. On one side was a place of deposit, where the arms were kept. In the back-ground was the hearth, and the seat for the lady of the mansion, when she made her appearance below. Several steps conducted from thence to a higher gallery, near which were the chambers of the women, where they were employed in household labours, especially in weaving. Several outhouses for the purpose of grinding and baking were connected with the house; others for the common habitations of the male and female slaves; and also stables for the horses.[2] The stalls for cattle were commonly in the fields.

Astonishment is excited by the abundance of metals, both of the precious and baser ones, with which the mansions were adorned, and of which the household utensils were made.[3] The walls glittered with them; the seats were made of them. Water for washing was presented in golden ewers on silver salvers; the benches, arms, utensils were ornamented with them. Even if we suppose that much, called golden, was only gilded, we still have reason to ask, whence this wealth in precious metals? Homer gives us a hint respecting the silver, when he speaks of it as belonging to Alybe, in the land of the Halizones.[4] Most of the gold probably came from Lydia, where this metal in later times was so abundant, that the Greeks were for the most part supplied with all they used from that country. As there was no coined money,[5] and as the metals were in consequence used in commerce as means of exchange, the manufacturing of them seems to have been one of the chief branches of mechanic industry. Proofs of this are found in the preparation of arms and utensils. We need but call to mind the shield of Achilles, the torch-bearing statues in the house of Alcinous,[6]

[1] The above-mentioned mansions of Menelaus and Alcinous best illustrate this style of architecture; although the description of the mansion of Ulysses is in some parts more minute.

[2] Thus with Menelaus, Od. iv. 40.

[3] Above all in the mansion of Menelaus.

[4] Il. ii. Catalog. v. 364. Without doubt in the Caucasian chain of mountains; even if the Halizones and the Chalybes were not the same.

[5] This was probably one of the chief reasons why so much of it was manufactured.

[6] Od. vii. 100.

the enamelled figures on the clasp of Ulysses' mantle,[1] etc. But it is difficult to say, how far these manufactures were made by the Greeks, or gained by exchange from abroad. As the poet commonly describes them to be the works of Vulcan, it is at least clear, that manufactures of this kind were somewhat rare, and in part foreign.[2] Gold was afterwards wrought in Asia Minor, especially in Lydia; all labour in brass and iron seems, as we remarked above, to have been first brought to perfection among the Hellenes in Crete.

These labours in metal appear to have limited the early progress of the plastic arts. We find no traces of painting, and none of marble statues. But those efforts in metal imply practice in drawing; for we hear not only of figures, but also of expression in their positions and motions.[3]

The art of weaving, the chief occupation of the women, was even then carried to a high degree of perfection. The stuffs were of wool and linen; it is hard to decide how far cotton was in those times manufactured in Greece.[4] Yet garments of foreign manufacture, those of Egypt and Sidon, were esteemed the most beautiful.[5] The dress was decent but free. The female sex were by no means accustomed to conceal the countenance, but were clad in long robes; both sexes wore a tight under garment, over which the broad upper garment was thrown.[6]

The internal regulations of families were simple, but not without those peculiarities, which are a natural consequence of the introduction of slavery. Polygamy was not directly authorized; but the sanctity of marriage was not considered as violated by the intercourse of the husband with female slaves. The noble characters of Andromache and of Penelope exhibit, each in its own way, models of elevated con-

[1] Od. xix. 225, etc.

[2] As e. g. the silver goblet received by Menelaus from the king of Sidon. Od. iv. 615.

[3] Besides the description of the shield of Achilles, note especially Od. xix. 228, etc.

[4] Compare, above all, the description of Achilles' clothing. Od. xix. 225, etc. The mantle, (χλαινα,) rough to the touch, was without doubt of wool; but the under garment (χιτων) can hardly pass for either woollen or linen.

Fine as a filmy web beneath it shone
A vest, that dazzled like a cloudless sun.

[5] As e. g. Il. vi. 290.

[6] The passages are collected in Feithii Ant. Homer. iii. cap. 7.

jugal affection. It is more difficult for us, with our feelings, to understand the seduced and returning Helen; and yet if we compare Helen, the beloved of Paris in the Iliad,[1] with Helen, the spouse of Menelaus in the Odyssey,[2] we find truth and much internal harmony in the character which could err, but not become wholly untrue to nobleness of feeling. It is a woman, who, having become in youth the victim of sensuality, (and never without emotions of regret,) returned afterwards to reason; before she was compelled to do so by age. Even after her return from Troy, she was still exceedingly beautiful;[3] (and who can think of counting her years?) And yet even then the two sexes stood to each other in the same relation, which continued in later times. The wife is housewife, and nothing more. Even the sublime Andromache, after that parting, which will draw tears as long as there are eyes which can weep and hearts which can feel, is sent back to the apartments of the women, to superintend the labours of the maid-servants.[4] Still we observe in her conjugal love of an elevated character. In other instances love has reference, both with mortals and with immortals, to sensual enjoyment; although in the noble and uncorrupted virgin characters, as in the amiable Nausicaa, it was united with that bashfulness, which accompanies maiden youth. But we meet with no trace of those elevated feelings, that romantic love, as it is very improperly termed, which results from a higher regard for the female sex. That love and that regard are traits peculiar to the Germanic nations, a result of the spirit of gallantry which was a leading feature in the character of chivalry, but which we vainly look for in Greece. Yet here the Greek stands between the East and the West. Although he was never wont to revere woman as a being of a higher order, he did not, like the Asiatic, imprison her by troops in a haram.

The progress which had been made in social life, is visible in nothing, except the relative situation of the sexes, more distinctly, than in the tone of conversation among men. A solemn dignity belonged to it even in common intercourse; the style of salutation and address is connected with certain forms; the epithets with which the heroes honoured each

[1] In the third book.

[2] Odyss. iv. and xv.

[3] Odyss. iv. 121.

[4] Il. vi. 490.

other, were so adopted into the language of intercourse, that they are not unfrequently applied, even where the language of reproach is used. Let it not be said, that this is merely the language of epic poetry. The poet never could have employed it, if its original, and a taste for it, had not already existed. If the tone of intercourse is a measure of the social and, in a certain degree, of the moral improvement of a nation, the Greeks of the heroic age were already vastly elevated beyond their earlier savage state.

To complete the picture of those times, it is necessary to speak of war and the art of war. The heroic age of the Greeks, considered from this point of view, exhibits a mixture of savageness and magnanimity, and the first outlines of the laws of nations. The enemy who has been slain, is not secure against outrage, and yet the corpse is not always abused.[1] The conquered party offers a ransom; and it depends on the victor to accept or refuse it. The arms, both of attack and defence, are of iron or brass. No hero appeared, like Hercules of old, with a club and lion's skin for spear and shield. The art of war, as far as it relates to the position and erecting of fortified camps, seems to have been first invented in the siege of Troy.[2] In other respects, every thing depended on the more or less perfect equipments, together with personal courage and strength. As the great multitude was, for the most part, without defensive armour, and as only a few were completely accoutred, one of these last outweighed a host of the rest. But only the leaders were thus armed; and they, standing on their chariots of war, (for cavalry was still unknown,) fought with each other in the space between the armies. If they were victorious, they spread panic before them; and it became easy for them to break through the ranks. But we will pursue no farther the description of scenes, which every one prefers to read in the poet himself.

As the crusades were the fruit of the revolution in the social condition of the West, the Trojan war resulted from the same causes in Greece. It was necessary that a fondness for adventures in foreign lands should be awakened;

[1] An example, Il. vi. 417.

[2] See on this subject, on which we believe we may be brief, the Excursus of Heyne to the vi. vii. and viii. books of the Iliad.

expeditions by sea, like that of the Argonauts, be attended with success; and a union of the heroes, as in that and the march against Thebes, be first established; before such an undertaking could become practicable. But now it resulted so naturally from the whole condition of things, that, though its object might have been a different one, it must have taken place even without a Helen.

The expedition against Troy, like the crusades, was a voluntary undertaking on the part of those who joined in it; and this circumstance had an influence on all the internal regulations. The leaders of the several bands were voluntary followers of the Atridæ, and could therefore depart from the army at their own pleasure. Agamemnon was but the first among the first. It is more difficult to ascertain the relation between the leaders and their people; and he who should undertake to describe every thing minutely, would be most sure of making mistakes. There were certainly control and obedience. The troops follow their leaders, and leave the battle with them. But much even of this seems to have been voluntary; and the spirit of the age allowed no such severe discipline as exists in modern armies. None but a Thersites could have received the treatment of Thersites.

This undertaking, begun and successfully terminated by united exertions, kindled the national spirit of the Hellenes. On the fields of Asia, the tribes had for the first time been assembled, for the first time had saluted each other as brethren. They had fought and had conquered in company. Yet something of a higher character was still wanting to preserve the flame, which was just blazing up. The assistance of the muse was needed, to commemorate in words those events of which the echo will never die away. By preserving the memory of them for ever, the most beautiful fruits which they bore were saved from perishing.

CHAPTER V.

THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE HEROIC AGE. MIGRATIONS. ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, AND THEIR CHARACTER.

LIKE the age of chivalry in western Europe, the heroic age of the Greeks began and ended without our being able to define either period by an exact date. Such a phenomenon is the fruit of causes which are rooted deeply and of continuing influence, and it neither suddenly ripens nor suddenly decays. The heroic age was not immediately terminated by the Trojan war; yet it was during that period in its greatest glory.[1] It was closely united with the political constitution of the times; the princes of the tribes were the first of the heroes. When the constitution of the tribes was changed, the ancient heroic world could not continue. No new undertaking was begun, which was so splendidly executed and closed. Although, therefore, heroic characters may still have arisen, as in the times of Achilles and Agamemnon, no similar career of honour was opened to them; they were not celebrated in song like the Atridæ and their companions; and though they may have gained the praise of their contemporaries, they did not live, like the latter, in the memory of succeeding generations.

In the age succeeding the Trojan war, several events took place, which prepared and introduced an entire revolution in the domestic and still more in the public life of the Greeks. The result of these revolutions was the origin and general prevalence of republican forms of government among them; and this decided the whole future character of their public life as a nation.

It is still possible for us to show the general causes of this great change; but when we remember that these events took place before Greece had produced an historian, and when tradition was the only authority, we give up all expectation of gaining perfect and unbroken historical accounts; and

[1] Hesiod limits his fourth age, the age of heroes, to the times immediately before and after the Trojan war. Op. et Dies, 156, etc.

acknowledge that we can hardly know more of them than Thucydides.

"The emigration of the tribes," says this historian,[1] "was by no means at an end with the Trojan war. The continuance of the war produced many changes; in many cities disturbances were excited, which occasioned the banished parties to found new cities. The Bœotians, driven from Arne in Thessaly, took possession of their country in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy; in the eightieth, the Dorians, led on by the Heraclidæ, conquered the Peloponnesus." And we have already observed, what great revolutions were produced by this last event. A new tribe, till then the weaker, was extended and became the more powerful. But still greater changes were to come; the race of the Hellenes were destined to extend on the east and west, far beyond the limits of their ancient country. "When Greece," continues Thucydides, "after a long interval, at length became composed, and assumed a firmer appearance, it sent out colonies; Athens, to Ionia in Asia Minor, and to a great part of the islands of the Archipelago; the Peloponnesians, chiefly to Italy and Sicily; all which settlements were not made till after the Trojan times."

The views of the nation could not but be enlarged by the Trojan war. It had become acquainted with the coasts of Asia, those lands so highly favoured by nature; and the recollection of them never died away. When the new internal storms followed, and almost all the tribes of the Hellenes were driven from their places of abode, it is not remarkable that the coasts of Asia should have attracted the emigrating parties. Since the downfal of Troy, no new dominion had been established there; no nation of the country was strong enough to prohibit the settlement of the foreigners. Thus, in the course of not more than a century,[2] the western coast of Asia Minor was occupied by a chain of Grecian cities, extending from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia. Æolians, conducted by the descendants of the fallen house of the Atridæ, established their residence in the vicinity of the ruins of Troy, on the coast of Mysia, in the most fruitful region known to those times,[3] and on the opposite island

[1] Thucyd. i. 12.
[2] In a period subsequent to the year 1130 before Christ.
[3] Herod. i. 149.

of Lesbos; on the continent they built twelve cities, and on Lesbos Mitylene, which now gives a name to the whole island. Smyrna, the only one which has preserved a part of its splendour, and Cyme, exceeded all the rest on the main land. Æolis was bounded on the south by Ionia, a region so called from the twelve Ionian cities, which were built by the Ionians, who had been expelled from their ancient country. They also occupied the neighbouring islands Chios and Samos. If Æolis could boast of superior fertility, the Ionian sky was celebrated with the Greeks as the mildest and most delightful.[1] Of these cities, Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa became flourishing commercial towns; the mothers of many daughters, extending from the shores of the Black Sea and Lake Mæotis, to the coasts of Gaul and Iberia. Neither were the Dorians content with their conquest of the Peloponnesus; troops of them thronged to Asia; Cos, and the wealthy Rhodes, as well as the cities Halicarnassus and Cnidus, were peopled by them. In this manner, as the series of cities planted by the Grecians ascended the Macedonian and Thracian coast to Byzantium, the Ægean Sea was encircled with Grecian colonies, and its islands were covered with them. But the mother country seems soon to have been filled again; and as the east offered no more room, the emigrants wandered to the west. At a somewhat later period, but with hardly less success, the coasts of Lower Italy, which soon took the name of Magna Græcia, and those of Sicily, were occupied by Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians.[2] On the gulf of Tarentum, not only the city of that name, but Croton and Sybaris soon rose to a degree of population and wealth, bordering on the fabulous; whilst the chain of towns extended by way of Rhegium and Pæstum as far as Cumæ and Naples. These colonial towns were still more frequent on the coasts of Sicily, from Messana and the unrivalled Syracuse to the proud Agrigentum. And in the now desolate Barca, on the coast of Libya, Cyrene flourished with the towns of which it was the metropolis, and proved that Greeks remained true to their origin even in Africa.

We reserve for another chapter the consideration of the

[1] Herod. i. 142.

[2] Especially between the years 800 and 700 before the Christian era. Yet single colonies were earlier established.

flourishing condition and various consequences of their colonies. But whilst the world of the Greeks and their circle of vision were thus enlarged, it was not possible for their political condition to remain unchanged. Freedom ripens in colonies. Beyond the sea, ancient usage cannot be preserved, cannot altogether be renewed, as at home. The former bonds of attachment to the soil and ancient customs, were broken by emigration; the spirit felt itself to be more free in the new country; new strength was required for the necessary exertions; and those exertions were animated by success. Where every man lives by the labour of his hands, equality arises, even if it did not exist before. Each day is fraught with new experience; the necessity of common defence is more felt in lands where the new settlers find ancient inhabitants desirous of being free from them. Need we wonder, then, if the authority of the founders, even where it had originally subsisted, soon gave way to liberty?

Similar phenomena are observable in the mother country. The annihilation of so many of the ruling houses in the Trojan war and its immediate consequences would have produced them even without internal storms. How then could the ancient order of things be restored, after so great revolutions and such changes in the residence of nearly all the tribes? The heroic age disappeared; and with it the supremacy of the princes; and when heroes came forward, like Aristomenes, they resemble adventurers rather than the sublime figures of Homer. On the other hand, the intercourse and trade with the colonies were continued on all sides; for, according to the Grecian custom, the mother country and her colonies were never strangers to each other; and the former soon had a lesson to learn of the latter.

A new order of things was the necessary consequence. The ancient ruling families died away of themselves, or lost their power. But this did not take place in all or most of the Grecian cities at one time, but very gradually; and he who should speak of a general political revolution in the modern phrase, would excite altogether erroneous conceptions. As far as we can judge from the imperfect accounts which remain of the history of the individual states, more than a century elapsed before the change was complete. We cannot fix the period of it in all of them; it happened

in most of them between the years 900 and 700 before Christ; in others, in the two centuries immediately after the Doric emigration. In several, as in Athens, it was brought about by degrees. In that city, when the royal dignity was abolished at the death of Codrus,[1] archons, differing little from kings, were appointed from his family for life; these were followed by archons chosen for ten years;[2] and these last continued for seventy years, till the yearly election of a college of archons set the seal to democracy.

The fruit of these changes was the establishment of free constitutions for the cities; which constitutions could prosper only with the increasing prosperity of the towns. Thucydides has described to us in an admirable manner how this happened. "In those times," says he,[3] "no important war, which could give a great ascendency to individual states, was carried on; the wars which chanced to arise, were only with the nearest neighbours." Though tranquillity may thus have sometimes been interrupted, the increase of the cities could not be retarded. "But since colonies were established beyond the sea, several of the cities began to apply themselves to navigation and commerce; and the intercourse kept up with them afforded mutual advantages.[4] The cities," continues Thucydides, "became more powerful and more wealthy; but then usurpers arose in most of them, who sought only to confirm their own power, and enrich their own families; but performed no great exploits; until they were overthrown, not long before the Persian wars, by the Spartans (who, amidst all those storms, were never subjected to tyrants) and the Athenians."[5]

The essential character of the new political form assumed by Greece, consisted therefore in the circumstance, that the free states which were formed, were nothing but cities with their districts, and their constitutions were consequently only forms of city government. This point of view must never be lost sight of. The districts into which Greece was divided, did not form, as such, so many states; but the same

[1] In the year 1068 before Christ. [2] In the year 752 before Christ.
[3] Thucyd. i. 15. [4] Thucyd. i. 13.
[5] For the counterpart to the narration of Thucydides, we need only call to mind the history of the Italian cities, towards the end of the middle age.

often contained many states, if it possessed several independent cities; though a whole district sometimes formed the territory of but one city, as Attica of Athens, Laconia of Sparta, etc., and in such a case formed of course but one state. But it might easily happen, that the cities of one district, especially if their inhabitants were of kindred tribes, formed alliances for mutual safety; as the twelve Achæan cities had done. But these alliances had reference only to foreign relations; and thus they formed a confederation of cities, but not one state; for each individual city had its own internal constitution, and managed its own concerns. It might also happen, that some one of the cities, on becoming powerful, should claim the sovereignty over the rest; as Thebes over the Bœotian cities. But however far such a superior rank might lead; it was intended by the Greeks, not only that each state should preserve its internal liberty; but that its submission should be voluntary; although the claims of a supreme city occasionally led to compulsory measures. When Thebes usurped the first rank in Bœotia, Platææ would never acknowledge its sovereignty. The consequences of it are known from history.

The whole political life of the nation was thus connected with cities and their constitutions; and no one can judge of Grecian history with accuracy, unless he comprehends the spirit of them. The strength of such cities seems to be very limited; but the history of the world abounds in examples, which show how far beyond expectation they can rise. They are animated by public spirit, resulting from civil prosperity; and the force of that spirit can be expressed in no statistical tables.

CHAPTER VI.

HOMER. THE EPIC POETS.

THE heroic age was past, before the poets, who celebrated it, arose. It produced some contemporary with itself; but their fame was eclipsed by those who came after

in most of them between the years 900 and 700 before Christ; in others, in the two centuries immediately after the Doric emigration. In several, as in Athens, it was brought about by degrees. In that city, when the royal dignity was abolished at the death of Codrus,[1] archons, differing little from kings, were appointed from his family for life; these were followed by archons chosen for ten years;[2] and these last continued for seventy years, till the yearly election of a college of archons set the seal to democracy.

The fruit of these changes was the establishment of free constitutions for the cities; which constitutions could prosper only with the increasing prosperity of the towns. Thucydides has described to us in an admirable manner how this happened. "In those times," says he,[3] "no important war, which could give a great ascendency to individual states, was carried on; the wars which chanced to arise, were only with the nearest neighbours." Though tranquillity may thus have sometimes been interrupted, the increase of the cities could not be retarded. "But since colonies were established beyond the sea, several of the cities began to apply themselves to navigation and commerce; and the intercourse kept up with them afforded mutual advantages.[4] The cities," continues Thucydides, "became more powerful and more wealthy; but then usurpers arose in most of them, who sought only to confirm their own power, and enrich their own families; but performed no great exploits; until they were overthrown, not long before the Persian wars, by the Spartans (who, amidst all those storms, were never subjected to tyrants) and the Athenians."[5]

The essential character of the new political form assumed by Greece, consisted therefore in the circumstance, that the free states which were formed, were nothing but cities with their districts, and their constitutions were consequently only forms of city government. This point of view must never be lost sight of. The districts into which Greece was divided, did not form, as such, so many states; but the same

[1] In the year 1068 before Christ. [2] In the year 752 before Christ.
[3] Thucyd. i. 15. [4] Thucyd. i. 13.
[5] For the counterpart to the narration of Thucydides, we need only call to mind the history of the Italian cities, towards the end of the middle age.

often contained many states, if it possessed several independent cities; though a whole district sometimes formed the territory of but one city, as Attica of Athens, Laconia of Sparta, etc., and in such a case formed of course but one state. But it might easily happen, that the cities of one district, especially if their inhabitants were of kindred tribes, formed alliances for mutual safety; as the twelve Achæan cities had done. But these alliances had reference only to foreign relations; and thus they formed a confederation of cities, but not one state; for each individual city had its own internal constitution, and managed its own concerns. It might also happen, that some one of the cities, on becoming powerful, should claim the sovereignty over the rest; as Thebes over the Bœotian cities. But however far such a superior rank might lead; it was intended by the Greeks, not only that each state should preserve its internal liberty; but that its submission should be voluntary; although the claims of a supreme city occasionally led to compulsory measures. When Thebes usurped the first rank in Bœotia, Platææ would never acknowledge its sovereignty. The consequences of it are known from history.

The whole political life of the nation was thus connected with cities and their constitutions; and no one can judge of Grecian history with accuracy, unless he comprehends the spirit of them. The strength of such cities seems to be very limited; but the history of the world abounds in examples, which show how far beyond expectation they can rise. They are animated by public spirit, resulting from civil prosperity; and the force of that spirit can be expressed in no statistical tables.

CHAPTER VI.

HOMER. THE EPIC POETS.

THE heroic age was past, before the poets, who celebrated it, arose. It produced some contemporary with itself; but their fame was eclipsed by those who came after

them, and were it not for Homer, the names of Demodocus and Phemius had never become immortal.

With the Greeks, epic poetry had an importance, which it possessed among no other people; it was the source of their national education in poetry and the arts. It became so by means of the Homeric poems. But boundless as was the genius of the Ionian bard, a concurrence of favourable circumstances was still needed, to prepare for his appearance, and to make it possible.

Epic poetry was of itself a fruit of the heroic age; just as the poetry of chivalry was the result of the age of chivalry. The picture drawn for us by Homer of the heroic times, leaves no room to doubt of it. The feasts of the heroes, like the banquets of the knights, were ornamented with song. But the more copious the stream is to which it swelled, the more does it deserve to be traced, as far as possible, to its origin.

Even before the heroic age, we hear of several poets, of Orpheus, Linus, and a few others. But if their hymns were merely invocations and eulogies of the gods, as we must infer from the accounts which are handed down to us respecting them,[1] no similarity seems to have existed between them and the subsequent heroic poetry; although a transition not only became possible, but actually took place, when the actions of the gods were made the subjects of hymns.[2] The heroic poetry, according to all that we know of it, preserved the character of narration; whether those narrations contained accounts of the gods or of heroes;[3] "the actions of gods and heroes, who were celebrated in song." In the songs of Demodocus and Phemius, the subject is taken from the one and from the other; he celebrates the loves of Mars and Venus,[4] no less than the adventures which took place before Troy. The latter class of subjects cannot be more ancient than the heroic age, even though we should esteem the former as much older. But that age produced the class of bards, who were employed in celebrating the actions of

[1] Our present Orphic hymns have this character. The more ancient ones, if there were such, were nothing else. See Pausanias ix. p. 770; and the very ancient hymn, preserved by Stobæus. Stob. Eclog. i. p. 40, in Heeren's edition.

[2] The proof of this is found in the hymns attributed to Homer.

[3] Odyss. i. 338.

[4] Odyss. viii. 266, etc.

the heroes. They formed a separate class in society; but they stood on an equal footing with the heroes, and are considered as belonging to them.[1] The gift of song came to them from the gods; it is the Muse, or Jove himself, who inspires them and teaches them what they should sing.[2] As this representation continually recurs, it is probable that their poetic effusions were often extemporaneous. At least this seems in many cases hardly to admit of a doubt. Ulysses proposes to Demodocus the subject of his song;[3] and the bard, like the modern improvisatori, commences his strains under the influence of the sudden inspiration. We would by no means be understood to assert, that there were none but extemporaneous productions. Certain songs very naturally became favourites, and were kept alive in the mouths of the poets; whilst an infinite number, which were but the offspring of the moment, died away at their birth. But an abundance of songs was needed; a variety was required, and the charm of novelty even then enforced its claims.[4]

> For novel lays attract our ravished ears;
> But old the mind with inattention hears.

The voice was always accompanied by some instrument. The bard was provided with a harp, on which he played a prelude,[5] to elevate and inspire his mind, and with which he accompanied the song when begun. His voice probably preserved a medium between singing and recitation; the words, and not the melody, were regarded by the listeners; hence it was necessary for him to remain intelligible to all. In countries where nothing similar is found, it is difficult to represent such scenes to the mind; but whoever has had an opportunity of listening to the improvisatori of Italy, can easily form an idea of Demodocus and Phemius.

However imperfect our ideas of the earliest heroic songs may remain after all which the poet has told us, the following positions may be inferred from it. First: The singers were at the same time poets; they sang their own works; there is no trace of their having sung those of others. Farther: their songs were poured forth from the inspiration

[1] Od. viii. 483. Demodocus himself is here called a Hero.

[2] Od. viii. 73, i. 348.

[3] Od. viii. 492, etc., a leading passage.

[4] Od. i. 352.

[5] *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*, Od. viii. 266, etc.

of the moment; or only reposed in their memory. In the former case, they were, in the full sense of the word, improvisatori; and, in the latter, they must necessarily have remained in some measure improvisatori, for they lived in an age, which, even if it possessed the alphabet, seems never to have thought of committing poems to writing. The epic poetry of the Greeks did not continue to be mere extemporaneous effusions; but it seems to us very probable, that such was its origin. Lastly: Although the song was sometimes accompanied by a dance illustrative of its subject, imitative gestures are never attributed to the bard himself. There are dancers for that. Epic poetry and the ballet can thus be united; but the union was not essential, and probably took place only in the histories concerning the gods.[1] This union was very natural. Under the southern skies of Europe, no proper melody is required for the imitative dance; it is only necessary that the time should be distinctly marked. When the bard did this with his lyre, the dancers, as well as himself, had all that they required.

This heroic poetry, which was so closely interwoven with social life, that it could be spared at no cheering banquet, was common, no doubt, throughout all Hellas. We hear its strains in the island of the Phæacians, no less than in the dwellings of Ulysses and Menelaus. The poet does not bring before us strict contests in song; but we may learn, that the spirit of emulation was strong, and that some believed themselves already perfect in their art, from the story of the Thracian Thamyris, who wished to contend with the muses, and was punished for his daring by the loss of the light of his eyes, and the art of song.[2]

Epic poetry emigrated with the colonies to the shores of Asia. When we remember, that those settlements were made during the heroic age, and that in part the sons and posterity of the princes, in whose halls at Argos and Mycenæ its echoes had formerly been heard, were the leaders of those expeditions,[3] this will hardly seem doubtful, and still less improbable.

But that epic poetry should have first displayed its full

[1] As in the story of the amour of Mars and Venus. Od. viii.
[2] Il. Cat. Nav. 102.
[3] As Orestes and his descendants.

glory in those regions, and should have raised itself to the sublimity and extent which it obtained; was more than could have been expected.

And yet it was so. Homer appeared. The history of the poet and his works is lost in doubtful obscurity; as is the history of many of the first minds who have done honour to humanity, because they arose amidst darkness. The majestic stream of his song, blessing and fertilizing, flows, like the Nile, through many lands and nations; like the sources of the Nile, its fountains will remain concealed.

It cannot be the object of these essays, to enter anew into these investigations, which probably have already been carried as far as the present state of criticism and learning will admit.[1] The modern inquirers can hardly be reproached with credulity, for nothing, which could be doubted, not even the existence of Homer himself, has been left unquestioned. When once the rotten fabric of ancient belief was examined, no one of the pillars, on which it rested, could escape inspection. The general result was, that the whole building rested far more on the foundation of tradition, than of credible history; but how far this foundation is secure, is a question, respecting which, the voices will hardly be able to unite.

It seems of chief importance to expect no more than the nature of things makes possible. If the period of tradition in history is the region of twilight, we should not expect in it perfect light. The creations of genius remain always half miracles, because they are, for the most part, created far from the reach of observation. If we were in possession of all the historic testimonies, we never could wholly explain the origin of the Iliad and the Odyssey; for their origin, in all essential points, must have remained the secret of the poet. But we can, to a certain extent, explain how, under the circumstances of those times, an epic poet could arise; how he could elevate his mind; and how he could become of such importance to his nation and to posterity. This is all to which our inquiry should be directed.

The age of Homer, according to all probability, was that in which the Ionian colonies flourished in the vigour of

[1] It is hardly necessary to refer to the Excursus of Heyne on the last book of the Iliad; and the Prolegomena of Wolf.

youth.[1] Their subsequent condition shows that this must have been so; although history has not preserved for us any particular account on the subject. It is easy to conceive, that in a country highly favoured by nature; external circumstances could afford the poet many facilities, by means of the forms of social life, of which song was the companion. But the circumstances of the times afforded many greater advantages to poetic genius.

The glimmerings of tradition were not yet departed. The expedition against Troy, and the efforts of the earlier poets, had rather contributed so to mature the traditions, that they offered the noblest subjects for national poems. Before that time, the heroes of the several tribes had been of importance to none but their tribe; but those who were distinguished in the common undertaking against Troy, became heroes of the nation. Their actions and their sufferings awakened a general interest. Add to this, that these actions and adventures had already been celebrated by many of the early bards; and that they had even then imparted to the whole of history the poetic character, which distinguished it. Time is always needed to mature tradition for the epic poet. The songs of a Phemius and a Demodocus, though the subjects of them were taken from that war, were but the first essays, which died away, as the ancient songs have done, which commemorated the exploits of the crusaders. It was not till three hundred years after the loss of the Holy Land, that the poet appeared who was to celebrate the glory of Godfrey in a manner worthy of the hero; more time had perhaps passed after Achilles and Hector fell in battle, before the Grecian poet secured to them their immortality.

The language no less than the subject had been improved in this age. Although neither all its words nor its phrases were limited in their use by strict grammatical rules, it was by no means awkward or rough. It had for centuries been improved by the poets, and had now become a poetic language. It almost seemed more easy to make use of it in verse than in prose; and the forms of the hexameter, of which alone

[1] The age of Homer is usually set about a century after the foundation of those colonies, about the year 950 before Christ. If it be true, that Lycurgus, whose laws were given about the year 880, introduced his poems into Sparta, he cannot be much younger. We must leave to others the prosecution of these inquiries.

the epic poet made use, are extremely simple.[1] The language voluntarily submitted to the poet; and there never was a tongue, in which inspiration could have poured itself forth with more readiness and ease.

Under such circumstances it is intelligible, that when a sublime poetic genius arose among a people so fond of poetry and song as the Ionians always were, the age was favourable to him; although the elevated creations of his mind must continue to appear wonderful. There are two things, which in modern times appear most remarkable and difficult of explanation; how a poet could have first conceived the idea of so extensive a whole, as the Iliad and the Odyssey; and how works of such extent could have been finished and preserved, without the aid of writing.

With regard to the first point, criticism has endeavoured to show, and has succeeded in showing, that these poems, especially the Iliad, have by no means that perfect unity which they were formerly believed to possess; that rather many whole pieces have been interpolated or annexed to them; and there hardly exists at present an inquiring scholar, who can persuade himself, that we possess them both in the same state in which they came from the hands of the poet. But notwithstanding the more or less frequent interpolations, each has but one primary action; which, although it is interrupted by frequent episodes, could hardly have been introduced by any but the original author; and which does not permit us to consider either of these poems as a mere collection of scattered rhapsodies. It is certainly a gigantic step, to raise epic poetry to the unity of the chief action; but the idea springs from the very nature of a narration; and therefore it did not stand in need of a theory, which was foreign to the age; genius was able of itself to take this step.[2] Herodotus did something similar in the department of history.

[1] How much easier it must have been to make extemporaneous verses in that measure, than in the *ottava rima* of the Italians. And yet the Italian wears its shackles with the greatest ease.

[2] A more plausible objection is this: that even if it be conceded, that it was possible to invent and execute such large poems, they would have answered no end, as they were too long to admit of being recited at once. But a reply may be made to this. The Iliad and Odyssey could not be recited at a banquet. But there were public festivals and assemblies which lasted many days, and Herodotus read aloud the nine books of his history, in a succession of

We find it still more difficult to comprehend how works of this extent could have been planned and executed without the aid of letters, and preserved, probably for a long time, till they were finally saved from perishing by being committed to writing. We will not here repeat at large, what has already been said by others; that a class of singers, devoted exclusively to this business, could easily preserve in memory much more; that the poems were recited in parts, and therefore needed to be remembered only in parts; and that even in a later age, when the Homeric poems had already been intrusted to writing, the rhapsodists still knew them so perfectly, (as we must infer from the Ion of Plato,) that they could readily recite any passage which was desired. But let us be permitted to call to mind a fact, which has come to light since the modern inquiries respecting Homer, and which proves, that poems of even greater extent than the Iliad and the Odyssey can live in the memory and mouths of a nation. The Dschangariade of the Calmucks is said to surpass the poems of Homer in length, as much as it stands beneath them in merit;[1] and yet it exists only in the memory of a people, which is not unacquainted with writing. But the songs of a nation are probably the last things which are committed to writing, for the very reason that they are remembered.

But whatever opinions may be entertained on the origin of these poems, and whether we ascribe them to one author or to several, it will hardly be doubted that they all belong, on the whole, to one age, which we call, in a larger sense,

days, at Olympia. The Iliad and Odyssey, which when free from interpolations were perhaps much shorter than they now are, may have been recited in the course of several days. And if we may be permitted to indulge in conjecture, why may they not have been designed for such occasions? That the Greeks were accustomed to intellectual enjoyments, interrupted and afterwards continued, appears from the *Tetralogies* of the Dramatists in a later age. This is characteristic of a nation, which even in its pleasures desired something more than pastime, and always aimed at grandeur and beauty.

[1] See on this subject B. Bergmann, Nomadische, Streifereyen unter den Kalmycken, B. 2, S. 213, etc. This Calmuck Homer flourished in the last century. He is said to have sung three hundred and sixty cantos; but this number may be exaggerated. Of the singers, called Dschangartschi, it is not easy to find one, who knows more than twenty by heart. In the fourth part of his work, Mr. Bergmann has given us a translation of one of them, which is about equal in length to a rhapsody of Homer. It thus appears to be no uncommon thing for the Calmuck singers to retain in memory a poem quite as long as the Iliad or Odyssey.

the age of Homer. The important fact is, that we possess them. Whatever hypothesis we may adopt on their origin and formation, their influence on the Grecian nation and on posterity remains the same. And these are the topics which claim our regard.

It was Homer who formed the character of the Greek nation. No poet has ever, as a poet, exercised a similar influence over his countrymen. Prophets, lawgivers, and sages have formed the character of other nations; it was reserved to a poet to form that of the Greeks. This is a trait in their character, which could not be wholly erased even in the period of their degeneracy. When lawgivers and sages appeared in Greece, the work of the poet had already been accomplished; and they paid homage to his superior genius. He held up before his nation the mirror, in which they were to behold the world of gods and heroes no less than of feeble mortals, and to behold them reflected with purity and truth. His poems are founded on the first feelings of human nature; on the love of children, wife, and country; on that passion which outweighs all others, the love of glory. His songs were poured forth from a breast, which sympathized with all the feelings of man; and therefore they enter, and will continue to enter, every breast, which cherishes the same sympathies. If it is granted to his immortal spirit, from another heaven than any of which he dreamed on earth, to look down on his race, to see the nations from the fields of Asia to the forests of Hercynia, performing pilgrimages to the fountain, which his magic wand caused to flow; if it is permitted him to overlook the whole harvest of grand, of elevated, of glorious productions, which have been called into being by means of his songs; wherever his immortal spirit may reside, nothing more can be required to complete his happiness.

Wherever writing is known, where it is used for the purpose of preserving poems, and thus a poetic literature is formed, the muse loses her youthful freshness. Works of the greatest merit may still be produced; but poetry exerts its full influence only so long as it is considered inseparable from recitation. The Homeric poems were therefore so far from having produced a less considerable effect, because they for a long time were not written down, that the source

of their power lay in this very circumstance. They entered the memory and the soul of the nation. If we were better acquainted with the forms of social life, which were prevalent in the cities of Ionia, and with which poetry necessarily stood in the closest union, we should be able to judge more definitely of its effects. The nature of things seems to show, that there, as in the mother country, they must have been sung at festivals and assemblies, whether public or private. This custom was so deeply fixed in the nation, that it continued long after these poems were committed to writing, and were thus accessible to a reader, and in fact, that it was declamation which continued to give them their full effect. We need but call to mind the remark, which Ion, the rhapsodist, makes to Socrates;[1] "I see the hearers now weep and now rise in passion, and appear as if deprived of sensation." If the rhapsodists, in an age when all that was divine in their art had passed away, and when they sung only for money, could produce such effects, how great must have been their influence in the period of their greatest glory!

Since the time of Homer, and chiefly through him, great changes in the relations of the class of bards necessarily took place; and the traces of such changes are still distinct. Originally they sang only their own compositions, but now it became the custom to sing those of others, which they had committed to memory. In that part of Asia which was inhabited by Greeks, and especially at Chios, where Homer is said to have lived,[2] a particular school of bards was formed which, even among the ancients, were known by the name of the Homeridæ. Whether these consisted originally of the family relations of the poet, is a question of no interest; it became the name of those rhapsodists, who sang the poems of Homer, or those attributed to him. They are therefore distinguished from the earlier rhapsodists by this, that they sang not their own works, but those of another; and this appears to have been the first change, which was effected, though without design, by Homer. But we may find, in the gradual progress of the cities, and the modes of living in them, a chief cause of a change in the rhapsodists, which could not be very advantageous for them. In these cities, there may have been houses of the opulent, and public halls,[1] in which they could recite; but they found no longer the dwellings of heroes and kings. Little confidence as we may place in the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus, and several other writings; it is still remarkable, that all unite in describing the fortunes of the poet during his lifetime, as by no means splendid. But his songs continued to live, and, probably in the very first century after the poet, were carried by Lycurgus into the Peloponnesus; and from the same school, other epic poets also started up, whose works have been overwhelmed by the stream of time.[2] A happy accident has preserved for us the general contents of a few of them;[3] but, though these accounts are meagre, we may still infer from them, that even among the ancients, they were chiefly of interest to the professed student of literature, and that they never gained any claim to be called national poems. But the works of these, and so many others, of whom we know only the names, show how gener-

[1] Plat. Op. iv. p. 190.

[2] According to the well-known passage in the hymn to Apollo, cited by Thucydides, iii. 104. "A blind man; he dwells on the rocky Chios; and his songs are the first among men." Even if this hymn be not by Homer, (the age of Thucydides esteemed it certainly his,) it must have been composed in an age which approached that of Homer. That Homer was an inhabitant of Chios, is an account, for the truth of which we have no guaranty but tradition. But that tradition is a very ancient one, and the account contains nothing which is in itself improbable, or which should induce us to doubt its accuracy.

[1] The λέσχαι. We are almost involuntarily reminded of similar appearances, which marked the decline of the poetry of chivalry, in the age of those whom we commonly call our master singers. The inquiry might be made, whether the relations of city life had an equal influence on the school or fraternity of rhapsodists, who separated themselves still more observably from the rest of society?

[2] The Cyclic poets, as they are called, who treated subjects of mythological tradition, or the cyclus of traditions respecting the Trojan expedition. See on this subject, Excurs. i. ad Æneid. L. ii. ed. Heynii.

[3] In the selections of Proclus, in Bibl. d. alten Litt. und Kunst. St. i. Inedita, p. 1, etc. These are, 1. The Cyprian poem, probably by Stasinus of Cyprus. It contained, in eleven books, the earlier events of the Trojan war before the action of the Iliad. 2. The Æthiopis of Arctinus the Melesian; containing, in five books, the expedition and death of Memnon. 3. The small Iliad of Lesches of Mitylene; embracing, in four books, the contention of Ajax and Ulysses, till the preparation of the Trojan horse. 4. The destruction of Troy (Ἰλίου πέρσις) of Arctinus, in two books. 5. The return of the heroes (νοστοι) of Augias, in five books. 6. The Telegoniad, or fates of Ulysses after his return, by Eugammon, in two books. The contents of these poems, as here given, show, that no one of them can be compared, in point of plan, with the epopees of Homer. But these poems must also for a long time have been preserved by song alone; for their authors, although somewhat younger than Homer, still lived in times, when, according to all that we know, letters were but litte used, or perhaps entirely unknown.

ally epic poetry was extended among the nation. After the epic language had once been perfected by Homer, it remained peculiar to this kind of poetry; and when we read the works of much later poets, of Quintus, or of Nonnus, we might believe ourselves employed on authors many centuries older than they, had we not other evidence beside their language to fix the period in which they lived. That the dialect of Homer remained the principal one for this class of poetry, had an important influence on Grecian literature. Amidst all the changes and improvements in language, it prevented the ancient from becoming antiquated, and secured it a place among the later modes of expression. This was a gain for the language and for the nation. With the dialect of Homer, his spirit continued in some measure to live among the epic poets. Language cannot of itself make a poet; but yet how much depends on language! If in those later poets we occasionally hear echoes of Homer, is it not sometimes his spirit which addresses us?

But his influence on the spirit of his countrymen was much more important than his influence on their language. He had delineated the world of heroes in colours which can never fade. He had made it present to posterity; and thus the artist and the tragic poet found a sphere opened for the employment of their powers of representation. And the scenes from which they drew their subjects, could not have remained foreign to their countrymen. We do but touch on this subject, in order to say something on the point which lies particularly within the circle of our inquiries; the influence which Homer and the epic poets exercised on the political character of their countrymen.

When we compare the scanty fragments which are still extant, respecting the circulation and preservation of the poems of Homer, it is remarkable that in Hellas itself, the lawgivers and rulers were the most active in making them known and in saving them from perishing. Lycurgus, we are told, was the first who introduced them into the Peloponnesus by means of the rhapsodists; Solon esteemed the subject so important, that in his code of laws, he formed distinct regulations, in conformity to which it seems probable that the several rhapsodies were recited, not as before without method, but in their natural order, by several rhapsodists,

who relieved each other. All this prepared for the undertaking of Pisistratus; who, according to the accounts of the ancients, not only arranged the poems of Homer, but gained a claim to the eternal gratitude of posterity, by committing them to writing.[1]

This care in those illustrious men did not result from a mere admiration of poetry. That it was connected with political views, if such confirmation were needed, appears from the circumstance, that Solon took notice of it in his laws. Were we to form a judgment on this subject from the narrow views of our own times, it would seem strange, that they who founded or confirmed the government of a number, even a democracy, should have laboured to extend the productions of a bard, who was opposed to their principles, and declares his political creed without disguise;[2] "no good comes of the government of the many; let one be ruler, and one be king;" and in whose works, as we have already remarked, republicanism finds no support. But their views were not so limited. Their object was not to confirm, by means of the poet, their own institutions and their own laws. They desired to animate their nation with a love for excellence and sublimity. Poetry and song, indissolubly united, seemed to them the fittest means of gaining that end. These had the greatest influence on the intellectual culture of the people. And if that culture lay within the sphere of the Grecian lawgivers, (and it always did, though in different degrees,) of what importance in their eyes must that poet have been, whose poems, above all others, were recited by the class of rhapsodists, that lent a glory to the national festivals and assemblies? Solon, himself one of the first of moral poets, could not but perceive, how much experience and knowledge of the world are contained in those books, with which youth is begun, and to which age returns. No fear was entertained, lest the narrations respecting the gods should be injurious to morals; although that fear afterwards induced Plato to banish them from his republic; the philosopher, who but for Homer never could have become Plato. For, as we have already remarked, the gods were not held up as models for imitation. But whilst the people

[1] The passages in proof of this are collected and duly weighed in the Prolegomena of Wolf, p. 139, etc. [2] Il. ii. 204.

was enriching itself with that infinite treasure of practical wisdom, it continued at the same time to live in a world of heroes, and to preserve living sensibility to the great and the noble. Of this it is impossible to estimate the consequences, the gain of the nation as a nation, by the encouragement of its warlike spirit, by the preservation of its love of liberty and independence. In one respect, those lawgivers were unquestionably in the right; a nation, of which the culture rested on the Iliad and Odyssey, could not easily be reduced to a nation of slaves.

CHAPTER VII.

MEANS OF PRESERVING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

THE Greeks, though divided at home, and extended widely in foreign countries, always considered themselves as forming but one nation. The character of the Hellenes was no where obliterated; the citizen of Massilia and Byzantium retained it no less than the Spartan and Athenian. The name barbarian, although it was applied to all who were not Greeks, conveyed a secondary idea, which was closely interwoven with the Grecian character; that they esteemed themselves more cultivated than the rest of the world. It was not that gross kind of national pride, which despises all foreigners because they are foreigners; even where it was in itself unjust, its origin was a just one.

But this higher culture could never have remained a bond of national union, the different tribes of the Hellenes possessed it in such different degrees. External marks were therefore needed. These were afforded by two things; by language, and certain institutions sanctioned by religion.

Various and different as were the dialects of the Hellenes,[1] —and these differences existed not only among the various tribes, but even among the several neighbouring cities,— they yet acknowledged in their language, that they formed but one nation, were but branches of the same family.

[1] See what Herodotus says of the dialects of the Grecian cities in Asia, i. 142.

Those who were not Greeks, were described even by Homer,[1] as "men of other tongues;" and yet Homer had no general name for the nation. But though the bond of a common language may be a natural and an indissoluble one, something more is required to make it serve as the bond of national union. The language must be not merely the instrument of communicating thoughts; for it is that to every savage; something must exist in it, which may be regarded as the common property of the nation, because it is precious and dear to them; the works of poets, and next to them, of prose writers, which are admired, listened to, and read by all. It is such productions which make a language peculiarly valuable to a nation. The national spirit and manner of thinking and feeling, are expressed in them; the nation beholds in them its own portrait; and sees the continuance of its spirit among future generations secured. They form not only its common property, in which, according to the fullest meaning of the phrase, each tribe has its undisputed share; they form its most sublime, its noblest, its least perishable property.[2] In what a light, therefore, do Homer and those who trod in his footsteps appear, when they are considered from this point of view. Their poems, listened to and admired by all who used the Greek language, reminded the inhabitants of Hellas, of Ionia, and of Sicily, in the liveliest manner, that they were brothers. When we consider the long series of ages, during which the poems of Homer and the Homeridæ were the only common possession of the Hellenes, it may even be made a question, whether without them they would have remained a nation.[3] National poetry was therefore the bond, which held them together; but this bond was strengthened by another, by that of religion.

Unlike the religions of the East, the religion of the Hellenes was supported by no sacred books, was connected with no peculiar doctrines; it could not therefore serve, like the former, to unite a nation by means of a common religious creed; but it was fitted for gaining that end, in so

[1] Βαρβαρόφωνοι. Il. ii. 867.
[2] See Heeren's Essay on the means of preserving the nationality of a conquered people. Historische Werke, B. ii. l. 1, etc.
[3] And how would the Greeks constitute a nation but for their poetry and literature?

far as the external rites of religion afforded opportunities. But as the nation had no caste of priests, nor even a united order of priesthood, it naturally followed, that though individual temples could in a certain degree become national temples, this must depend, for the most part, on accidental circumstances; and where every thing was voluntary, nothing could be settled by established forms like those which prevailed in other countries. The temples at Olympia, Delos, and Delphi, may justly be denominated national temples, although not in the same sense in which we call those of the Jews and the Egyptians national; but their effects were perhaps only more considerable and more secure, because every thing connected with them was voluntary. The fruits of civilization came forth, and were matured, under the protection of these sanctuaries also; though not in the same manner as in Egypt and Ethiopia;[1] and when we hear of national festivals,[2] oracles, and Amphictyonic assemblies, other ideas are connected with them, than were awakened by the temples in the countries just named. But let it not be forgotten, that all these fruits, of which we must make mention separately, ripened on one and the same branch; that they, therefore, closely united, could ripen only together; that by this very means they gained a higher value in the eyes of the nation; and that this value must be estimated by their influence, rather than by what they were in themselves.

We shall hardly be mistaken, if we consider those sanctuaries the most ancient, which were celebrated for their oracles. Those of Dodona and Delphi were declared to be so by the voice of the nation; and both of them, especially that of Delphi, were so far superior to the rest, that they are in some measure to be esteemed as the only national oracles.[3]

[1] Heeren. Ideen. etc. Th. ii. 487, etc.

[2] The Greek word for them, is *πανηγύρεις*.

[3] The number of Grecian oracles, constantly increasing, became, as is well known, exceedingly numerous. With the exception of that of Dodona, which was of Egyptio-Pelasgic origin, the oracles of the Greeks were almost exclusively connected with the worship of Apollo. We know of more than fifty of his oracles (see Bulenger de oraculis et vatibus, in Thes. Ant. Gr. vol. vii.); of the few others, the more celebrated owed their origin to the same god, as those of Mopsus and Trophonius, to whom he had imparted the gift of prophesying. How much of the rites of religion among the Hellenes depended on the religion of Apollo. New light is shed on this subject by C. O. Müller, in his volume on the Dorians, i. 199.

Olympia, it is true, had originally an oracle also;[1] but from unknown causes, it became hushed, probably just after the distinguished success of the oracles of Apollo. We leave to others all further investigation of these institutions; the question which claims our attention, is, how far they contributed to preserve the spirit and the union of the nation. They did not effect this by being regarded as intended only for the Hellenes. Foreigners also were permitted to consult the oracles; and to recompense the answers which they received by consecrated presents. But this took place only in individual cases; and was done probably by none but rulers and kings, from the time when Alyattes first made application at Delphi.[2] In other cases, the difference of language was alone sufficient to keep foreigners away, as the Pythian priestess spoke always in Greek. These institutions belonged, if not exclusively, yet principally to the Hellenes; of whom both individuals and cities could always have access to them. They formed the connecting link between politics and the popular religion. Their great political influence, especially in the states of the Doric race, is too well known from history to make it necessary for us to adduce proofs of it. That influence doubtless became less after the Persian wars. Whether this diminution of influence was injurious or advantageous cannot easily be decided. When the reciprocal hatred of the Athenians and Spartans excited them to the fury of civil war, how much suffering would have been spared to Greece, if the voice of the gods had been able to avert the storm. But the affairs of the Delphic temple were still considered as the concern of the Grecian nation; and even after infidelity had usurped the place of the ancient superstition, the violation of the sanctuary gave the politicians a pretence, sufficient to kindle a civil war, which was destined to cost Greece its liberties.

Among the numerous festivals which the several Grecian cities were accustomed to celebrate, there were some, which, from causes that are no longer well known, or were perhaps quite accidental, soon became really national. At these, foreigners could be spectators; but the Hellenes alone were permitted to contend for the prizes. The right to do so belonged to the inhabitant of the farthest colony, as well as of

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 542. [2] Herod. i. 9.

the mother country, and was esteemed inalienable and invaluable. Even princes were proud of the privilege, for which the Persian king himself would have sued in vain, of sending their chariots to the races of Olympia. Every one has learned from the hymns of Pindar, that, beside the Olympic contests, the Pythian games at Delphi, the Nemean at Argos, and the Isthmian at Corinth, belong to the same class. As to the origin of these games, Homer does not make mention of them, which he would hardly have neglected to do, if they had existed or been famous in his day. Yet the foundation of them was laid in so remote a period of antiquity, that it is attributed to gods and heroes. Uncertain as are these traditions, it is remarkable, that a different origin is attributed to each one of them. Those of Olympia were instituted by Hercules, on his victorious return, and were designed as contests in bodily strength; those of Delphi were in their origin nothing but musical exercises; although others were afterwards added to them. Those of Nemea were originally funeral games; respecting the occasion of instituting those of the Isthmus, there are different accounts.[1]

But whatever may have been the origin of the games, they became national ones. This did not certainly take place at once; and we should err, if we should apply the accounts given us of the Olympic games in the flourishing periods of Greece, to the earlier ages. On the contrary, from the accurate registers which were kept by the judges, we learn most distinctly, with respect to these games, that they gained their importance and character by degrees.[2] They have not forgotten to mention, when the different kinds of contests (for at first there were none but in racing) were permitted and adopted. But still these games gained importance, although it was only by degrees; and the time came, when they merited to be celebrated by a Pindar.

In this manner, therefore, these festivals, and the games connected with them, received a national character. They were peculiar to the Grecians; and on that account also

[1] All the passages on the origin and the arrangements of the games, may be found collected in Schmidtii Prolegomenis ad Pindarum; Potter's Archaeologia; and Corsini Dissertationes agonisticæ; and others.

[2] See Pausanias in Eliacis, l. v. 9.

were of great utility. "Those are justly praised," Isocrates[1] very happily observes, "who instituted these famous assemblies, and thus made it customary for us to come together as allies, having set aside our hostilities; to increase our friendship by recalling our relationship in our common vows and sacrifices; to renew our ancient family friendships, and to form new ones. They have provided, that neither the unpolished nor the well educated should leave the games without profit; but that in this assembly of the Hellenes in one place, some may display their wealth, and others observe the contests, and none be present without a purpose, but each have something of which to boast; the one part, while they see those engaged in the contests making exertions on their account; the other, when they consider that all this concourse of people has assembled to be spectators of their contests."

The accounts which we read of the splendour of these games, especially of the Olympic, where the nation of the Hellenes appeared in its glory, give a high idea of them. And yet it was public opinion, far more than the reality, which gave to the crown of victory its value. The glory of being conqueror in them, was the highest with which the Grecian was acquainted; it conferred honour, not only on him who won the palm, but on his family and on his native city. He was not honoured in Olympia alone; his victory was the victory of his native place; here he was solemnly received; new festivals were instituted on his account; he had afterwards a right of living at the public charge in the prytanea. A victory at Olympia, says Cicero with truth,[2] rendered the victor illustrious, no less than his consulate the Roman consul. The tournaments of the middle age were something similar; or might have become something similar, if the relations of society had not prevented. But as a distinct line of division was drawn between the classes, they became interesting to but one class. Birth decided who could take a part in them, and who were excluded. There was nothing of that among the Hellenes. The lowest of the people could join at Olympia in the contest for the branch of the sacred olive tree, as well as Alcibiades, or even the ruler of Syracuse with all the splendour of his equipage.

[1] Isocrates. Panegyr. Op. p. 49, Steph.

[2] Cicero. Quæst. Tusc. ii. 17.

The influence on the political relations of the Grecian states, was perhaps not so great as Isocrates represents. A solemnity of a few days could hardly be sufficient to cool the passions and still the mutual enmities of the several tribes. History mentions no peace, which was ever negotiated, and still less which was ever concluded at Olympia. But so much the greater was the influence exercised over the culture of the nation; and if the culture of a nation decides its character, our plan requires of us to pause and consider it.

In all their institutions, when they are considered in the light in which the Greeks regarded them, we shall commonly find proofs of the noble dispositions of the Hellenes. And these are to be observed in the games, where every thing which was in itself beautiful and glorious; bodily strength and skill in boxing; wrestling, and running; the splendour of opulence, as displayed in the equipages for the chariot races; excellence in poetry, and soon also in other intellectual productions, were here rewarded, each with its prize. But the degree of importance assigned to the productions of mind was not every where the same. Musical contests,[1] in which the Greeks united poetry, song, and music, were common in those larger games, as well as in those hardly less splendid ones, which were instituted in the several cities. But there was a difference in their relative importance. At Olympia, though they were not entirely excluded, they were yet less essential;[2] they formed from the beginning the primary object in the Pythian games. They held the same rank in several festivals of the smaller cities, in the Panathenæa at Athens, in Delos,[3] at Epidaurus,

[1] The Greeks made a distinction between *ἀγῶνες γυμνικοὶ* and *μουσικοί*. The former relate to the exercises of the body; the latter, to the works of genius; that is, to poetry, and whatever was connected with it. At these festivals it never entered the mind of the Greeks to institute prizes for competitors in the arts of design; at least not in the plastic art. (Pliny, however, mentions a competition of painters, xxxv. 35.) The cause of this may in part be, that those arts were not so soon brought to perfection as the former ones; but the cause was rather that the Greeks conceived it proper to institute competition only in those arts, of which the results were temporary; and not in those, of which the productions are exhibited in public, and are lasting; for in them, as in sculpture for example, there is a constant exhibition, and therefore a constant emulation.

[2] See the instructive Versuch von den musicalischen Wettstreiten der Alten, which is to be found in der neuen Bibl. der Schönen Wissenschaften, B. vii.

[3] The musical contests in Delos, with which gymnastic exercises soon came

Ephesus, and other places. But even where no actual competition took place, every one who felt possessed of sufficient talents, was permitted to come forward with the productions of art. The rhapsodist and the performer on the flute, the lyric poet, the historian, and the orator, had each his place. The hymns of Pindar were chanted in honour of the victors, not in emulation of others; and Herodotus had no rival when he read the books of his history at Olympia. The Hellenes made room for every thing which was glorious and beautiful, and it was especially at Olympia and Delphi, that the observer of the character of the Greeks could justly break forth in exclamations of admiring astonishment.

The Amphictyonic assemblies, as they were called by the Grecians, appear to have exercised a still greater influence on political union.[1] Under that name the assemblies are signified, that were held in some common temple by several tribes which occupied the territory round it, or by neighbouring cities, in order to consult on the affairs connected with the sanctuary, and on others of a more general nature. It was therefore characteristic of these assemblies, first, that a temple or sanctuary formed their central point; further, that several tribes or cities participated in them; thirdly, that assemblies of the people, festivals, and, of course, games were connected with them; and fourthly, that besides these popular assemblies and festivals, deputies under various names, (Theori, Pylagoræ,) were sent by the several states which participated in them, to deliberate on subjects of common interest. We shall be able to see these institutions in their true light, after taking a view of the origin of temples in Greece.

As soon as the manners of cities were distinctly formed with the Greeks, and the individual cities in the mother country, no less than in the colonies, had for the most part

to be connected, were the most ancient Ionic national games; as Thucydides, iii. 104, has already proved from the Homeric hymn to Apollo. They were originally connected with the service of that god, and were communicated with it by the Ionians to the Dorians. Hence they were not regarded at Olympia, Nemea, and on the Isthmus, as forming an essential part of the solemnity.

[1] The Greek word is sometimes spelt *ἀμφικτίονες*, those who dwell round about, sometimes *ἀμφικτυονες*, from the hero Amphictyon, called by tradition the founder of the same.

become rich by means of commerce and industry in the arts, temples were built by single towns. Beside this, as we shall show more fully in another place, the luxury of the public was connected almost exclusively with these temples, and they were to serve as the measure of the splendour and wealth of the respective cities. The building of temples, therefore, became, especially after the Persian wars, and even a century before them, a matter, in which the honour of the cities was concerned, and their public spirit was exhibited. In this manner that multitude of temples arose, which still present, in their numerous ruins, master-pieces of architecture. But it was not and could not have been so in the earliest times. The building of a temple was then commonly a joint undertaking; partly because these temples, however they may have been inferior to the later ones,[1] were still too costly to be erected by the separate communities; and partly and chiefly because such common sanctuaries were needed for celebrating the common festivals of each tribe.

Such a sanctuary formed in some measure a point of union. It was an object of common care; it became necessary to watch over the temple itself, its estates, and its possessions; and as this could not be done by the several communities at large, what was more natural, than to depute envoys for the purpose? But in a nation where every thing was freely developed, and so little was fixed by established forms, it could not but happen, that other affairs of general interest should occasionally be discussed; either at the popular festivals, or in the assemblies of the delegates; and that is the most probable, as the allies considered themselves, for the most part, as branches of the same nation. They became therefore the points of political union; the idea of a formal alliance was not yet connected with them, but might be expected from their maturity.

We find traces of such Amphictyonic assemblies in Greece itself, and in the colonies.[2] Their origin, especially in the

[1] See what Pausanias, x. p. 810, says of the temples, which were successively built at Delphi.

[2] A catalogue of them, which might perhaps be enlarged, has been given by St. Croix, *Des anciens Gouvernements federatifs*, p. 115, etc. We follow him, as it will afford, at the same time, proofs of what has been said above. There was such an Amphictyonia in Bœotia, at Orchestus, in a temple of Neptune; in

mother country, is very ancient; and we may in most cases assert, and with justice, that it belongs to the period, when the republican forms of government were not yet introduced, and the constitutions of the tribes were in vigour. For we find that those who shared in them, were much more frequently influenced to assemble by tribes than by cities. And this affords an obvious reason, why they lost their influence as the nation advanced in culture, except where peculiar causes operated to preserve them. In the flourishing period of Greece, most of them had become mere antiquities, which were only occasionally mentioned; or, if they continued in the popular festivals which were connected with them, (and popular festivals are always longest preserved,) they were but bodies without soul. This result was a necessary one, since, on the downfal of the constitutions of the tribes, the whole political life of the nation was connected with the cities, the spirit of the tribes had become annihilated by the spirit of the cities, and each of the cities had erected its own temples.

Yet of these Amphictyonic councils, one rose to a higher degree of importance, and always preserved a certain measure of dignity; so that it was called, by way of eminence, the Amphictyonic council. This was the one held at Delphi and Thermopylæ.[1] When we bear in mind the ideas which have just been illustrated, we shall hardly be led to expect, that the nation, in its whole extent, would ever have been united by any common bond; and still less that this bond should have been more closely drawn with the progress of time, and finally have united all the Grecian states in one political

Attica, in a temple, of which the name is not mentioned; at Corinth, on the isthmus, in the temple of Neptune; in the island Caluria, near Argolis, also in a temple of Neptune; another in Argolis, in the celebrated temple of Juno (*Ἡραῖον*); in Elis, in a temple of Neptune; also on the Grecian islands; in Eubœa, in the temple of Diana Amaurusia; in Delos, in the temple of Apollo, the Panegyris, of which we have already made mention, and which served for all the neighbouring islands; in Asia, the Panionium at Mycale, afterwards at Ephesus, for the Ionians; the temple of Apollo Triopius for the Dorians; for the Æolians, the temple of Apollo Grynæus. Even the neighbouring Asiatic tribes, the Carians and the Lycians, had similar institutions, either peculiar, or adopted of the Greeks. The proofs of these accounts may be found collected in the above mentioned author.

[1] According to Strabo, ix. p. 289, it does not appear that the assembly was held alternately at Delphi and Thermopylæ; but the deputies first came together at Thermopylæ to sacrifice to Ceres; and then proceeded to Delphi, where business was transacted.

body. But this Amphictyonic assembly contributed much to the preserving of national feeling and national unity, and as such deserves to be considered by us with more attention.

Strabo concedes,[1] that even in his time it was impossible to ascertain the origin of the Amphictyonic assembly; this however was certain, that it belonged to remote antiquity. We must here remark, that Homer does not make any mention of it; and yet Homer speaks of the wealthy Delphi;[2] and although his silence affords no proof that it did not exist, we may at least infer, that the council was not then so important as at a later day. The causes which made this Amphictyonia so much superior to all the rest, are not expressly given; but should we err, if we were to look for them in the ever-increasing dignity and influence of the Delphic oracle? When we call to mind the great importance attached to the liberty of consulting this oracle, scarcely a doubt on the subject can remain. The states which were members of this Amphictyonia, had no exclusive right to that privilege; but had the care of the temple, and therefore of the oracle, in their hands.[3] No ancient writer has preserved for us so accurate an account of the regulations of that institution, that all important questions respecting them can be answered; and those who speak of them do not agree with each other. But from a comparison of their statements, we may infer, that though this Amphictyonia did not by any means embrace the whole of the Hellenes, yet the most considerable states of the mother country and of Asia Minor took part in it. According to Æschines,[4] there were twelve of them (although he enumerates but eleven); Thessalians, Bœotians, (not the Thebans only, he expressly remarks,) Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians,

[1] Strabo, l. c. The special inquiries on this subject may be found discussed in the prize Essay of Tittman, on the Amphictyonic League. Berlin, 1812.

[2] Il. ix. 404, 405. Homer calls it Pytho.

[3] Individual states obtained the right of being the first to consult the oracle, *προμαντεία*, and this right was valued very highly.

[4] Æschines de Falsâ Legatione, iii. p. 285, ed. Reisk. This is the most important passage. St. Croix, p. 27, has compared the discrepant accounts of Pausanias, x. p. 815, and Harpocration, v. *Αμφικτύονες*. The authority of Æschines respecting his own times, seems to me of more weight than all the others, and therefore I follow him alone. No man had better means of information than he. But many changes in the regulations were subsequently made by the Macedonians and the Romans.

Magnesians, Phthiotians, Maleans,[1] Phocians, Œtæans, Locrians; the twelfth state was probably the Dolopians.[2] Every city belonging to these tribes, had the right of sending deputies; the smallest had an equal right with the largest; and the votes of all were equal; of the Ionians, says Æschines, the deputies from Eretria in Eubœa and from Priene in Asia Minor,[3] were equal to those from Athens; of the Dorians, those from Dorium in Laconia, and from Cytinium on Parnassus, had as much weight as those from Lacedæmon. But the votes were not counted by cities, but by tribes; each tribe had two votes, and the majority decided.[4]

And how large was the sphere of action, in which this assembly was accustomed to exert its influence? Its first duty was to take charge of the temple; its property; its presents, the offerings of piety; its sanctity. From this it naturally follows, that the assembly possessed judiciary powers. Persons who had committed sacrilege on the temple, were summoned before its tribunal, where judgment was passed and the acts of penance and punishment decreed.[5] But to these, political objects were added at a very early period; such as the preservation of peace among the confederates, and the accommodating of contentions, which had arisen. We have, it is true, no proof, that those who participated in the assembly considered themselves as nearly allied to each other; but it is as little doubtful, that under the protection of this sanctuary, certain ideas arose and were diffused, which might be considered as forming, in some

[1] The four last were all in Thessaly. The reason of their being thus distinguished from the rest of the Thessalians is probably to be found in the privilege, which they had preserved, of a separate vote. Herodotus, vii. 132, divides them in the same manner.

[2] Heeren, p. 39.

[3] It is therefore certain, that the individual colonies in Asia Minor participated in the assembly. We might suggest the question, whether all the Asiatic colonies, and whether colonies in other regions, did the same.

[4] For all further knowledge which we have of the regulations of the Amphictyonic council, we are indebted to Strabo, ix. p. 289. According to him each city sent a deputy. These assembled twice a year, at the equinoxes. We are ignorant of the length of the sessions of the assembly, whether any definite time was fixed for them, or not; and of many other things respecting them.

[5] As for instance, against the Phocians at the beginning of the last sacred war; and afterwards against the Locrians. Demosthenes has preserved for us two of these decrees, (*δόγματα*,) Op. i. p. 278. Reisk. From them we learn the forms in which they were written.

measure, the foundation of a system of national law, although it was never brought to maturity. Of this we have indisputable proof in the ancient oaths, which were taken by all the members of the assembly, and which have been preserved by Æschines.[1] "I read," says the orator, "in the assembly the oaths, to which the heaviest imprecations were attached; and by which our ancestors[2] were obliged to promise never to destroy any one of the Amphictyonic cities,[3] nor to cut off their streams,[4] whether in war or in peace; should any city dare, notwithstanding, to do so, to take up arms against it and lay it waste; and if any one should sin against the god, or form any scheme against the sanctuary, to oppose him with hand and foot, and word and deed." This form of oath, it cannot be doubted, was very ancient, and expresses with sufficient clearness the original objects of the confederation. But it shows equally distinctly, that the attainment of these ends depended much more on the circumstances and condition of the age, than on the members of the council themselves.

To him who measures the value of this assembly only by the influence which it had in preventing wars among the tribes that took part in it, its utility may seem very doubtful; as history has preserved no proofs of such influence. But even if it had existed in the earliest ages, it must have ceased of itself, when individual states of Greece became so powerful, as to assume a supremacy over the rest. Sparta and Athens referred the decision of their quarrels to Delphi, as little as Prussia and Austria to Ratisbon. But it would be wrong to impute the blame of this to the members of the council. They had no strong arm, except when the god extended his to protect them; or some other power took arms in their behalf. But it is a high degree of merit to preserve principles in the memory of the nations, even when it is impossible to prevent their violation. And when we observe that several ideas relating to the law of nations, were indelibly imprinted on the character of the Greeks; if in the midst of all their civil wars, they never laid waste any Grecian city, even when it was subdued; ought we not

[1] Æschines, l. c. p. 284. [2] Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.
[3] Ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι, to render uninhabitable, by removing its inhabitants.
[4] By means of which they would have become uninhabitable.

attribute this in some measure to the Amphictyonic assembly? They had it not in their power to preserve peace; but they contributed to prevent the Grecians from forgetting, even in war, that they still were Grecians.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

SINCE the Trojan war, no opportunity had been presented to the Greek nation, of acting as one people in any equal and common undertaking. The institutions which we have just described, preserved, in a certain degree, the national spirit; but they were by no means sufficient to produce political union; any tendency to which was counteracted by the whole condition and internal relations of the nation. Even the colonies were unfavourable to it; not only by their distance, but still more by the independence which they enjoyed. In our days, how soon do colonies which become independent, grow estranged from the mother countries, after having long stood in the closest connexion with her.

In the century which preceded the Persian war,[1] the Grecian states, excepting the Asiatic cities, which languished under the Persian yoke, had in many respects made advances in culture. Freedom had been triumphantly established in almost every part[2] of the mother country. The tyrants who had usurped power in the cities, had been overthrown in part by the Spartans, in part by the citizens themselves; and popular governments had been introduced in their stead. Above all, Athens had shaken off the Pisistratidæ; and it came off victorious from the contest which it had been obliged to sustain for its liberty. It enjoyed the full consciousness of its youthful energies; "Athens," Herodotus says,[3] "which before was great, when freed from its usurpers

[1] Between the years 600 and 500 before the Christian era.
[2] Thessaly was an exception, where the government of the Aleuadæ still continued, although it was tottering; for which reason they, like the Pisistratidæ, invited the Persians into Greece. Herod. vii. 6. [3] Herod. v. 66.

became still greater." At the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, Sparta had, for the first time, undertaken to exert an influence beyond the Peloponnesus; Corinth also had, for eighty-four years,[1] been in possession of freedom; and a similar advantage had been gained by several of the less powerful cities, by Sicyon[2] and Epidaurus. The islands, no less than the continent, were in a flourishing condition; their independence stood at that time in no danger from the Persians or the Athenians. Samos never saw an age like that of Polycrates, who trembled at his own prosperity;[3] the small island of Naxus could muster eight thousand heavy-armed men;[4] the inconsiderable Siphnus, very much enriched by its gold mines, deemed it expedient to consult the Pythian oracle on the duration of its fortunes.[5] The cities of Magna Græcia, Tarentum, Croton, and Sybaris,[6] had attained the period of their splendour; in Sicily, Syracuse, although disturbed by internal dissensions, was yet so powerful that Gelon, its ruler, claimed in the Persian wars the chief command of all the Grecian forces; Marseilles arose on the shores of Gaul; Cyrene was established on the coast of Libya.

But some grand object of common interest still was wanting; and as the Spartans were already jealous of Athens, it was the more to be feared, that the consciousness of increasing strength would lead to nothing but the mutual ruin of the cities in civil wars. The Persian wars supplied the object which was needed. Although they by no means resulted in the establishment of that general union of the whole nation of the Hellenes, of which a great man had formed the idea without believing in the possibility of realizing it; the whole condition of Greece in succeeding ages, its foreign and for the most part its domestic relations, were all a consequence of them; and we do not say too much, when we assert, that the political character of Greece was formed by them.

There never was any general union of the Greeks against the Persians; but the idea of such a confederation had been

[1] The year 584 before Christ.
[2] From about the year 600 B. C. Epidaurus at the same time.
[3] Herod. iii. 72. [4] Herod. v. 30. [5] Pausan. Phoc. p. 628.
[6] Herod. vi. 127. Yet Sybaris was destroyed just before the Persian wars, by the Crotoniatæ, in the year 510 before Christ.

called up; and was, if not entirely, yet in a great measure, carried into effect. What is more arduous, than in times of great difficulty, when every one fears for himself, and is chiefly concerned for self-preservation, to preserve among a multitude of small states, that public spirit and union, in which all strength consists. The Athenians were left almost alone to repel the first invasion of Darius Hystaspes; but the glory won at Marathon was not sufficient to awaken general enthusiasm, when greater danger threatened from the invasion of Xerxes. All the Thessalians, the Locrians, and Bœotians, except the cities of Thespiæ and Plateæ, sent earth and water to the Persian king at the first call to submit; although these tokens of subjection were attended by the curses of the rest of the Greeks, and the vow that a tithe of their estates should be devoted to the deity of Delphi.[1] Yet of the rest of the Greeks, who did not favour Persia, some were willing to assist only on condition of being appointed to conduct and command the whole;[2] others, if their country could be the first to be protected;[3] others sent a squadron, which was ordered to wait till it was certain which side would gain the victory;[4] and others pretended they were held back by the declarations of an oracle.[5] So true is the remark of Herodotus, that, however ill it might be taken by others, he was constrained to declare, that Greece was indebted for its freedom to Athens.[6] Athens, with Themistocles for its leader, gave life to the courage of the other states; induced them to lay aside their quarrels; yielded, where it was duty to yield;[7] and always relied on

[1] Herod. vii. 132.
[2] Gelon of Syracuse; Herod. vii. 158. On this condition, he promised to produce an army of 28,000 men, well equipped; a fleet of 200 triremes, and as much grain as was desired. "Of truth," answered the Lacedæmonian ambassador, "Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, would remonstrate loudly, were he to hear that the chief command had been taken from the Spartans, by Gelon the Syracusan." And when Gelon declared, that he would be content with the command by sea, the Athenian envoy quickly replied, "King of Syracuse, Hellas has sent us to you, not because it needs a general, but because it needs an army."
[3] The Thessalians, who had however already surrendered. Herod. vii. 172.
[4] The Corcyræans; Herod. vii. 168.
[5] The Cretans; Herod. vii. 169.
[6] Herod. vii. 139. A noble testimony in favour of Athens, and at the same time, of the free spirit and impartiality of Herodotus. "I must here," says this lover of truth, "express to all Greece, an opinion, which to most men is odious; but yet that, which to me seems the truth, I will not conceal."
[7] As at Artemisium; Herod. viii. 3.

its own strength, while it seemed to expect safety from all. Hope was not disappointed in the result; the battle of Salamis gave a new impulse to the spirit of the Greeks; and when in the following year[1] the battle of Plateæ gave a decision to the contest, the greater part of Hellas was assembled in the field of battle.[2]

We would give no description of those glorious days, but only of the consequences which they had for Greece. In the actions of men, greatness is seldom or never quite unmixed with meanness; and he who investigates the actions of those times with care, will find many and various proofs of it. And yet in the whole compass of history, we can find no series of events, which deserve to be compared with the grand spectacle then exhibited; and with all the exaggerations of the orators and poets, the feeling of pride with which the Greek reflected on his achievements was a just one. A small country had withstood the attack of half a continent; it had not only saved the most costly possessions, which were endangered, its freedom, its independence; it felt itself strong enough to continue the contest, and did not lay aside its arms, till it was permitted to prescribe the conditions of peace.

The price of that peace, was the emancipation of the Greek colonies in Asia from Persian supremacy. Twenty years before the invasion of Xerxes, when those cities had attempted to throw off the Persian yoke, the Athenians had boldly ventured to send a squadron with troops to reinforce them; and that expedition occasioned the burning of Sardis, which was the capital of the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. "These ships," says Herodotus,[3] "were the origin of the wars between the Hellenes and the barbarians." This interference was deeply resented by the Persians; and their resentment would have been reasonable, if they had possessed the right of reducing free cities to a state of dependence. Herodotus has given a copious narration of the ill success of the revolt, and of the manner in which Miletus suffered for it. Even in the subsequent expeditions of the Persians against Europe, the ruling idea was the desire of taking revenge on Athens; and when Xerxes reduced that city to ashes, he may have found in it no small degree of satisfac-

[1] In the year 479 B. C. [2] Herod. ix. 28. [3] Herod. v. 97.

tion.[1] But when the victory remained in the hands of the Greeks, they continued with spirit a war, which for them was no longer a dangerous one; and if the emancipation of their countrymen became from that time nothing more than an ostensible reason,[2] it was still a proof of the reviving national spirit. When the war after fifty-one years was terminated by the first peace with the Persians,[3] it was done under the conditions, that the Grecian cities in Asia should be free; that the troops of the Persians should keep two days' march distant from them; and that their squadron should leave the Ægean sea.[4] In a similar manner, after a long and similar contest, emancipated Holland, in a more recent age, prescribed the conditions of peace to the ruler of both the Indies, and blockaded the mouths of his rivers, while it preserved the ocean open to itself.

Thus the people of Hellas, by means of this war, appeared among the nations in the splendour of victory. They were now permitted to look around in tranquil security; for who would venture to attack them. The Eastern world obeyed the humbled Persian; in the North, the kingdom of Macedonia had not yet begun its career of conquest; and Italy, still divided into small states, did not as yet contain a victorious republic. The period was therefore come, in which Greece could unfold all its youthful vigour; poetry and the fine arts put forth their blossoms; the philosophic mind contemplates itself in tranquillity; and in public spirit, the several cities vie with each other in generous competition. A nation does not need peace and tranquillity to become great; but it needs the consciousness that it is possessed of strength, to gain peace and tranquillity.

The Persian wars gave a character, not only to the relations of Greece with foreign countries, but also to its internal condition; and were of hardly less importance to the nation by means of the latter, than of the former. During

[1] Herod. viii. 54.
[2] The Asiatic Greeks, however, during the expedition of Xerxes, in which they were compelled to take a part with their ships, had entreated the Spartans and Athenians to free them. Herod. viii. 132.
[3] In the year 449 B. C., reckoning from the participation of the Persians in the insurrection of the Asiatic Greeks, under Aristagoras, in the year 500 B. C.
[4] Plutarch in Cimon. Op. iii. p. 202, quotes the decree of the people, containing the conditions. The formal treaty has in later days been questioned. Dahlman's Historical Inquiries, I. Yet war certainly ceased.

that contest, the idea of a supremacy, or ἡγεμονία, as the Greeks termed it, intrusted to one state over the rest, or usurped by that state, became current throughout Greece.

Even before the Persian war, the idea had been faintly expressed; Sparta had always, as the strongest of the Dorian tribes, asserted a sort of supremacy over the Peloponnesus; and had in some measure deserved it, by banishing the tyrants from the cities of that peninsula.[1]

In the common opposition, made by so many of the Grecian cities, to the attack of Xerxes, the want of a general leader was felt; but according to the Grecian rules, this command could not so well be committed to one man, as to one state. We have already observed, that several laid claims to it; those of Syracuse were at once rejected; and Athens was at once prudent and generous enough to yield. At that time, therefore, the honour was nominally conferred on Sparta; it was actually possessed by the state, of which the talents merited it; and Sparta had no Themistocles. But Athens soon gained it nominally also; when the haughtiness of Pausanias exasperated the confederates; and Sparta was deprived by his fall of the only man, who in those days could have reflected any lustre upon the state.[2]

In this manner, Athens was placed at the head of a large part of Greece, confederated against Persia; and from this moment its supremacy begins to have a practical importance for Greece. The circumstances under which this chief command was conferred on Athens, showed that nothing

[1] Thucyd. i. 18, 76.

[2] Of this we have accurate accounts in Thucydides, i. 95. The Spartans, Athenians, and many of the confederates, had undertaken a naval expedition against Cyprus and Byzantium, 470 years before Christ. Offended with Pausanias, (who about this time was recalled by Sparta herself,) the allies, especially the Ionians, entreated the Athenians, as being of a kindred tribe, to assume the supreme command. Those who were of the Peloponnesus, took no part in this act. The Athenians were very willing to comply with the request; and the confederates never received another Spartan general. From this account, the following points are to be inferred: 1. The Athenians obtained the same chief command, which had been exercised by the Spartans. 2. The states which conferred that command on Athens, must have been islands and maritime towns, as the whole expedition was a naval one. 3. Although not all who shared in it were Ionians, yet the relationship of tribes had a great influence on the choice. 4. The command conferred on the Athenians, embraced therefore by no means all the Grecian cities, nor even all which had been united against Persia; as the Peloponnesians expressly withdrew from it, and the other states of the interior took no part in the matter.

more was intended to be given, than the conduct of the war that was still to be continued with united efforts against the Persians. No government of the allied states, no interference in their internal affairs, was intended. But how much was included in the conduct of a war against a very powerful enemy from the very nature of the office; and how much more for them who knew how to profit by it! As long as the war against the Persian king was continued, could it be much less than the guidance of all external affairs? For in a period like that, what other relations could have employed the practical politics of the Greeks. Or if any others existed, were they not at least intimately connected with that war? And as for the grand questions respecting the duration of the war and the conditions of peace, did they not depend on those who stood at the head of the undertaking?

The first use which Athens made of this superior command, was the establishment of a general treasury, as well as a common fleet, for the carrying on of the war; while it was fixed, which of the allies should contribute money and ships, and in what proportion. The Athenians, says Thucydides,[1] now first established the office of treasurers[2] of Greece; who were to collect the tribute, as the sums which were raised were denominated (and names are not matters of indifference in politics); the amount of which was then fixed at four hundred and sixty talents.[3] Yet to avoid every thing which could seem odious, the treasury was not directly fixed at Athens, but at Delos, in the temple of Apollo; where the assemblies also were held. But the most important circumstance was, that the most just of the Grecians, Aristides, was appointed treasurer; and the office of assigning to each state its proportion of the general contribution, was intrusted to him.[4] No one in those days made any complaint; and Aristides died as poor as he had lived.

Two remarks are here so naturally suggested, that they hardly need any proof; the first is, that Athens, by means of this regulation, laid the foundation of its greatness; the second is, that hardly any government, and how much less a popular government, could long withstand the temptation to abuse this power. But a third remark must be made in

[1] Thucyd. i. 96.

[2] Ἑλληνοταμίαι.

[3] Full £72,700.

[4] Plutarch. Aristid. Op. ii. p. 535.

connexion with the preceding observation; Athens gained the importance which she had for the world, by means of her supremacy over the other states. It was that which made her conspicuous in the history of mankind. The importance which she gained was immediately of a political nature; but every thing of a vast and noble character, for which Athens was distinguished, was inseparably connected with her political greatness. We will disguise no one of the abuses, of which the consequences were finally most fatal to Athens herself; but we cannot limit our view to the narrow range adopted by those, who make the abuses the criterion of their judgment.

The allies, by committing the conduct of the war to Athens, expressly acknowledged that city to be the first in Greece, and this was silently acknowledged by the other states; for Sparta, which alone was able to rival it in strength, voluntarily withdrew into the background.[1] Athens had the consciousness of deserving this rank; for the freedom of Greece had had its origin there. But it was desirous of preserving its high station, not by force alone, but by showing itself to be the first in every thing, which according to the views of the Greeks could render a city illustrious. Its temples were now to be the most splendid; its works of art the noblest; its festivals and its theatres the most beautiful and the most costly. But for the supremacy of Athens, Pericles never could have found there a sphere of action worthy of himself; no Phidias, no Polygnotus, no Sophocles could have flourished. For the public spirit of the Athenian proceeded from the consciousness, that he was the first among the Grecians; and nothing but that public spirit could have encouraged and rewarded the genius, which was capable of producing works like theirs. Perhaps their very greatness prepared the fall of Athens; but if they were doomed to suffer for it, the gratitude due to them from mankind, is not on that account diminished.

The supremacy of Athens was, as the nature of the whole confederation makes apparent, immediately connected with its naval superiority; for the allied states were all islands or maritime cities. Thus the expressions of supreme command (*ἡγεμονία*) and dominion of the sea,[2] that is, the dominion of

[1] Thucyd. i. 95. [2] *Θαλασσοκρατία.*

the Ægean and Ionian seas, (for the ambition of the Athenians extended no further,) came to signify the same thing. This dominion of the sea was therefore, in its origin, not only not blamable, but absolutely essential to the attainment of the object proposed. The security of the Greeks against the attacks of the Persians depended on it; and so too did the continuance of the confederacy. We cannot acquit Athens of the charge of having afterwards abused her naval superiority; but he who considers the nature of such alliances and the difficulty of holding them together, will concede, that in practice it would be almost impossible to avoid the appearance of abusing such a supremacy; since the same things which to one party seem an abuse, in the eyes of the other are only the necessary means to secure the end.

When the sea was made secure, and no attack was further to be feared from the Persians,—how could it be otherwise, than that the continuance of the war, and consequently the contributions made for that purpose, should be to many of them unnecessarily oppressive? And how could it be avoided, that some should feel themselves injured, or be actually injured in the contributions exacted of them. The consequences of all this were, on the one side a refusal to pay the contributions, and on the other, severity in collecting them;[1] and as they continued to be refused, this was considered as a revolt, and wars followed with several of the allies; at first with the island Naxos;[2] then with Thasus,[3] with Samos,[4] and others.[5] But those who had been overcome, were no longer treated as allies, but as subjects; and thus the relation of Athens to the several states was different; for a distinction was made between the voluntary confederates and

[1] "The Athenians," says Thucydides, i. 99, "exacted the contributions with severity; and were the more oppressive to the allies, as these were unaccustomed to oppression." But if the Athenians had not insisted on the payment of them with severity, how soon would the whole confederacy have fallen into ruin.

[2] Thucyd. i. 98. [3] Thucyd. i. 100, 101. [4] Thucyd. i. 116.

[5] The difference of the allies, and also the view taken by the Athenians of their supremacy, and of the oppression with which they were charged, are no where more clearly developed, than in the speech of the Athenian ambassador in Camarina. Thucyd. vi. 83, etc. "The Chians," says he, "and Methymnæans (in Lesbos) need only furnish ships. From most of the others, we exact the tribute with severity. Others, though inhabitants of islands, and easy to be taken, are yet entirely voluntary allies, on account of the situation of their islands round the Peloponnesus."

the subjects.[1] The latter were obliged to pay in money an equivalent for the ships, which they were bound to furnish; for Athens found it more advantageous to have its ships built in this manner, by itself. But the matter did not rest here. The sum of the yearly tribute, fixed under Pericles at four hundred and sixty talents, was raised by Alcibiades[2] to six hundred. When, during the Peloponnesian war, Athens suffered from the want of money, the tribute was changed into duties of five per centum on the value of all imported articles, collected by the Athenians in the harbours of the allies.[3] But the most oppressive of all was perhaps the judiciary power, which Athens usurped over the allies; not merely in the differences, which arose between the states, but also in private suits.[4] Individuals were obliged to go to Athens to transact their business, and in consequence, to the great advantage of the Athenian householders, inn-keepers, and the like, a multitude of foreigners were constantly in that city, in order to bring their affairs to an issue.

It is therefore obvious, that the nature of the Athenian supremacy was changed. It had been at first a voluntary association, and now it had become, for far the larger number of the states that shared in it, a forced one. That several of the confederates were continually striving to break free from the alliance, has been shown by the examples cited above; but it is easy to perceive, how difficult, or rather how impossible it was, to effect a general union between them against Athens. If they had been desirous of attempting it, how great were the means possessed by Athens, of anticipating them. Yet there was one moment, when, but for their almost inconceivable want of forethought, an attempt might have justly been expected from them; and that period was the close of the war with Persia.[5] The Greeks framed their articles in the treaty of peace; and had nothing further to

[1] The *αὐτόνομοι* and the *ὑπήκοοι*, both of whom were still bound to pay the taxes (*ὑποτελεῖς*). Manso, in his acute illustration of the *Hegemonia*, Sparta B. iii. Beylage 12, 13, distinguishes three classes; those who contributed ships, but no money; those who contributed nothing but money; and those who were at once subject and tributary. The nature of things seems to require, that it should have been so; yet Thucydides, vi. 69, makes no difference between the two last.

[2] Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 535. [3] Thucyd. vii. 28.

[4] See, upon this subject, Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. Op. 694. ed. Leunclav.

[5] In the year 449 before Christ; be it that peace was formally concluded or not.

fear from the Persians. The whole object of the confederacy was therefore at an end. And yet we do not hear that any voices were then raised against Athens. On the other side, it may with propriety be asked, if justice did not require of the Athenians, voluntarily to restore to the allies their liberty. But this question will hardly be put by a practical statesman. To free the allies from their subordination would have been to deprive Athens of its splendour; to dry up a chief source of the revenues of the republic; perhaps to pave the way to its ruin. What Athenian statesman would have dared to make such a proposition? Had he made it, could he have carried it through? Would he not rather have insured his own downfal? There are examples where single rulers, weary of power, have freely resigned it; but a people never yet voluntarily gave up authority over subject nations.

Perhaps these remarks may contribute to rectify the judgments of Isocrates,[1] in his celebrated accusation of the dominion of the sea;[2] which he considered as the source of all the misery of Athens and of Greece. The views which he entertained were certainly just; but the evils proceeded from the abuses; and it were just as easy to show, that his celebrated Athens, but for that dominion, never would have afforded him a subject for his panegyrics.

But how those evils could result from that abuse; how they prepared the downfal of Athens, when Sparta appeared as the deliverer of Greece; how the rule of these deliverers, much worse than that of the first oppressors, inflicted on Greece wounds, which were not only deep, but incurable; in general, the causes which produced the ruin of that country, remain for investigation in one of the later chapters, to which we must make our way through some previous researches.

[1] We shall be obliged to recur frequently to Isocrates. It is impossible to read the venerable and aged orator, who was filled with the purest patriotism which a Grecian could feel, without respecting and loving him. But he was a political writer, without being a practical statesman; and, like St. Pierre and other excellent men of the same class, he believed much to be possible which was not so. The historian must consult him with caution. This panegyrist of antiquity often regarded it in too advantageous a light, and is, besides, little concerned about the accuracy of his historical delineations.

[2] Isocrat. Op. p. 172. ed. Steph.

CHAPTER IX.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

In the present chapter, we do not undertake to give an outline of the several Grecian states; but rather to delineate the general characteristics of the Grecian forms of government. Such a general investigation seems the more essential, as, in the obvious impossibility of analyzing each one of them, it will throw light on those, which may hereafter be selected for particular description.

With respect to a nation, in which every thing that could be done in public, was public; where every thing great and glorious was especially the result of this public life; where even private life was identified with that of the public; where the individual did but live with and for the state, this investigation must have a much higher degree of interest, than if it related to any other, in which the line of division is distinctly drawn between public and private life. He who will judge of the Grecians, must be acquainted with the constitutions of their states; and he must not only consider the inanimate forms, as they are taught us by the learned compilers and writers on what are called Grecian antiquities; but regard them as they were regarded by the Greeks themselves.

If the remark, which we made above,[1] that the Grecian states, with few exceptions, were cities with their districts, and their constitutions, therefore, the constitutions of cities; if this remark needed to be further confirmed, it could be done by referring to the fact, that the Greeks designate the ideas of state and of city, by the same word.[2] We must therefore always bear in mind the idea of city constitutions, and never forget that those of which we are treating, not only had nothing in common with those of the large em-

[1] An attempt to collect and arrange the separate accounts has been made by F. W. Tittman. His work on the Grecian Constitutions proves his industry, and the paucity of the accounts that have come down to us.

[2] Πόλις, *civitas*. Respecting the meaning of πόλις, and the difference between πόλις and ἔθνος, *state* and *nation*, consult Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 235, ed. Casaub.

pires of modern times, but not even with those of the smaller principalities. If for the sake of giving a distinct representation, we were to compare them with any thing in modern history, we could best compare them, as the character of the Italian cities of the middle age is hardly more familiar than that of the Grecian, with the imperial towns in Germany, especially in the days of their prosperity, previous to the thirty years' war, before they were limited in the freedom of their movements by the vicinity of more powerful monarchical states; were it not that the influence of the difference of religion created a dissimilarity.

And yet this comparison may throw some light on the great variety, which is observed in those states, in spite of the apparent uniformity which existed among the Grecian states, (as all were necessarily similar in some respects,) and which equally existed in those German cities. And the comparison will be still more justified, if we add, that the extent of territory was as different among the Grecian cities, and yet on the whole was nearly the same. There were few, which possessed a larger territory, than formerly belonged to Ulm or Nuremberg; but in Greece, as in Germany, the prosperity of the city did not depend on the extent of its territory. Corinth hardly possessed a larger district than that of Augsburg; and yet both rose to an eminent degree of opulence and culture.

But great as this variety in the constitutions may have been, (and we shall illustrate this subject more fully hereafter,) they all coincided in one grand point. They all were free constitutions; that is, they allowed of no rulers, whom the people as a body, or certain classes of the people, could not call to account;[1] he, who usurped such authority, was, in the language of the Greeks, a tyrant. In this the idea is contained, that the state shall govern itself; and not be governed by an individual; and of course a very different view of the state was taken from the modern European notion. The view of the Greeks was entirely opposed to that of those modern politicians, who conceive of the state as a mere machine; and of those also, who would make of it nothing but an institution of police. The Greeks regarded

[1] Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 251, 282. The magistrates must be responsible for their administration, ὑπεύθυνοι, as the Greeks expressed it.

the state, no less than each individual, as a moral person. Moral powers have influence in it, and decide its plans of operation. Hence it becomes the great object of him who would manage a state, to secure to reason the superiority over passion and desire; and the attainment of virtue and morality, is in this sense an object of the state, just as it should be of the individual.

If with these previous reflections we proceed to investigate the laws of the Greeks, they will present themselves to our view in their true light. The constitutions of their cities, like those of the moderns, were framed by necessity, and developed by circumstances. But as abuses are much sooner felt in small states and towns, than in large ones, the necessity of reforms was early felt in many of them; and this necessity occasioned lawgivers to make their appearance, much before the spirit of speculation had been occupied on the subject of politics. The objects therefore of those lawgivers were altogether practical; and, without the knowledge of any philosophical system, they endeavoured to accomplish them by means of reflection and experience. A commonwealth could never have been conceived of by them, except as governing itself; and on this foundation they rested their codes. It never occurred to them, to look for the means of that self-government, to nothing but the forms of government; and although those forms were not left unnoticed in their codes, yet they were noticed only to a certain degree. No Grecian lawgiver ever thought of abolishing entirely the ancient usage, and becoming, according to the phrase now in vogue, the framers of a new constitution. In giving laws, they only reformed. Lycurgus, Solon, and the rest, so far from abolishing what usage had established, endeavoured to preserve every thing which could be preserved; and only added, in part, several new institutions, and in part made for the existing ones better regulations. If we possessed therefore the whole of the laws of Solon, we should by no means find them to contain a perfect constitution. But to compensate for that, they embraced, not only the rights of individuals, but also morals, in a much higher degree, than the latter can be embraced in the view of any modern lawgiver. The organization of

private life, and hence the education of youth,[1] on which the prevalence and continuance of good morals depend, formed one of their leading objects. They were deeply convinced, that that moral person, the state, would otherwise be incapable of governing itself. To this it must be added, that in these small commonwealths, in these towns with their territories, many regulations could be made and executed, which could not be put into operation in a powerful and widely extended nation. Whether these regulations were always good, and always well adapted to their purpose, is quite another question; it is our duty at present to show, from what point of view those lawgivers were accustomed to regard the art of regulating the state, and the means of preserving and directing it.[2]

Whenever a commonwealth or city governs itself, it is a fundamental idea, that the supreme power resides with its members, with the citizens. But it may rest with the citizens collectively, or only with certain classes, or perhaps only with certain families. Thus there naturally arose among the Greeks that difference, which they designated by the names of Aristocracies and Democracies; and to one of these two classes, they referred all their constitutions. But it is not easy to draw a distinct line between the two. When we are speaking of the meaning which they bore in practical politics, we must beware of taking them in that signification, which was afterwards given them by the speculative politicians, by Aristotle[3] and others. In their practical politics, the Greeks no doubt connected certain ideas with those denominations; but the ideas were not very distinctly defined; and the surest way of erring would be, to desire to define them more accurately than was done by the Greeks themselves. The fundamental idea of the democratic constitution was, that all citizens, as such, should enjoy equal

[1] Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 301, 336.

[2] This taken together, forms what the Greeks called *political science*—*πολιτική ἐπιστήμη*.

[3] If here, in investigating the practical meaning of those words, we can make no use of the theoretical definitions of Aristotle in his Politics, we would not by any means give up the right of citing him as of authority in the history of the Greek constitutions, in so far as he himself speaks of them. And whose testimony on these subjects deserves more weight than that of the man, who, in a work which has unfortunately been lost, described and analyzed all the known forms of government of his time, two hundred and fifty-five in number.

rights in the administration of the state; and yet a perfect equality existed in very few of the cities. This equality was commonly limited to a participation in the popular assemblies and the courts.[1] A government did not cease to be a democracy, though the poorer class were entirely excluded from all magistracies, and their votes of less weight in the popular assemblies. On the other hand, an aristocracy always pre-supposed exclusive privileges of individual classes or families. But these were very different and various. There were hereditary aristocracies, where, as in Sparta, the highest dignities continued in a few families. But this was seldom the case. It was commonly the richer and more distinguished class, which obtained the sole administration of the state; and it was either wealth, or birth, or both together, that decided.[2] But wealth consisted not so much in money, as in land; and it was estimated by real estate. This wealth was chiefly exhibited, in ancient times, in the sums expended on horses. Those whose means were sufficient, constituted the cavalry of the citizens; and these formed the richer part of the soldiery, which consisted only of citizens or militia. It is therefore easy to understand, how it was possible that the circumstance, whether the district of a city possessed much pasture land, could have had so much influence, in practical politics, on the formation of the constitution.[3] It was therefore these nobles, the Eupatridæ and Optimates, who, though they did not wholly exclude the people from a share in the legislation, endeavoured to secure to themselves the magistracies, and the seats in the courts of justice; and wherever this was the case, there was what the Greeks termed an aristocracy.[4]

In cities, where wealth is for the most part measured by possessions in lands, it is almost unavoidable that not only a class of great proprietors should rise up; but that this inequality should constantly increase; and landed estates

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 1.
[2] Aristot. Polit. iv. 5.
[3] Aristotle cites examples of it in Eretria, Chalcis, and other cities. Polit. iv. 3.
[4] Oligarchy was distinguished from this. But though both words were in use, no other line can be drawn between them, than the greater or smaller number of Optimates, who had the government in their hands. That this remark is a true one appears from the definitions, to which Aristotle, Polit. iii. 7, is obliged to have recourse, in order to distinguish them.

come finally into the hands of a few families.[1] In an age when there were much fewer mechanic professions, and when those few were carried on chiefly by slaves, the consequences of this inequality were much more oppressive; and it was therefore one of the chief objects of the lawgivers, either to prevent this evil, or, where it already existed, to remedy it; as otherwise a revolution of the state would sooner or later have inevitably followed. In this manner we may understand why a new and equal division of the land among the citizens was made;[2] why the acquisition of lands by purchase or gift was forbidden, and only permitted in the way of inheritance and of marriage;[3] why a limit was fixed to the amount of land, which a single citizen could possess.[4] But with all these and other similar precautions, it was not possible to hinder entirely the evil, against which they were intended to guard; and hence were prepared the causes of those numerous and violent commotions, to which all the Grecian states were more or less exposed.

In the constitutions of cities, however they may be formed, the right of citizenship is the first and most important. He who does not possess it, may perhaps live in the city under certain conditions, and enjoy the protection of its laws;[5] but he is not, properly speaking, a member of the state; and can enjoy neither the same rights, nor the same respect, as the citizen. The regulations, therefore, respecting sharing in the right of citizenship, were necessarily strict; but they were very different in the several Grecian cities. In some, the full privileges of citizenship were secured, if both the parents had been citizens;[6] in others, it was necessary to trace such a descent through two or three generations;[7] whilst in others, no respect was had, except to the descent from the mother.[8] There were some cities which very rarely and with difficulty could be induced to confer

[1] This was the case in Thurii, Aristot. Polit. v. 7.
[2] As in Sparta, by the laws of Lycurgus.
[3] As in Sparta, and also among the Locrians, Aristot. Polit. ii. 7.
[4] Aristot. l. c.
[5] These *μέτοικοι*, *inquilini*, were formed in almost all the Grecian cities. It was common for them to pay for protection, and to bear other civil burdens.
[6] As, for example, at Athens.
[7] As in Larissa, Aristot. Polit. iii. 2. So too in Massilia.
[8] Aristot. Polit. iii. 5.

the right of citizenship; whilst in others foreigners were admitted to it with readiness. In these cases, accidental circumstances not unfrequently decided; and the same city was sometimes compelled to exchange its early and severe principles, for milder ones, if the number of the ancient citizens came to be too small.[1] In colonies, the milder principles were of necessity followed; since there might arrive from the mother country a whole company of new emigrants, whom it would either be impossible or inexpedient to reject. And hence we may explain what is so frequently observable in the colonies, that the wards of the citizens were divided according to their arrival from the different mother countries; one of the most fruitful sources of internal commotions, and even of the most violent political revolutions.[2]

In free cities, the constitution and the administration are always connected in an equally eminent degree with the division of the citizens. But here again we find a vast difference among the Greeks. We first notice those states, which made a distinction in the privileges of the inhabitants of the chief town, and of the villages and country. There were some Grecian states, where the inhabitants of the city enjoyed great privileges; and the rest of their countrymen stood in a subordinate relation to them;[3] whilst in others there was no distinction of rights between the one and the other.[4] The other divisions of the citizens were settled partly by birth, according to the ward to which a man happened to belong;[5] partly from his place of residence, according to the district in which he resided;[6] and partly from property or the census, according to the class in which he was reckoned. Though not in all, yet in many states, the ward, and the place of residence, were attached to the name of each individual; which was absolutely necessary in a nation that had no family names, or where they at least were not generally introduced. There is no need of men-

[1] Thus at Athens, Clisthenes received a large number of foreigners into the class of citizens. Aristot. iii. 2.

[2] Examples of it at Sybaris, Thurium, Byzantium, and other places are cited, Aristotle, Polit. v. 3.

[3] Hence in Laconia, the difference between Spartans and Lacedæmonians (*περίοικοι*). So also in Crete and in Argos.

[4] As at Athens.

[5] According to the *φύλαι* (or wards).

[6] According to the *δήμοι* (or cantons).

tioning how important was the difference in fortune; as the proportion of the public burden to be borne by each one was decided according to his wealth; and the kind of service to be required in war, whether in the cavalry or the infantry, and whether in heavy or light armour, was regulated by the same criterion; as will ever be the case in countries, where there is no other armed force than the militia formed of the citizens.

On these divisions of the citizens, the organization of their assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*) was founded. These assemblies, which were a natural result of city governments, were, according to the views of the Greeks, so essential an institution, that they probably existed in every Grecian city, though not always under the same regulations. Yet the manner in which they were held in every city except Athens and Sparta, is almost wholly unknown to us. The nature of the case required, that the manner in which they were to be held, should every where be established by rule. It was the custom to give to but one magistrate the right of convoking and opening them.[1] But we do not know in what manner the votes were taken in the several cities, whether merely by polls, or by the wards and other divisions of the people. And in this, too, there was a great difference, whether all citizens had the right of voting, or whether a certain census was first requisite.[2] In most of the cities, regular assemblies on fixed days, and extraordinary meetings also, appear to have been held.[3] To attend was regarded as the duty of every citizen; and as the better part were apt to remain away, especially in stormy times, absence was often made a punishable offence.[4] It may easily be supposed, that the decisions were expressed in an established form, written down and preserved, and sometimes engraved on tables. But although the forms were fixed, the subjects which might come before the assembly were by no means so clearly defined. The principle which was acted upon was, that sub-

[1] In the heroic age, it was the privilege of the kings to convoke the assembly. See above, in the fourth chapter.

[2] That a great variety prevailed in this respect, is clear from Aristot. Polit. iv. 13.

This was the case in Athens and Sparta.

[4] This is the case, says Aristotle, Polit. iv. 13, in the oligarchic, or aristocratical cities; while on the contrary, in the democratic, the poor were well paid for appearing in the assemblies.

jects which were important for the community, were to be brought before it. But how uncertain is the very idea of what is or is not important. How much, too, depends on the form which the constitution has taken at a certain period; whether the power of the senate, or of certain magistrates preponderates. We find even in the history of Rome, that questions of the utmost interest to the people, questions of war and peace, were sometimes submitted to the people, and sometimes not. No less considerable difference prevailed in the Grecian cities. Yet writers are accustomed to comprehend the subjects belonging to the common assemblies in three grand classes.[1] The first embraces legislation; for what the Greeks called a law, (νόμος,) was always a decree passed or confirmed by the commons; although it is difficult, we should rather say impossible, to define with accuracy the extent of this legislation. The second embraces the choice of magistrates. This right, although not all magistrates were appointed by election, was regarded, and justly regarded, as one of the most important privileges. For the power of the commons is preserved by nothing more effectually, than by making it necessary for those who would obtain a place, to apply for it to them. The third class was formed by the popular courts of justice, which, as we shall hereafter take occasion to show, were of the highest importance as a support of the democracy.

The consequences which the discussion and the decision of the most important concerns in the assemblies of the whole commons must inevitably have had, are so naturally suggested, that they hardly need to be illustrated at large. How could it have escaped those lawgivers, that to intrust this unlimited power to the commons, was not much less than to pave the way for the rule of the populace, if we include under that name the mass of indigent citizens?

The most natural means of guarding against this evil, would without doubt have been the choice of persons, possessed of plenary powers, to represent the citizens. But it is obvious, that the system of representation has the least opportunity of coming to perfection in city governments. It is the fruit of the enlarged extent of states; where it is

[1] The chief passage on this subject is in Aristot. Polit. iv. 14.

impossible for all to meet in the assemblies. But in cities with a narrow territory, what could lead to such a form; since neither distance nor numbers made it difficult for the citizens to appear personally in the assemblies. It is true, that the alliances of several cities, as of the Bœotian or the Achæan, led to the idea of sending deputies to the assemblies; but in those meetings, the internal affairs of the confederates were never discussed; they were reserved for the consideration of each city; and the deliberations of the whole body related only to general affairs with respect to foreign relations. But a true system of representation can never be formed in that manner; the true sphere of action of a legislative body, is to be found in the internal affairs of the nation.

It was therefore necessary to think of other means of meeting the danger apprehended from the rule of the populace; and those means were various. Aristotle expressly remarks,[1] that there were cities, in which no general assemblies of the citizens were held; and only such citizens appeared, as had been expressly convoked or invited. These obviously formed a class of aristocratic governments. But even in the democracies, means[2] were taken, partly to have the important business transacted in smaller divisions, before the commons came to vote upon it; partly to limit the subjects which were to be brought before them; partly to reserve the revision, if not of all, yet of some of the decrees, to another peculiar board; and partly, and most frequently, to name another deliberate assembly, whose duty it was to consider every thing which was to come before the commons, and so far to prepare the business, that nothing remained for the commons, but to accept or reject the measures proposed.

This assembly was called by the Greeks, a council (βουλή). We are acquainted with its internal regulations only at Athens; but there is no reason to doubt that in several Grecian states, a similar assembly existed under the same name.[3] If

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 1. A similar regulation existed in several German imperial towns; as, for example, in Bremen, where the most distinguished citizens were invited by the senate to attend the convention of citizens; and of course no uninvited person made his appearance. It is to be regretted, that Aristotle has cited no Grecian city as an example.

[2] See in proof what follows, Aristot. Polit. iv. 14, Op. ii. p. 286.

[3] As at Argos and Mantinea, Thucyd. v. 47. So too in Chios, Thucyd. viii. 14.

we may draw inferences respecting its nature in other states from what it was at Athens, it consisted of a numerous committee of the citizens annually chosen; its members, taken after a fixed rule from each of the corporations, were chosen by lot; but they could not become actual members without a previous examination. For in no case was it of so much importance as here, to effect the exclusion of all but honest men; who, being themselves interested in the preservation of the state and its constitution, might decide on the business presented to them, with prudence and moderation. In Athens, at least, the greatest pains were taken with the internal organization of this body; so that it seems to us, as will appear from the investigations respecting this state, to have been almost too artificial. Regulations, similar in kind, though not exactly the same, were probably established in the other cities, where similar wants and circumstances prevailed. It is easy to perceive, that the preservation of the internal liberties of such a body against the encroachments of parties and too powerful individuals, made such regulations essential. It was probably to promote this end, that the appointments to the council were made only for the year.[1] It prevented the committee from becoming a faction, and thus assuming the whole administration of the state. But beside this, another great advantage was gained; for in this manner, by far the larger number of distinguished and upright citizens, became acquainted with the affairs and the government of the state.

In other cities, instead of this annual council, there was a senate (*γερουσία*), which had no periodical change of its members, but formed a permanent board. Its very name expresses that it was composed of the elders; and what was more natural, than to look for good counsel to the experience of maturity? The rule respecting age may have been very different in the several cities, and perhaps in many no rule on the subject existed. But in others, it was enforced with rigorous accuracy. The immediate object was to have in it a board of counsel; but its sphere of action was by no means so limited. In Sparta, the assembly of elders had its place by the side of the kings. The senate of Corinth is

[1] This explains why Aristotle, Polit. iv. 15, calls the *βουλή* an institution favourable to the form of government.

mentioned under the same name;[1] that of Massilia[2] under a different one, but its members held their places for life; and in how many other cities may there have been a council of elders, of which history makes no mention, just as it is silent respecting the internal regulations in those just enumerated.[3] Even in cities which usually had no such senate, an extraordinary one was sometimes appointed in extraordinary cases, where good advice was needed. This took place in Athens after the great overthrow in Sicily.[4]

Besides an assembly of citizens, or town meeting, and a senate, a Grecian city had its magistrates. Even the ancient politicians were perplexed to express with accuracy the idea of magistrates.[5] For not all to whom public business was committed by the citizens, could be called magistrates; for otherwise the ambassadors and priests would have belonged to that class. In modern constitutions, it is not seldom difficult to decide, who ought to be reckoned in the number of magistrates, as will be apparent from calling to mind the inferior officers. But no important misunderstanding can arise, if we are careful to affix to the word the double idea of possessing a part of the executive power; and of gaining, in consequence of the importance of the business intrusted to them, a higher degree of consideration than belonged to the common citizen.

In the republican constitutions of the Greeks a second idea was attached to that of a magistracy; it was necessary to call every magistrate to account respecting the affairs of his office.[6] He who went beyond this rule, ceased to be a magistrate and became a tyrant. The magistrate was there-

[1] Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 177. [2] Strabo, iii. p. 124.

[3] There was perhaps no one Grecian city, in which such a council did not exist, for the nature of things made it almost indispensable. They were most commonly called *βουλή* and *γερουσία*, and these words may often have been confounded. For although the *βουλή* in Athens was a body chosen from the citizens but for a year, and the *γερουσία* of Sparta was a permanent council, we cannot safely infer, that the terms, when used, always implied such a difference. In Crete, e. g. the council of elders was called *βουλή*, according to Aristot. Polit. ii. 10, though in its organization it resembled the *γερουσία* of Sparta.

[4] Thucyd. viii. i.

[5] See, on this subject, Aristot. Polit. iv. 15. The practical politicians, no less than the theorists, were perplexed in defining the word. An important passage may be found in Æschin. in Ctesiphont. iii. p. 397, etc., Reisk.

[6] They were of necessity *ὑπεύθυνοι*. Aristot. Polit. ii. 12.

fore compelled to recognise the sovereignty of the people. This certainly implied, that an account was to be given to the commons; but as in such constitutions not every thing was systematically established, there were some states, in which separate boards, as that of the Ephori in Sparta, usurped the right of calling the magistrates to account.[1]

In the inquiry respecting magistrates, says Aristotle,[2] several questions are to be considered: How many magistrates there are, and how great is their authority? How long they continue in office, and whether they ought to continue long? Further,—Who ought to be appointed? and by whom? and how? These are questions, which of themselves show, that republican states are had in view; and which lead us to anticipate that great variety, which prevailed on these points in the Grecian constitutions. We desire to treat first of the last questions.

According to the whole spirit of the Grecian constitutions, it cannot be doubted, that their leading principle was, that all magistrates must be appointed by the people. The right of choosing the magistrates was always regarded, and justly regarded, as an important part of the freedom of a citizen.[3] But although this principle was predominant, it still had its exceptions. There were states, in which the first offices were hereditary in certain families.[4] But as we have already taken occasion to observe, this was a rare case; and where one magistracy was hereditary, all the rest were elective; at Sparta, though the royal dignity was hereditary, the Ephori were chosen. But beside the appointment by election, the custom very commonly prevailed of appointing by lot. And our astonishment is very justly excited by this method, which not unfrequently commits to chance the appointment to the first and most weighty employments in the state. But even in several of the German imperial towns, the lot had an important share in the appointment to offices. It is uninfluenced by favour, birth, and wealth. And therefore the nomination of magistrates by lot, was

[1] There were magistrates appointed on purpose, called *εὐθυνολογίσται*. Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.
[2] Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.
[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 12. *Μηδὲ γὰρ τούτου, τοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν, κύριος ὢν ὁ δῆμος, δοῦλος ἂν εἴη καὶ πολέμιος.*
[4] As the kings in Sparta.

considered by the Grecian politicians, as the surest characteristic of a democracy.[1] But where the appointment was left to be decided by that method, the decision was not always made solely by it. He on whom the lot fell, could still be subjected to a severe examination, and very frequently was so. And where some places were filled in this way, it was by no means pursued in the appointment to all.

But in the election, also, the greatest differences prevailed; since sometimes all classes, and sometimes only particular ones, took part in them.[2] To admit all citizens to vote, is one of the chief characteristics of a democracy; and we know this was done not only in Athens, but in many other cities. But when the aristocratic and democratic party had once become distinct, endeavours were almost inevitably made to exclude the mass of the people from any share in the elections. For the aristocrat found nothing more humiliating, than to approach the common citizen as a suppliant, before he could arrive at places of honour. Where the first step succeeded, the second soon followed; and the magistrates themselves supplied any vacant places in their board. This, says Aristotle,[3] is the peculiar mark of oligarchy, and leads almost always to revolutions in the states.

And who was eligible to office? This question is still more important than that respecting the electors; and an equally great difference prevailed on this point in the various states. The maxim, that men, to whom the control of the public affairs should be committed, must not only possess sufficient capacity, but must also be interested in the support of existing forms, is so obvious, that the principle of excluding the lower orders of the people from participating in the magistracies, could hardly seem otherwise than judicious and necessary.[4] But when it was adopted, it could seldom be preserved. When a state became flourishing and powerful, the people felt itself to be of more importance;[5] and it was not always flattery of the populace, which in such times induced its leaders to abolish those restrictive laws, but a conviction of the impossibility of

[1] Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.
[2] Aristotle, l. c., classifies these varieties. [3] Aristot. l. c.
[4] That not only Solon, but other lawgivers, had adopted this regulation, is remarked by Aristotle, Polit. iii. 11.
[5] See, on this subject also, Aristot. l. c.

fore compelled to recognise the sovereignty of the people. This certainly implied, that an account was to be given to the commons; but as in such constitutions not every thing was systematically established, there were some states, in which separate boards, as that of the Ephori in Sparta, usurped the right of calling the magistrates to account.[1]

In the inquiry respecting magistrates, says Aristotle,[2] several questions are to be considered: How many magistrates there are, and how great is their authority? How long they continue in office, and whether they ought to continue long? Further,—Who ought to be appointed? and by whom? and how? These are questions, which of themselves show, that republican states are had in view; and which lead us to anticipate that great variety, which prevailed on these points in the Grecian constitutions. We desire to treat first of the last questions.

According to the whole spirit of the Grecian constitutions, it cannot be doubted, that their leading principle was, that all magistrates must be appointed by the people. The right of choosing the magistrates was always regarded, and justly regarded, as an important part of the freedom of a citizen.[3] But although this principle was predominant, it still had its exceptions. There were states, in which the first offices were hereditary in certain families.[4] But as we have already taken occasion to observe, this was a rare case; and where one magistracy was hereditary, all the rest were elective; at Sparta, though the royal dignity was hereditary, the Ephori were chosen. But beside the appointment by election, the custom very commonly prevailed of appointing by lot. And our astonishment is very justly excited by this method, which not unfrequently commits to chance the appointment to the first and most weighty employments in the state. But even in several of the German imperial towns, the lot had an important share in the appointment to offices. It is uninfluenced by favour, birth, and wealth. And therefore the nomination of magistrates by lot, was

[1] There were magistrates appointed on purpose, called *εὐθυνολογίσται*. Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.
[2] Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.
[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 12. *Μηδὲ γὰρ τούτου, τοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν, κύριος ὢν ὁ δῆμος, δοῦλος ἂν εἴη καὶ πολέμιος.*
[4] As the kings in Sparta.

considered by the Grecian politicians, as the surest characteristic of a democracy.[1] But where the appointment was left to be decided by that method, the decision was not always made solely by it. He on whom the lot fell, could still be subjected to a severe examination, and very frequently was so. And where some places were filled in this way, it was by no means pursued in the appointment to all.

But in the election, also, the greatest differences prevailed; since sometimes all classes, and sometimes only particular ones, took part in them.[2] To admit all citizens to vote, is one of the chief characteristics of a democracy; and we know this was done not only in Athens, but in many other cities. But when the aristocratic and democratic party had once become distinct, endeavours were almost inevitably made to exclude the mass of the people from any share in the elections. For the aristocrat found nothing more humiliating, than to approach the common citizen as a suppliant, before he could arrive at places of honour. Where the first step succeeded, the second soon followed; and the magistrates themselves supplied any vacant places in their board. This, says Aristotle,[3] is the peculiar mark of oligarchy, and leads almost always to revolutions in the states.

And who was eligible to office? This question is still more important than that respecting the electors; and an equally great difference prevailed on this point in the various states. The maxim, that men, to whom the control of the public affairs should be committed, must not only possess sufficient capacity, but must also be interested in the support of existing forms, is so obvious, that the principle of excluding the lower orders of the people from participating in the magistracies, could hardly seem otherwise than judicious and necessary.[4] But when it was adopted, it could seldom be preserved. When a state became flourishing and powerful, the people felt itself to be of more importance;[5] and it was not always flattery of the populace, which in such times induced its leaders to abolish those restrictive laws, but a conviction of the impossibility of

[1] Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.
[2] Aristotle, l. c., classifies these varieties. [3] Aristot. l. c.
[4] That not only Solon, but other lawgivers, had adopted this regulation, is remarked by Aristotle, Polit. iii. 11.
[5] See, on this subject also, Aristot. l. c.

maintaining them. In an individual case, such an unlimited freedom of choice can become very injurious; but it is, on the whole, much less so than it appears to be; and the restrictions are apt to become pernicious. If it be birth which forms the limiting principle, if a man must belong to certain families in order to gain an office, it would be made directly impossible for men of talents to obtain them; and this has often produced the most violent revolutions. If fortune be made the qualification,[1] this is in itself no criterion of desert. If it be age, want of energy is too often connected with riper experience.

In most of the Grecian cities, there certainly existed a reason, why regard should be had to wealth; because that consisted almost always in real estate. But where the poor were excluded by no restrictive laws, they were obliged of their own accord to retire from most of the magistracies. These offices were not lucrative; on the contrary, considerable expenses were often connected with them.[2] There were no fixed salaries, as in our states; and the prospect which in Rome in a later period was so inviting to the magistrates, the administration of a province, did not exist in Greece. It was therefore impossible for the poorer class to press forward with eagerness to these offices; in many cities there even existed a necessity of imposing a punishment, if the person elected would not accept the office committed to him.[3] It was far more the honour and the glory, than the gain, which gave a value to the magistracies. But the honour of being the first, or one of the first, among his fellow citizens, is for many a more powerful excitement, than that which can be derived from emolument.

In small republics, no other fear needs be entertained respecting the offices of magistrates, than lest certain families should gain the exclusive possession of them. This is what the Greeks meant by an oligarchy,[4] when the number of such families remained small. These were with justice regarded as a corruption of the constitutions. There may

[1] Many places in Aristotle show, that this was the case in a large number of cities; and under the most various regulations; e. g. iv. 11.
[2] As for banquets, public buildings, festivals, etc. Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.
[3] Aristot. Polit. iv. 9.
[4] Not only Aristot. iv. 6, but many passages in Thucydides; as, e. g., viii. 82.

have been exceptions, and we find in history examples, both within and without Greece, where such states have been administered with moderation and wisdom. But more frequently experience has shown the contrary result. The precautions taken against this evil by the Grecians, were the same with those adopted in many of the German imperial towns; persons connected by blood, as father and son, or several brothers, could not at the same time be magistrates.[1] Connexions by marriage are no where said to have excluded from office; on the contrary, it would be easier to find examples of brothers-in-law filling magistracies at the same time.[2]

Most of the magistrates were chosen annually; many for but half a year.[3] This frequent renewal had its advantages, and also its evils. It is the strongest pillar of the rule of the people; which is by nothing so much confirmed, as by the frequent exercise of the right of election. This was the point of view taken by the politicians of Greece, when they considered the authority of the people to reside in the elections.[4] That these frequent elections did not tend to preserve internal tranquillity, is easy to be perceived. But on the other side, the philosopher of Stagira has not failed to remark, that the permanent possession of magistracies might have led to discontent.[5]

An enumeration of the different magistracies usual among the Greeks, is not required by our purpose; neither would it be possible, as our acquaintance with the several constitutions of the cities is incredibly limited.[6] The little that we know of the regulations in the individual states, especially in Athens, proves that the number of such offices was very considerable; and the same appears from the classification, which Aristotle has attempted to make of them.[7] Their duties are commonly indicated by their names; but these again were entirely different in the various cities, even in cases where the duties were the same. The Cosmi were in Crete what the Ephori were in Sparta. Most of the cities

[1] It was so in Massilia and in Cnidus. Aristot. Polit. v. 6.
[2] As Agesilaus and Pisander in Sparta.
[3] Aristot. Polit. iv. 15. [4] Thucyd. viii. 89. [5] Aristot. Polit. ii. 5.
[6] See Tittman on the Grecian Constitutions.
[7] See the instructive passage, Polit. iv. 15.

must have had a magistrate like the Archons in Athens; and yet it would not be easy to find the name in any other. The numerous encroachments made by the lawgivers on domestic life, contributed much to multiply the offices of magistrates and extend their sphere of action. The Grecians had formed no idea of a police, as a general branch of the administration of the state; but they were acquainted with several of its branches; and although they had no general board of police, the circumstances just mentioned led them to establish several particular branches; and even some, which are not usual in our times. The superintendence of women, the superintendence of children, was in many cities intrusted to particular magistrates;[1] and as the Areopagus of Athens had in general the care of morals, there were undoubtedly similar tribunals in other Grecian cities.

Thus then it appears, that amidst an almost infinite variety of forms, assemblies of the citizens, senates, and magistracies, are the institutions which belonged to every Grecian commonwealth. The preservation of freedom and equality among the commons[2] formed their chief object. It was not considered unjust to take from any one, of whom it was only feared that he might become dangerous to this freedom, the power of doing injury, by a temporary banishment from the city; and this took place at Athens and Argos[3] by ostracism, and by petalism in Syracuse. Nothing can be more jealous than the love of liberty; and unfortunately for mankind, experience shows but too clearly that it has reason to be so.

Nevertheless, neither these nor other precautions were able to save the Grecian cities from the usurpations of tyrants, as they were termed. Few cities, in the mother country, and in the colonies, escaped this fate. The Grecians connected with this word the idea of an illegitimate, but not necessarily of a cruel government. It was illegitimate, because it was not conferred by the commons; but usurped without, or even against their will. A demagogue, however great his power may have been, was never, as such, denominated a tyrant; but he received the name, if he set himself above the people; that is, if he refused to lay before

[1] The *γυναικονόμοι* and the *παιδονόμοι*. Aristot. l. c.
[2] The *αὐτονομία* and *ἰσονομία*. [3] Aristot. Polit. v. 3.

the people the account which was due to them.[1] The usual support of such an authority, is an armed power, composed of foreigners and hirelings; which was therefore always regarded as the sure mark of a tyrant.[2] Such a government by no means necessarily implied, that the existing regulations and laws would be entirely set aside. They could continue; even a usurper needs an administration; only he raises himself above the laws. The natural aim of these tyrants usually was, to make their power hereditary in their families. But though this happened in many cities, the supreme power was seldom retained for a long time by the same family. It continued longest, says Aristotle,[3] in the house of Orthagoras in Sicyon, for as it was very moderate and even popular, it lasted a century; and for the same causes it was preserved about as long in the house of Cypselus in Corinth. But if it could not be maintained by such means, how could it have been kept up by mere violence and terror? Where the love of freedom is once so deeply fixed, as it was in the character of the Grecians, the attempts to oppress it only give a new impulse to its defenders.

And by what criterion shall the historian, who investigates the history of humanity, form his judgment of the worth of these constitutions? By that, which a modern school, placing the object of the state in the security of person and of property, desires to see adopted? We may observe in Greece exertions made to gain that security; but it is equally clear, that it was, and, with such constitutions, could have been, but imperfectly attained. In the midst of the frequent storms, to which those states were exposed, that tranquillity could not long be preserved, in which men limit their active powers to the improvement of their domestic condition. It does not belong to us to institute inquiries into the correctness of those principles; but experience does not admit of its being denied, that in these, to all appearances, so imperfect constitutions, every thing, which forms the glory of man, flourished in its highest perfection. It was those very storms, which called forth master spirits, by opening to them a sphere of action. There was no place here for indolence and inactivity of mind; where each individual felt most

[1] By desiring to become *ἀνυπεύθυνος*. Aristot. Polit. iv. 10. See above, p. xxx.
[2] Aristot. Polit. iii. 14. [3] Aristot. Polit. v. 12.

sensibly, that he existed only through the state and with the state; where every revolution of the state in some measure inevitably affected him; and the security of person and property was necessarily much less firmly established, than in well-regulated monarchies. We leave to every one to form his own judgment, and select his own criterion; but we will draw from the whole one general inference, that the forms under which the character of the human race can be unfolded, have not been so limited by the hand of the Eternal, as the wisdom of the schools would lead us to believe.

But whatever may be thought of the value of these constitutions, the reflection is forced upon us, that they surpassed all others in internal variety; and therefore in no other nation could so great an abundance of political ideas have been awakened, and preserved in practical circulation. Of the hundreds of Grecian cities, perhaps there were no two, of which the constitutions were perfectly alike; and none, of which the internal relations had not changed their form. How much had been tried in each one of them, and how often had the experiments been repeated! And did not each of these experiments enrich the science of politics with new results? Where then could there have been so much political animation, so large an amount of practical knowledge, as among the Greeks? If uniformity is, in the political world, as in the regions of taste and letters, the parent of narrowness, and if variety, on the contrary, promotes cultivation, no nation ever moved in better paths than the Greeks. Although some cities became pre-eminent, no single city engrossed every thing; the splendour of Athens could as little eclipse Corinth and Sparta, as Miletus and Syracuse. Each city had a life of its own, its own manner of existence and action; and it was because each one had a consciousness of its own value, that each came to possess an independent worth.

CHAPTER X.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE GREEKS.

THE increasing wants of modern states have not only employed practical statesmen, but have led to the formation of many theories, of which the truth and utility are still subjects of discussion. Among the ancients, the finances of the nation were not regarded from so high a point of view, and therefore could not have been, in the same degree, an object of speculation. Whether the world has lost by this, or not, is a question which we prefer to leave unanswered. If the ancients knew less of the importance of the division of labour, they were also less acquainted with the doctrine of the modern schools, which transforms nations into productive herds. The Greeks were aware, that men must have productive arts, if they would live; but that it is the end of life to be employed in them, never entered their minds.

But the modern should not look with absolute contempt on the state of political science among the ancients. The chief question now agitated between theorists and practical statesmen, whether the mere gain in money decides on the wealth of a nation, and should form the object of its industry, was correctly understood and answered by the illustrious Stagirite. "Many," says he,[1] "suppose wealth to consist in the abundance of coined money, because it is the object of usury and commerce. Money is of itself without value, and gains its utility only by the law; when it ceases to be current, it loses its value,[2] and cannot be employed in the acquisition of necessaries; and therefore he who is rich in money, may yet be destitute of a necessary support. But it is ridiculous to say, that wealth consists in any thing, of which a man may be possessed, and yet die of hunger; as the fable relates of Midas, at whose touch every thing became gold."[3]

[1] Aristot. Polit. i. 9.

[2] "Οτι τε μεταθεμένων τῶν χρωμένων οὐδενὸς ἄξιον καὶ χρήσιμον πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστί. I refer χρωμένων to cities or states. "If the cities which hitherto made use of it, change it."

[3] Aristotle found in the traditions of Greece, a more suitable example, than that which the French government usually cited respecting the man, who had abundance of gold on a desert island.

In a nation, in which private existence was subordinate to that of the public, the industry employed in the increase of wealth, could not gain the exclusive importance which it has with the moderns. With the ancients, the citizen was first anxious for the state, and only next for himself. As long as there is any higher object than the acquisition of money, the love of self cannot manifest itself so fully, as where every more elevated pursuit is wanting. While religion in modern Europe primarily engaged the attention of states, as of individuals, the science of finances could not be fully developed, although pecuniary embarrassment was often very sensibly felt. Men learned to tread under foot the most glorious productions of mind, to trample upon the monuments of moral and intellectual greatness, before they received those theories which assign to the great instructors of mankind in philosophy and in religion, a place in the unproductive class. In the states of Greece, each individual was obliged of himself to say, that his own welfare was connected with the welfare of the state; that his private welfare would be ruined by a revolution in the existing order of things, by the rule of the populace, or by subjection to a foreign power; that all his industry was of advantage to him only while the state should continue to subsist. Although the patriotism, thus produced, proceeded frequently from selfishness, it had as a consequence, that the exertions of the individual were directed to something besides his private advantage, and that his private welfare was less regarded than that of the public. The times arrived, in which this too was changed; but they were the precursors of the ruin of liberty.

There was still another reason, which contributed to make the Greeks regard the arts of industry in general, and some of them in particular, in a very different light from that in which they are now considered. And this was slavery, which was generally prevalent, either under the form of domestic servitude, or, in some states, of villanage.

To be convinced of this, we need only look at the variety of employments, which were carried on by slaves and villains. Such were all those household duties, which with us are committed to footmen; and besides them, several other charges, as the superintendence, and, in part, the early education and instruction of children. Vanity, still more than necessity, increased the number of those who were held in bondage, after it became the custom to be served by a numerous retinue of beautiful slaves. In the same manner all labours were performed, which are now done by journeymen and lacqueys. Some of the rich Grecians made a business of keeping slaves to let for such services. All kinds of labour in the mines were performed by slaves; who, as well as the mines, were the property of individual citizens.[1] The sailors on board of the galleys consisted, at least in part, of slaves. Most if not all trades were carried on by slaves; who were universally employed in the manufacturing establishments. In these, not only the labourers, but also the overseers were slaves; for the owners did not even trouble themselves with the care of superintending; but they farmed the whole to persons, who were perhaps often the overseers also, and from whom they received a certain rent, according to the number of slaves, which they were obliged to keep undiminished.[2] In those states where there were slaves attached to the soil, as in Laconia, Messenia, Crete, and Thessaly, agriculture was conducted exclusively by them. In the others, the masters may have bestowed more attention on the subject; but as the Strepsiades of the comedian shows, they did little more than superintend; and the work was left to the slaves.

If we put all this together, we shall see how limited were the branches of industry which remained for the free. But the most unavoidable, and at the same time the most important consequence of it was, that all those employments which were committed to slaves, were regarded as mean and degrading;[3] and this view of them was not only confirmed by prevailing prejudices, but expressly sanctioned by the laws. To this class belonged especially the mechanics, and even the retailers. For although all mechanic employments were by no means conducted by slaves, a shade was thrown on them all. "In well-regulated states," says Aristotle,[4] "the lower order of mechanics are not even admitted to the rights of citizens;" and now we cease to

[1] Xenoph. de Redit. speaks of this at large. [2] See Petit. de Leg. Att. ii. 6.

[3] Βάναυσοι, *artes illiberales*. We have no word which exactly expresses this idea, because we have not the thing itself.

[4] Aristot. Polit. iii. 5. Ἡ δε βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην.

wonder at the proposition of another statesman,[1] who would commit all mechanic labours to public slaves. This was not merely a theory; it was once actually put in practice at Epidamnus.[2] In the cities which were democratically governed, the condition of the mechanics was somewhat more favourable. They could become citizens and magistrates, as at Athens during the period of the democracy.[3] The inferior branches of trade were not looked upon with much more favour. In Thebes, there was a law, that no one, who within ten years had been engaged in retail dealings, could be elected to a magistracy.[4]

As the Grecian cities were very different in character, the ideas which prevailed on this subject could not be the same. In those states where agriculture was the chief employment, the other means of gaining a livelihood may have been despised. In maritime and commercial towns, of which the number was very considerable, the business of commerce must have been esteemed. But those who were employed in manufacturing and selling goods, were never able to gain that degree of respectability which they enjoy among modern nations.[5] Even in Athens, says Xenophon,[6] much would be gained by treating more respectfully and more hospitably the foreign merchants, brought by their business to that city. The income derived from landed estate, was most esteemed by the Greeks. "The best nation," says Aristotle,[7] "is a nation of farmers."

From the little esteem in which the other means of gaining a livelihood were held, it followed that a wealthy middling class could not be formed in the Grecian states; and this is censured by those who have criticised their constitutions, as the chief cause of their unsettled condition. But this censure rests, for the most part, on an erroneous representation. It was degrading for a Grecian to carry on any of those kinds of employment with his own hands; but it by no means lessened his consideration to have them conducted on his account. Workshops and manufactures, as well as mines and lands, could be possessed by the first men in the country.

[1] Phaneas of Chalcedon. Aristot. Polit. ii. 7.
[2] Aristot. Polit. l. c. [3] Aristot. Polit. iii. 4. [4] Aristot. l. c.
[5] Compare on this subject, first of all, Aristot. Polit. i. 11, where he analyzes and treats of the several branches of industry.
[6] Xen. de Redit. Op. p. 922, Leunclav. [7] Aristot. Polit, vi. 4.

The father of Demosthenes, a rich and respectable man, left at his death a manufactory of swords; which was kept up by his son;[1] and examples could be easily multiplied, from the orators and the comedian. When this circumstance is kept in view, the blame attached to the Grecian constitutions is in a great measure, though not entirely removed. The impediments which public opinion put in the way of industry, did not so much injure those concerned in any large enterprise, as those engaged in the smaller occupations. The latter did really feel the evil, and we are not disposed to represent it as inconsiderable.

But we must return once more to the remark which explains the true cause of this regulation; that in the Grecian states, public life was placed above private life. "All agree," says Aristotle,[2] "that in every well-regulated state, sufficient leisure must be preserved from the wants of life for the public business; but a difference of opinion exists as to the manner in which this can be done. It is effected by means of slaves; who are not, however, treated in all places alike." Here we have the point of view, from which the politician should consider slavery in Greece. It served to raise the class of citizens to a sort of nobility, especially where they consisted almost entirely of landed proprietors. It is true, that this class lived by the labours of the other; and every thing, which in modern times has been said respecting and against slavery, may therefore so far be applied to the Grecians. But their fame does not rest on the circumstance of their obtaining that leisure at the expense of the lower order; but in the application which the noblest of them made of that leisure. No one will deny, that without their slaves, the character of the culture of the upper class in Greece could in no respects have become what it did; and if the fruits which were borne possess a value for every cultivated mind, we may at least be permitted to doubt, whether they were too dearly purchased by the introduction of slavery.[3]

[1] Demosth. adv. Aphob. Op. ii. p. 816. [2] Aristotle ii. 9.
[3] This may be the more safely asserted, because it is hardly possible to say any thing in general on the condition of slaves in Greece; so different was it at different times; in different countries; and even in the same country. On this subject I would refer to the following instructive work; Geschichte und Zustand der Sclaverey und Leibeigenschaft in Griechenland, von J. F. Reitemeyer. Berlin, 1789. History and Condition of Slavery and Villanage in Greece, by J. F. Reitemeyer.

The free exertions of industry were in some measure limited by the regulations of which we have spoken; but in a very different manner from any usual in our times. They were the result of public opinion; and if they were confirmed by the laws, this was done in conformity to that opinion. In other respects, the interference of government in the matter was inconsiderable. No efforts were made to preserve the mass of specie undiminished, or to increase it; nothing was known of the balance of trade; and consequently, all the violent measures resulting from it were never devised by the Greeks. They had duties, as well as the moderns; but those duties were exacted only for the sake of increasing the public revenue, not to direct the efforts of domestic industry, by the prohibition of certain wares. There was no prohibition of the exportation of raw materials by way of protection;[1] no encouragement of manufactures at the expense of the agriculturists. In this respect, therefore, there existed freedom of occupations, commerce, and trade. And such was the general custom. As every thing was decided by circumstances, and not by theories, there may have been single exceptions; and perhaps single examples,[2] where the state for a season usurped a monopoly. But how far was this from the mercantile and restrictive system of the moderns!

The reciprocal influence between national economy and that of the state, is so great and so natural, that it was necessary to premise a few observations respecting the former. Before we treat of the latter, it will be useful to say a few words on a subject, which is equally important to both; the money of the Greeks.

National economy can exist without money, but finances cannot. It would be important to fix the time, when coined money first became current in Greece, and when money was first coined in the country itself. But it is difficult to give an exact answer to either of these questions, especially to the first. Homer never speaks of money; and his silence

[1] The exportation of articles of food, especially of corn, may have been prohibited at Athens and elsewhere, when a scarcity was apprehended. Such prohibitions were natural, and could not well fail of being made. The remark in the text refers to prohibitions to favour domestic industry; as of the export of unmanufactured wool. This explanation is in answer to the remarks of Professor Boeckh in his work on the Public Economy of the Athenians, i. 56. [2] Aristot. de Re Famil. l. ii.

is in this case valid as evidence; for in more than one passage where he speaks of a barter,[1] he must necessarily have mentioned it, if he had been acquainted with it. On the other hand, we may confidently affirm on the authority of Demosthenes, that in the age of Solon,[2] coined silver money was not only known in the cities of Greece, but had been in circulation for a length of time;[3] for the punishment of death had already been set upon the crime of counterfeiting it; Solon mentioned it as in general use throughout the Grecian cities; and many of them had already supplied its place with the baser metals. The Grecian coins, which are still extant, can afford us no accurate dates, as the time of their coinage is not marked upon them; but several of them are certainly as ancient as the age of Solon; and perhaps are even older. The coins of Sybaris, for example, must be at least of the sixth century before the Christian era; as that city was totally destroyed in the year 510 B.C. The most ancient coins of Rhegium, Croton, and Syracuse, seem from the letters in the superscriptions to be of far higher antiquity.[4] If the account that Lycurgus prohibited in Sparta the use of money of the precious metals, is well supported,[5] we should be able to trace the history of Grecian coins to a still more remote age; and this opinion is corroborated at least by the narration of the Parian chronicle,[6] that Phidon

[1] As for example, Il. vi. 472. Od. i. 430.

[2] About 600 years before the Christian era.

[3] "I will relate to you," says the orator, while opposing a bill brought in by Timocrates, "what Solon once said against a man who proposed a bad law. The cities, said he to the judges, have a law, that he who counterfeits money, shall be put to death. He thought this law was made for the protection of private persons, and their private intercourse; but the laws he esteemed the coin of the state. They, therefore, who corrupt the laws, must be much more heavily punished, than they who adulterate the coinage or introduce false money. Yea, many cities exist and flourish, although they debase their silver money with brass and lead; but those which have bad laws, will certainly be ruined." Demosth. in Timocrat. Op. i. p. 763, 764. Compare with this what Herod. iii. 56, remarks of the counterfeit money, with which Polycrates is said to have cheated the Spartans.

[4] Ekhel. Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, i. p. 170—177, 242.

[5] Plutarch. in Lycurg. Op. i. p. 177. His code is computed to have been given about 880 years B. C.

[6] Marmor Parium. Ep. xxxi. cf. Strabo viii. p. 563. This was about 15 years before the legislation of Lycurgus. It might, therefore, not without probability be supposed, that Lycurgus wished and was able to prohibit money of the precious metals, because it at that time was just beginning to circulate in Greece.

of Argos in the year 631 (i. e. 895 years B. C.) first began to coin silver in the island of Ægina.

But although we cannot at present trace the history of coined money in Greece any further,[1] we may from the preceding observations infer one general conclusion; the founding of colonies and the intercourse kept up with them, caused coined money to be introduced and extensively used in Greece. Before their foundation, the Greeks knew nothing of coined money. When money was first coined in Ægina, the colonies of Asia Minor and of Magna Græcia[2] were already established and flourishing; and we are expressly informed, that money was coined in that island, in order to carry on commerce beyond the sea.[3] It cannot be proved with certainty, that money was coined in the Asiatic colonies sooner than in the mother country. But when we call to mind the well-known relation of Herodotus,[4] that the Lydians were the inventors of money coined of gold and silver, (a thing in itself not improbable, as it is known that Lydia abounded in gold,[5]) and that the most flourishing Grecian colonies were situated on the Lydian coasts, we cannot but find it highly probable, that the Greeks received the art of coining, like so many other inventions, from Asia; and here too the remark is valid, that in their hands every thing received a new form and a new beauty. For no nation has ever yet had coins, of which the stamp equalled in beauty those of the Grecian, and especially of the Sicilian cities.

The right of minting gold was regarded in Greece as the privilege of the state, which superintended it. Hence arose that variety and multitude of city coins, which are easily distinguished by their peculiar stamps. Coins were also struck by several of the tribes, the Thessalians, the Bœotians, and others, as they formed by their alliances one political body.

Though the Grecian coins were of both precious and base

[1] Compare Wachteri Archæologia Nummaria, Lips. 1740; and the introductory inquiries in Ekhel. D. N. V.

[2] As e. g. Cumæ.

[3] Strabo viii. p. 577. He refers to Ephorus. [4] Herod. i. 94.

[5] Nor is there any other nation which disputes this honour with the Lydians. For the Egyptians, e. g., are named without any reason. See Wachter, l. c. cap. iv.

metals, they were originally struck of precious metal only, and probably at first of nothing but silver. So few of the gold coins have been preserved, that we cannot certainly say, whether they are altogether as ancient; but those of base metal are certainly of a later period. That, even before the time of Solon, silver money had in many cities a large proportion of alloy, appears from the passage which we cited from Demosthenes.[1] In Hellas itself, we know of no silver mines except those of Laurium, which were very ancient;[2] but the gold mines of Thrace and the neighbouring island Thasos were quite as ancient, for they were wrought by the Phœnicians. Yet the Greeks received most of their gold from Lydia. And still there was not specie enough in circulation, especially in the commercial towns; and although the Greeks knew nothing of paper money, several cities made use of the same resource, which had been introduced at Carthage,[3] the use of nominal coins, which possessed a current value, not corresponding to their intrinsic one.[4] Such was the iron money (if my view is a just one) which was adopted in Byzantium, Clazomene,[5] and perhaps in some other cities.[6] It is certain, therefore, that the Greeks had money which was current only in the state, and out of it was of no value; as we learn also from a passage in Plato.[7] It is much to be regretted, that we do not know by what means its value was kept from falling.

The inquiry into the economy of a nation, intricate as it may be, can be reduced to the following points: What were the wants of the state? What means were adopted to

[1] Yet the ancient gold coins which we still possess, have almost no alloy, and the silver ones very little.

[2] So old, that it was impossible to fix their age. Xenoph. de Redit. Op. p. 924.

[3] Heeren's Ideen ii. S. 164. [4] Pollux ix. 78.

[5] Aristot. Œcon. ii. Op. ii. p. 383. A decisive passage.

[6] Most of the cities, says Xenophon, Op. p. 922, have money, which is not current except in their own territory; hence merchants are obliged to barter their own wares for other wares. Athens makes a solitary exception; its silver drachmas had universal currency. It was therefore quite common for cities to have two kinds of money, coins of nominal value, current only in the city which struck them; and metallic money, of which the value depended on its intrinsic worth, and which circulated in other places. Hence Plato, de Legg. v. p. 742, permits this in his state.

[7] Plato l. c. The current silver money consisted in drachmas, and pieces of money were struck of as much as four drachmas. Ekhel. i. p. lxxxv. thinks it probable, that the other cities, in their silver coin, followed the Attic standard.

supply them? How were those means brought together? How administered? The inquiry respecting the economy of the Grecian states will be conducted with reference to these questions.

The small republics of that people appear at the first view, according to the modern criterion, to have hardly had any wants, which could make a financial system necessary; and in fact there were some states, as Sparta during a long period, without any finances. The magistrates were rewarded with honour, not with a salary. The soldiers were citizens, and not hirelings; and many of those public institutions, which are now supported by the governments for the most various purposes, and in part at very great expense, were then entirely unknown, because they were not felt to be necessary.

And yet we find that the burdens which the citizens of those republics had to support, continued gradually to increase; especially at the epochs of the Persian wars, and the Peloponnesian, and in the later period of Grecian liberty, they became very oppressive. States can create wants, no less than individuals. Even in Greece, experience shows that necessities are multiplied with the increase of power and splendour. But when we call them oppressive, we must not forget, that the heaviness of the contributions paid to the state, is not to be estimated by their absolute amount; nor yet by the proportion alone, which that amount bears to the income. In our present investigations, it is more important to bear in mind, what our modern economists have entirely overlooked, that in republican states (or at least more especially in them) there exists, beside the criterion of money, a moral criterion, by which a judgment on the greater or less degree of oppression is to be formed. Where the citizen exists only with and for the state; where the preservation of the commonwealth is every thing to the individual; many a tax is easily paid, which under other circumstances would have been highly oppressive. But in the theories of our modern political artists, there is no chapter, which treats of the important influence of patriotism and public spirit on the financial system; probably because the statistical tables have no rubric for them as sources of produce.

The wants of states are partly established by their nature; but still more by opinion. That is a real want, which is believed to be such. The explanation of the management of the affairs of any nation would necessarily be very imperfect, if we should pay no regard to the ideas which it entertained respecting its necessities. On this point the Greeks had very different notions from ours. Many things seemed essential to them, which do not appear so to us; many things are needed by us, of which they did not feel the necessity.

The first object with the Greek was the honour and splendour of his city. In that world of small republics, each wished to make itself remarkable; each to be distinguished for something. Now there were two things which, in the eyes of the Greeks, rendered a city illustrious; its public monuments and its festivals. These objects were therefore politically necessary, in a different sense from that in which they can be called so in modern states. Among these the first place belongs to the temples. No Grecian city was without gods, of whom it honoured some as its guardian deities. How could these gods be left without dwelling-places? The art of sculpture was very naturally exerted in connexion with that of architecture; for the statues of the gods did not merely adorn the temples, but were indispensably necessary as objects of adoration. The same may be said of the festivals. Life without holidays would have ceased to be life to a Greek. But these holidays were not passed exclusively in prayers, or at banquets. Processions, music, and public shows, were an essential part of them. These were not merely the diversions of the people during the festival, they constituted the festival itself.

All this was intimately connected with religion. The Greeks had almost no public festivals except religious ones. They were celebrated in honour of some god, some hero; above all, in honour of the patron deities of the place.[1] By this means, many things which we are accustomed to regard as objects of amusement, received a much more elevated character. They became duties enjoined by religion; which could not be neglected without injury to the honour

[1] Meursii Græcia Feriata, in Gronov. Thes. Ant. Græc. vol. vii., is one of the richest compilations on the subject of the Grecian festivals.

and reputation, and even to the welfare of the city. The gods would have been incensed; and the accidental evils, which might have fallen on the city, would infallibly have been regarded as punishments inflicted by the gods. We need not therefore be astonished, when we hear that a city could be very seriously embarrassed for want of sufficient means to celebrate its festivals with due solemnity.[1]

Thus an almost immeasurable field was opened for public expenses of a kind hardly known to modern states. Even in cases where the governments believe it necessary to expend something on public festivals, little is done except in the capital; and this expenditure has never, to our knowledge, made an article in a budget. It would have made the very first in Grecian cities, at least in times of peace. And he who can vividly present those states to his mind, will easily perceive how many things must have combined to increase these expenditures. They were prompted not by a mere regard for the honour of the state; jealousy and envy of the other cities were of influence also. And still more is to be attributed to the emulation and the vanity of those, who were appointed to the charge of the expenditures. One desired to surpass another. This was the most reputable manner of displaying wealth. And although, as far as we know, public shows were not, in the Grecian cities, so indispensably the means of gaining the favour of the people as at Rome, (probably because what in Rome was originally voluntary, had ever been considered in Greece as one of the duties and burdens of a citizen, which did not merit even thanks,) political ends may have often been of influence with individuals.

The Grecian temples had, for the most part, possessions of their own, with which they met the expenses incurred in the service of the god. Their possessions consisted partly in votive presents, which, especially where the divinities of health and prophecy were adored, had been offered by the hopes or the gratitude of the suppliants for aid and counsel. We know from several examples, especially from that of the Delphic temple, that treasures were there accumulated, of more value probably than those of Loretto, or any other

[1] Consult what Aristotle relates of Antissæus, Op. ii. p. 390.

shrine in Europe.[1] ut as they were sacred to the gods, and did not come into circulation, they were, for the most part, but unproductive treasures, possessing no other value than what they received from the artist. We could desire more accurate information respecting the administration of the treasures of the temples; for it seems hardly credible, that the great stores of gold and silver, which were not wrought, should have been left entirely unemployed. But besides these treasures, the temples drew a large part of their revenue from lands;[2] which were not unfrequently consecrated to their service. When a new colonial city was built, it was usual to devote at once a part of its territory to the gods.[3] But although these resources were sufficient for the support of the temple, the priests, the various persons employed in the service of the temple, and perhaps the daily sacrifices, yet the incense and other expenses, the celebration of the festivals with all the costs connected with it, still continued a burden to be borne by the public.

Beside the expenses which were required by religion and the honour of the city, there were others which the administration made necessary. The magistrates, in the proper sense of the word, were without salaries; but the state needed many inferior servants for the taxes, the police, etc.; and these must certainly have been paid.[4] Add to this, that several of the duties of citizens were of such a nature that

[1] The consequences with which the profanation of the Delphic treasures in the Sacred war, was fraught for Greece, may be learned from Athen. vi. 231, etc.

[2] Not only single fields, but whole districts were consecrated to the gods. Beside the fields of Cirrha, it was desired to consecrate the whole of Phocis to Apollo of Delphi. Diod. xvi. p. 245. Brasidas devoted to Pallas the territory of Lecythus, which he had conquered. Thucyd. iv. cap. 116. It is a mistake to believe that the consecrated land must have remained uncultivated. That of Cirrha remained so, because a curse rested on it. Pausan. p. 894. In other cases it was used sometimes for pasture land, especially for the sacred herds; Thucyd. v. 53; sometimes it was tilled; Thucyd. iii. 68; but for the most part let for a rent. Whoever did not pay the rent, *μισθώσεις τῶν τεμένων*, was considered destitute of honour. Demosth. in Macart. Op. ii. p. 1069. In another passage, the orator complains of the number of enemies he had made by collecting these rents when he was Demarch. Or. in Eubulid. Op. ii. p. 1318. Two contracts for similar rents have been preserved. Mazochi Tabb. Heracleens, p. 145, etc., and 257, etc.

[3] Plato de Legg. iv. p. 717.

[4] But though the magistrates were not paid, there were certain offices (especially such as were connected with the care of any funds) which could be made very productive to those who held them. An example of this kind is found in Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 570.

it subsequently became necessary to pay for the performance of them, though it had not been done at an earlier period. To this class belongs the duty of attending in the courts; and the investigation of the Attic state will prove to us, that the number of those who were to be paid, caused this expense to be one of the heaviest.

But as the states increased in power, the greatest expenditures were occasioned by the military and naval establishments. These expenditures were, for the most part, extraordinary; since the state in times of peace had no standing army, and no mariners to pay. But even in times of peace, large appropriations were needed for the support of the magazines and the ships; and unfortunately for Greece, the common condition of the more powerful states came at last to be that of war rather than of peace. If wars under any circumstances are costly, two causes contributed to make them especially so in Greece. The first was the custom which arose of employing hired troops. As long as wars were carried on by the militia of the country, which required no pay, the costs of them were not very considerable, as each one served at his own expense. But when hired troops began to be used, every thing was changed. We shall take another opportunity of showing how this custom, by which the whole political condition of Greece was most deeply and incurably disordered, continued to gain ground from the first moment of its introduction. Hence proceeded the pecuniary embarrassment of so many Grecian cities during the Peloponnesian war. The second leading cause is to be found in the progress of naval forces, and their increasing importance to the ruling states. The building, support, and fitting out of squadrons, which are always so expensive, must have been doubly so to the Greeks, who were obliged to import their timber and many other articles from a distance. The expense became still greater, when the cities began to outbid each other in the pay of their mariners; which they did, as soon as the Spartans were enabled by the Persian supplies to cope in this matter with their rivals.[1] Need we be astonished, then, at finding under such

[1] This is known to have been done during the Peloponnesian war as well by the Corinthians, Thucyd. i. 31, as by Sparta, which state received of the Persians more than 5000 talents (nearly five million dollars) for that purpose. Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 179.

circumstances, that the trierarchies, or contributions of the rich towards the fitting out of the galleys, were the most oppressive of all the public burdens?[1]

Different, therefore, as was the list of public expenses from that of modern states, we still find points of agreement. We have now to inquire, What were the sources of the public revenue? What in particular was the system of taxation?

There is but one state in Greece, that of Athens, respecting which any accurate information on this subject has been preserved. It would be too hasty an inference to say, that what was usual in that city was usual in the others. But though the particular regulations may have been very different, a great general similarity must certainly have prevailed; and it is that which we are now to consider. Such a resemblance was a natural consequence of the great preponderating power and political influence of Athens. In the states which were its allies, how much must necessarily have been regulated by its example! And the little information which we are able to collect respecting their revenues, appears to prove the general resemblance beyond a doubt. Special differences certainly existed.

It is to Aristotle, once more, that we owe a general view of this subject.[2] After classifying the sources of revenue in monarchies, with respect to the general no less than the provincial administration,[3] he continues; "The third kind of administration, is that of free states. For them, the principal source of revenue is from the produce of their own soil; the second from merchandise and the markets; the third from the contributions paid by the citizens in turn."[4]

[1] We do not find it mentioned, that the trierarchies, which were common in Athens, were usual in the other maritime cities; but the rich doubtless bore the burden of fitting out the ships. See, respecting Corinth, Thucyd. l. c.

[2] Aristot. de Re Familiari, ii. 1. This little work is, probably, not by the Stagirite. It is a collection of examples or excerpta, where less depends on the author than on the age in which it was written. Even its editor, Schneider, concedes that it bears marks of belonging to the period of the Persian empire, being at least as old as Aristotle or Alexander. And yet Aristotle himself may have made such collections; of which one may have reached us.

[3] Ἡ *βασιλικὴ* and *ἡ σατραπικὴ*. When the Greeks spoke of an empire, they always had in mind the empire of Persia.

[4] *Τρίτην δὲ τὴν πολιτικήν. Ταύτης δὲ κρατίστη μὲν πρόσοδος, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων, εἶτα ἀπὸ ἐμποριων καὶ δι' ἀγώνων, εἶτα ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.* It is known from the orators, that these last are the burdens borne in turn by the rich, λειτουργίαι. Demosth. in Leptin. Op. i. p. 463. If the words *δι'*

When we learn, that these last were a sort of property tax for the richer class, and that the second could have been nothing but duties on articles of consumption, we perceive at once, what we are soon to prove, that in the Grecian states, our direct and indirect taxes were known and introduced, though in technical language the distinction was differently made. The subject deserves to be treated with closer attention.

In the political economy of the moderns, the taxes on lands and houses are considered the most important of all direct taxes. How far had the Greeks the one and the other? They certainly were acquainted with both. "In Menda," says Aristotle, "the common expenses of the administration are paid from the revenue derived from the harbours and duties; the taxes, on the contrary, on lands and houses are regularly assessed; but they are collected from those who are bound to pay them, only in times of a great want of money."[1] This example shows very clearly, that the Greeks knew the practical difference between direct and indirect taxes; but it still remains doubtful, whether the tax on the soil was a land tax in the modern sense, according to its square contents and quality; or whether it was a tax on the raw produce. The first is not probable. We hear nothing of a register of landed estates in Greece; though there existed such a one in the great empire of Persia. Where the taxes are treated of, the expressions appear rather to indicate, that a proportion of the produce was paid. It was commonly tithes, which were taken of fruits and of cattle; as Aristotle expressly mentions in the passages first cited.[2] In what degree these taxes were usual in the Grecian cities, is no where expressly related; nor do we know whether they were levied on certain estates, or on all lands. That they were very common, is hardly doubtful, since the remark of Aristotle is a general one.

Poll taxes were less frequently levied on the citizens (though we would not assert, that they did not in any

ἀγώνων are correct, the public games and assemblies are intended, with which fairs were commonly connected; otherwise it would be natural to conjecture *ἀγορῶν* instead of *ἀγώνων*. The sense remains the same.

[1] Aristot. de Re Famil. Op. ii. 393. Menda was a Grecian city on the coast of Macedonia, not far from Potidæa.

[2] Compare de Re Famil. ii. 1.

degree exist with respect to them) than on the inquilini or resident foreigners. These formed in most of the Grecian cities a numerous class of inhabitants, and were obliged to pay for protection, a sum[1] which was sometimes a poll tax, and sometimes an impost on property. We know with certainty, that such sums were paid by the foreigners at Athens.

However much the practical politician may be excited by increasing wants to exert his inventive powers, the character of the state settles in a certain measure the kinds of taxes. Where a community imposes its own taxes, the direct taxes, and among them those on property, will have the first rank. That each citizen, or rather, that the richer citizens (for the rule does not of course apply to the poorer classes) should share in the public burdens in proportion to their means, is so natural an idea, that it cannot but occur of itself. But when we consider the taxes on property as forming the chief division, we must premise two observations in connexion with that remark.

First: The taxes on property were not so regular, that they were paid from year to year according to the same fixed measure. The necessary sums were rather voted as circumstances required; which also decided the degree of rigour with which they were collected. Of this we have proof in very many examples in Demosthenes and others.[2] In times of peace, whole years might pass away, in which no such taxes were required to be paid; while in others they increased so much, that Isocrates could say, it was almost better to be a poor man than a rich one; because the poor were not exposed to them.[3]

Secondly: There were certain kinds of expenses, which were not estimated at a fixed amount, but were too considerable to be borne by any but the opulent; we mean those offices which each citizen was obliged to perform in his turn, and at his own expense (*λειτουργίαι*).[4] To this class

[1] *Τὸ μετοίκιον.* The regulations respecting this, and its amount, may be found in Harpocration, h. v.

[2] They were called in Athens the *εἰσφοραὶ*; not known, at least by that name in Athens, before the Peloponnesian war. Boeckh ii. 4. No one will doubt that they were introduced into other cities, though under different names.

[3] Isocrat. de Pace. Op. p. 185.

[4] In the broadest sense; in so far as the word comprehends not only the fitting out of the ships (*τριηραρχίαι*), but also the charge of the chorus (*χορηγίαι*), and the gymnastic games (*γυμνασιαρχίαι*).

belonged partly the charge of the public festivals and shows, banquets and bands of music connected with them; and partly, at least in Athens, and probably in other maritime towns, the fitting out of the galleys. The first class of these expenses, was by its nature a permanent one; and the other was almost, though not perfectly so. They were borne by the citizens in rotation; and those who were free one year, were obliged to defray them the next. But they, especially the first, were the more oppressive, as they were not fixed at any certain amount; but depended not merely on the wants of the state, but the pride of him who supplied them.

Taxes on property are attended with one great difficulty, that they cannot be apportioned out without a knowledge of the fortunes of each contributor. But they depend also more than any other on correctness of moral sentiment and on public spirit. Where these exist, (and they can no where more prevail than in such civil communities as the Grecian states,) there is no need of returns on the part of those who are to be taxed, nor of any inquisition on the part of the state. Confidence is reposed in the conscience of the contributor; and examples may be found in history, of states in which even a suspicion of any insincerity was almost unheard of.[1] In the Grecian cities, at least in Athens, very severe measures were in the later periods made use of against those, who were suspected of concealing the true state of their fortunes, or whom it was desired to vex in that manner. They could be compelled to exchange their property for the sum at which they had estimated it.[2] But in better times, such measures, though perhaps permitted, seem never to have been usual. A division was made into classes according to the income; such as had been established in Athens, by the regulations of Solon. These classes presupposed an estimate of property;[3] but whether this was made in the Grecian cities as accurately as the census of the Romans, is a question which we must leave undecided.[4]

[1] As in several of the late German imperial towns. The author is acquainted with one, in which the contributions were thrown into a box, unexamined; and yet the amount of the whole was previously known, with almost perfect exactness.

[2] The *ἀντιδόσεις*. See, on this subject, the speech of Isocrates, Op. p. 312, etc.

[3] *τίμημα*, Demosth. in Aphob. Orat. i. Op. ii. p. 3, etc.

[4] In some of the cities, great accuracy seems to have prevailed in this

The indirect taxes, by which we mean the duties paid on the importation and exportation of articles, as also on their consumption, were probably as common in the Grecian cities, as those above mentioned. The instance of the city Menda, which we have already cited, shows that they were preferred, at least in some instances, to the direct taxes. Much that related to them, was decided by the situation and chief employment of the cities. The duties were naturally a much more productive source of revenue to the maritime and commercial towns, than to the cities of the interior. But where these taxes were introduced, they were a constant source of income; while the taxes on property were each time imposed anew. From this it naturally resulted, that they were chiefly destined to meet the usual expenditures.

Our knowledge of the organization of the Grecian customs, is very imperfect. Yet we cannot doubt, that duties were almost universally common. But they were most probably limited to the sea-ports and harbours; in connexion with these, they are almost always mentioned;[1] I know of no instance of customs in the interior. They were, according to Aristotle, levied on imported and exported articles.[2] In Athens, the customs are frequently mentioned by the orators; in Thessaly they formed the chief source of the revenue;[3] and they were not of less moment in Macedonia.[4] When the Athenians became the masters of the Ægean Sea, they appropriated to themselves, in all subject islands, the collecting of the customs, instead of the tribute which had before been usual.[5] The same was done with the very productive customs of Byzantium, which all the commerce to the Black Sea was obliged to discharge,[6] just as

business. Thus in Chios, all private debts were entered in a public book, so that it might be known, what capital was lent out. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 390. In the Athenian colony Potidæa, in a time of war, when money was wanting, every citizen was obliged to specify his property with exactness, and the contributions (*εἰσφοραὶ*) were apportioned out accordingly. He who possessed no property, *κτήμα οὐθὲν*, paid a poll tax; his person being reckoned as a capital of two minæ, (about thirty dollars,) he paid the tax due on such a sum. Aristot. l. c.

[1] Hence the phrase *λιμένας καρποῦσθαι, to collect the customs in the harbours*, Demosthen. i. 15.

[2] Aristot. l. c. *τὰ εἰσαγώγιμα καὶ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα.*

[3] Demosth. l. c.

[4] They were commonly rented out in that country for twenty talents; which sum Callistratus knew how to double. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 393.

[5] Thucyd. iv. 28.

[6] Demosth. Op. i. p. 475.

the commerce to the East sea has hitherto been obliged to pay a tribute in the Sound. This comparison is the more just, as the duties of Byzantium, no less than those in the Sound, have been the occasion even of a war.[1]

These examples, of which the number could easily be increased, are quite sufficient to prove, that duties were very generally exacted in the sea-ports. The principle according to which the customs were regulated, had nothing in view but the increase of the public revenue; and no design was connected with them, of encouraging and directing domestic industry. At least we have never been able to find any hint to that effect. But the tariff seems to have been very different in the several cities, and for the different articles of merchandise. At Byzantium, the duty was ten per cent. on the value of the wares.[2] The Athenians, on the contrary, when they imposed duties in the harbours of their allies during the Peloponnesian war, exacted only five per cent.[3] In Athens itself, there were, at least in the time of Demosthenes, several articles which paid a duty of but two per cent.[4] To this class belonged all corn introduced into Athens;[5] and several other objects, such as fine woollen garments and vessels of silver.[6]

We distinguish in our system of finances between duties on importation and exportation, and taxes on domestic consumption.[7] It may be asked, if this was also the case in Greece? I do not doubt that it was; but in the Grecian cities, as in Rome and perhaps in the whole of the ancient world, these taxes were imposed in but one very simple form. They were connected with the markets. Whatever was there offered for sale, paid a duty; and hence this duty is mentioned only with reference to the markets.[8] And I find no proof, that the system of taxing consumption was carried so far in any ancient state, as it has been in several modern countries.[9]

[1] Namely, between Byzantium and Rhodes.

[2] Demosth. Op. i. p. 475. [3] Thucyd. vii. 28.

[4] This is the *πεντηκοστολόγος ἀπογραφή, the tariff of the fiftieth penny.* Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 558. [5] Demosth. in Neær. Op. ii. p. 1353.

[6] Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 568, enumerates several.

[7] Such as the excise, licences, etc.

[8] In Aristot. ii. p. 388. *ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γήν τε καὶ ἀγοραίων τελῶν πρόσοδος.* Hence the expression; *τὰς ἀγορὰς καρποῦσθαι, to collect the revenue from the markets.* Demosth. Olynth. i. Op. i. p. 15.

[9] In Babylon, there existed an antiquated law which was renewed by the governor appointed by Alexander, and which required that a tithe should be paid of every thing brought into the city. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 395.

Beside the taxes already enumerated, there were other particular ones on various articles of luxury. Thus in Lycia a tax was paid for wearing false hair;[1] in Ephesus, ornaments of gold were prohibited, and the women ordered to give them up to the state. Examples are preserved by Aristotle, where in cases of necessity, single cities adopted various extraordinary measures, such as the sale of the public estates,[2] the sale of the privilege of citizenship, taxes on several professions and employments,[3] as of soothsayers and quacks, and monopolies, of which the state possessed itself for a season.

In all the Grecian cities, the indirect taxes, especially the duties, were most probably farmed. The custom of farming the revenue prevailed in a much greater degree in several of the monarchical states of antiquity; in the Grecian republics, it seems to have been restricted to the indirect taxes. It is generally known, that in Athens the duties were farmed; but the same was the case in Byzantium, in Macedonia, and in other places.[4] Demosthenes distinguishes three classes of persons who were interested in this transaction; those who rented this branch of the revenue; their bondsmen; and the inspectors and the receivers.[5] It would be superfluous to speak of the great evils of this arrangement; but has it not been preserved by much larger states in modern Europe?

One important question still remains: In the Grecian cities, who had the right of fixing the taxes? The political science of the moderns has regarded it as one of the most important points, as the peculiar characteristic of a free constitution, that the government should not be permitted to impose taxes without the consent of the people, given di-

[1] Aristot. Œcon. ii. Op. ii. p. 385.

[2] By the Byzantians. Aristot. l. c. p. 389. That which follows is also related by him in the same place.

[3] A general income tax of 10 per cent. on all employments, was laid by king Tachus in Egypt, at the instance of Chabrias. Aristot. l. c. p. 394. Though executed in Egypt, the idea was that of a Greek; and Pitt must resign his claim to the invention of the Income tax.

[4] See the passages cited above, which prove this.

[5] Demosth. Op. i. p. 745. *τέλος τι πριάμενος, ἢ ἐγγυησμενάος, ἢ ἐκλέγων.* Those who rented the taxes of the state, were of course obliged to procure safe bondsmen.

rectly, or by consent of its deputies. In most of the ancient republics, the same custom probably prevailed; yet it is remarkable that no particular value was ever set upon this privilege; and much less was it considered a criterion of political liberty. The whole system of taxation, we have already remarked, was not viewed from the same elevated point which is now taken; nor can this principle be fully developed, except where the representative system is introduced. But properly speaking, the whole subject was considered by the Greeks from a very different side. Their magistrates were bound to acknowledge the obligation of laying their accounts before the people. This was the characteristic of freedom.[1] Where this right is preserved by the people, it is of much less importance by whom the taxes are imposed.

But this question hardly admits of a general answer in the Grecian cities. It cannot be doubted that the difference of constitutions produced differences in this matter; but if from the want of documents this is only a conjecture, it is on the other hand certain, that the difference of the taxes must have produced such a variety.

The regular and abiding taxes were fixed by laws; which in part were expressly called ancient laws.[2] The sum which was allotted in Athens for the annual expense of the public sacrifices, was fixed by the laws of Solon at six talents.[3] For this purpose, no other appropriations were needed. The tariffs of the duties and taxes on consumption were in like manner permanent laws, which, as their very names indicate,[4] were doubtless granted by the people; who of course had the right of making alterations in them. Those public charges, which were borne in turn, the trierarchies and the providing of the chorus, were also established by ancient laws;[5] although these offices, especially the first, were, from their very nature, much influenced by the circumstances of the times; and hence they underwent greater and more frequent changes than any other imposts. That these regulations and their changes could not be made without the consent of the people, will not be doubted by any

[1] See above, p. 115. [2] Demosth. Op. i. p. 462.
[3] See Lysias in Nicomach. Or. Gr. v. p. 856.
[4] Νόμοι τελωνικοί. Demosth. i. p. 732. [5] Demosth. i. p. 462.

one, who knows that every thing which the Greeks called a law, νόμος, could proceed from no other fountain.

But what were the regulations respecting those extraordinary imposts, which were hardly less than permanent, those taxes on property, which we comprehend under the name of tribute (εἰσφοραι)? That these should have been fixed exclusively by the people, seems so natural in states where the highest authority is possessed by a popular assembly, that it may be thought superfluous to suggest this question. Yet we know that it was not so in Rome; where the taxes were fixed, not by the people, but solely by the senate. But in Athens, as we may learn from any one of the political orations of Demosthenes, the taxes needed always to be confirmed by the people. It would be too hasty to infer from Athens, that the same was true of all the other Grecian states. But wherever the financial regulations of the other states are mentioned, (unless they were in subjection to a tyrant,[1]) it is always done in expressions which authorize the conclusion, that the consent of the people or the assembly of the citizens was necessary.[2]

So much the greater variety seems to have prevailed in the administration of the public revenue, not only in the several states, but also at different periods in the same state. Those places and offices which were connected with that administration, were naturally the objects of the greatest competition; and this alone would be sufficient to explain the changes which were made. But must not the difference of the constitutions have exercised its influence? In states, of which certain families, distinguished for their wealth and descent, had made themselves the leaders, what could be expected, but that they should obtain the management of the public money? In the two principal cities of Greece, the most remarkable difference is perceptible. At Athens, the

[1] Where tyrants had possessed themselves of the government, they imposed taxes at their own pleasure, as they were not ὑπεύθυνοι; they also adopted various artifices to increase their revenue, such as debasing the coin, etc., of which Aristotle, Œcon. L. ii., has preserved various examples. But where they desired to preserve an appearance of decency, as Dionysius I. in Syracuse, who in other respects took so many liberties, this matter was laid by them before the ἐκκλησία. Aristot. l. c.
[2] In the examples which Aristot. l. c. cites of Clazomene, Potidæa, and other places, his phrase is ἐψηφίσαντο, or sometimes νόμον ἔθεντο, which, it is well known, can be understood only of the decrees of the people.

council of five hundred had the care of the public money; in Sparta, this had been secured by the Ephori. A great difference may be supposed to have prevailed in the other Grecian cities; certainly with respect to the persons who held the offices of collectors and accountants. But we have almost no historical information respecting any place but Athens.

Of all forms of government, those of free cities are perhaps the least adapted to the developing of an artificial system of finances. For in them the wants, and the means of satisfying those wants, are commonly very simple. Changes are difficult; for they presuppose the consent of the commonalty. They who propose them, can hardly expect thanks; but rather hatred, and even persecution. Hence ancient usage is preserved as much as possible; and when extraordinary wants occur, recourse is had to extraordinary measures, concerted for the moment, rather than to any change in the existing institutions. It is different in extensive monarchies, where every thing moves more firmly and more regularly; and though their practice is not so much founded on scientific views as on certain maxims, still it is in them that an artificial system of finances can be formed.

CHAPTER XI.

THE JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS.

UNLIKE the regulations of our modern states, the judiciary department did not form in Greece a distinct, independent branch of the constitution. On the contrary, it was so intimately connected with the rest, that it can with difficulty be made a separate object of investigation. Hardly any subject in Grecian antiquities is so intricate, or so difficult of explanation; and yet without a knowledge of it, no correct view of the ancient states can possibly be formed. Our present object is, to develope the general character of the judicial institutions, without entering into particulars respecting the organization of the Attic courts. All that we have to say upon this subject, will find a place in our inquiries concerning that state.

The want of accounts is the chief but not the only source of the difficulty, which attends this investigation with respect to every state but Athens. From the want of uniformity, as well as the foreign character of many of the regulations, it would be arduous to take a general survey of the subject, even if the historical documents were abundant. To gain a correct view of it, some attention must be paid to its history.

The judicial institutions of the Greeks were the creation of time and circumstances. The form, therefore, which they eventually assumed, could not well correspond to the requisitions of a theory. We are forced to content ourselves on many points with saying that it was so; without being able to give any satisfactory reasons why it was so.

The judicial institutions of a nation proceed from very simple beginnings. Where they are left to be developed by circumstances and the necessities of the times, they cannot but become more and more intricate; since with the progress of culture, new relations arise, both at home and with foreign countries. In the heroic age, kings sat on the tribunals of justice, though even then arbitrators were not unusual. There existed at that time no written laws; questions were decided by prescription, and good common sense, directed by a love of justice.

When nations begin to emerge from the rude condition of savages, the first necessity which is felt, is that of personal security, and next, the security of property. National legislation has always commenced with the criminal code and the police laws; the rights of citizens were defined more slowly, and at a later period; because it was not sooner necessary. The oldest courts of justice were established very early, probably in the times of the kings. Their immediate object was to pass judgment on the crime of murder, and other heinous offences. This was the case with the Areopagus, the most ancient court with which the Greeks were acquainted; and others were of almost as great an age.

The royal governments passed away; and the popular assemblies took their place. The existing courts of justice were then by no means abolished; although in the progress of

time, and amidst the revolutions in the forms of government, they could not but undergo various modifications.

In the states of modern Europe, the form of the judicial institutions was in a great measure the result of the form of the feudal. In the latter there were different degrees of fealty and submission; and hence arose the principle, that no man can be tried by any but his peers. Thus a difference in the courts was necessarily produced. The immediate vassal of the crown recognised only those for his judges, who stood in the same rank with himself, and owed fealty to the same master. The freeman and the villain could not stand before the same tribunal.

The same principle, that a man must be tried by his peers, prevailed among the Greeks. But its application must have produced very different results. The community consisted of citizens, who either were or claimed to be equal. It discussed all affairs relating to itself, and hence actions at law among the rest. Thus the common assembly performed the office of judges; and the foundation of the popular courts of justice was laid. A political notion now prevailed, a notion never adopted in our modern constitutions; that it was essential for a citizen to take a part in the administration of justice. Even in those of our modern states which in so many things resemble the Grecian, the German imperial cities, this idea could never have been suggested and applied. They had adopted the laws of an ancient nation, written in an ancient language; and to understand them, much learning was required, of which not every one could be possessed. It was not so in Greece. The laws were in the language of the country; and although their number gradually increased, they were still accessible to all. Neither was it necessary to retain them in memory, and have them always present to the mind. The orator during his speech, had a reader at his side with a copy of them. Whenever he referred to any law, it was read aloud; as is proved by a multitude of examples in Demosthenes and others. Every thing was, however, transacted orally. The judges were not obliged to peruse written documents; they listened, and gave in their votes.

All this appears very simple, and easy to be understood. And yet the judicial institutions of Greece, if we should form our opinion from one state, were so confused, that it is difficult for the most learned antiquarians to find their way out of the labyrinth. The greatest errors are made by those, who, forgetting that the institutions in question were not formed systematically, but practically with the progress of time, endeavour to find the means of explanation in speculative ideas.

The first and most important difficulty is presented when we attempt to fix the characteristic difference between the public and private courts. This difference was not only general in the existing states, but was adopted by Plato himself in his sketch of a perfect colony.[1] These two classes were so distinctly separated, that different expressions were appropriated, not only for the general, but even the particular relations of the one and the other.[2]

Certain general ideas, according to which Plato makes the distinction, lay at the bottom of this division. "One class of judicial processes," says he,[3] "is formed of the suits which one private man, complaining of injustice, brings against another. The second class, on the contrary, is, when the state believes itself injured by one of the citizens, or when a citizen comes forward to its assistance." According to this explanation, nothing would seem simpler, than the difference between public and private processes. But if we compare the objects comprehended under each of the two classes, we shall find many things enumerated as affairs of the state, which to us do not seem to belong to this class.[4] Of this, two causes may be mentioned.

The first is the view which the Greeks entertained of the relation of the individual citizen to the state. The person of the citizen was highly valued; and could not but be highly valued, because the whole personal condition was affected by the possession of citizenship. An injury done to a private

[1] Plato de Legg. L. vi. vol. iv. p. 282.

[2] A public accusation was called *γραφὴ* and *κατηγορία*, to accuse any one *διώκειν*, to be accused *φεύγειν τὴν γραφήν*. A private suit was called *δίκη*, to bring an action *εἰσάγειν* and *εἰσφέρειν τινὶ δίκην*, to be defendant *ὀφείλειν τινὶ δίκην*. Such were the expressions at least in Athens.

[3] Plato l. c.

[4] In Athens, e. g., there belonged to this class, besides several other offences, murder, intentional wounds, adultery, etc. The public and private processes are enumerated in Sigonius de Repub. Athen. L. iii., and may be found also in Potter's Archæol. Græc. The subject is investigated by Otto: De Atheniensium Actionibus forensibus; Specimen I. ch. ii. Leipsiæ, 1820.

citizen, was therefore in some measure an injury inflicted on the state; and so far, almost every injustice suffered by the individual, was a public concern. Yet a difference existed even here, according to the degree of the injury; nor was it indifferent, whether the rights of person, or only those of property, had been violated.

A second circumstance also had its influence; prescription for the most part determined what was a crime against the public, and what was but a private concern. But what had once been established by prescription, was ever after valid as a law. Yet who can discover all the causes, perhaps frequently accidental, by which various suits came to be considered, in one age or another, as affairs of the public?

It would be ineffectual to attempt to draw very accurately the line of division according to the subjects. The most numerous and the most important, but not all criminal cases, were regarded as public concerns. This class embraced not merely offences against the state; though this idea lay at the foundation. We must rather be content with saying, that prescription had caused certain offences to be regarded as public, and others as private matters. The regulations respecting them were, however, in the Attic law very exact; and it was firmly established, which processes belonged to the state, and which to individuals.

The character of the two classes was essentially distinguished by this; that in the public affairs, a complaint might be made by any citizen; and in the private, it could be made only by the injured person, or his nearest relation;[1] for in the one case, the state or the whole community was regarded as the injured party; in the other, only the individual.

But whoever brought the suit, it was necessary in private and public concerns for the complainant to enter his complaint before a magistrate, and definitely state the offence which he charged against the accused. The magistrate, before whom the suit was thus commenced, was now obliged to prepare the action, so that it could be submitted to the judges. These judges were either the whole community, or some particular courts, which may perhaps be best denominated, committees of the people. For the tribunals consisted

[1] See the proofs in Sigonius, l. c.

for the most part of very numerous assemblies, the members of which were selected from the citizens by lot, and were required to be thirty years old, of a good reputation, and not indebted to the state. They were sworn to do their duty; they listened to the orators, both the accusers and the defendants, to whom a limited time was appointed; the witnesses were examined, and the affair so far brought to a close, that the court could pronounce its sentence of guilty or not guilty.[1] In the first case, the nature of the punishment remained to be settled. Where this was fixed by law, sentence was immediately passed; did the nature of the offence render that impossible, the defendant was permitted to estimate the punishment, of which he believed himself deserving; and the court then decided.

Those courts were therefore similar both in their organization and design to our juries; with this difference, that the latter are with us but twelve in number, while the former were not unfrequently composed of several hundreds. And this is not astonishing, for they occupied the place of the whole community, or might be regarded as committees of the same; for when suits began to grow frequent, the community could not always be assembled. But where the members that constituted the tribunal were so numerous, as in the Heliæa at Athens, it is hardly credible, that every action was tried before the whole assembly. It is much more probable, especially when suits were multipled, that the same court of judicature had several divisions, in which the trial of several causes could proceed simultaneously.[2]

As a difference was made between private and public actions, we might expect to find different tribunals for the one and the other. Yet this was not the case; suits of both kinds could be entered in the same courts. The difference must therefore have lain in the methods of trial and the legal remedies,[3] which the two parties could employ. We are astonished to find, that the rules respecting what suits should

[1] This was done in Athens partly by votes written on small tablets, and partly by white and black beans.

[2] We would not say, that all trials were necessarily brought before those courts. In Athens the police officers had a jurisdiction of their own; and affairs belonging to their department appear to have been immediately decided by them.

[3] As, e. g., the *παραγραφὴ*, the *ὑπωμοσία*, and others, in the public trials. Sigon. l. c. iii. c. 4.

come before each particular court were so uncertain, that it would be vain for us to attempt to settle any general principles on the subject. But at this moment we have in England an example, which shows how vain it is to expect exact regulations, where courts of justice have been formed and enlarged by circumstances. Criminal cases, it is true, belong exclusively to the court of the King's Bench; but it shares civil actions with the court of Common Pleas, and the court of Exchequer, in such a manner, that, with few exceptions, certain classes of suits cannot be said to belong exclusively to either of these tribunals.

Our remarks thus far on the organization of the courts apply immediately to Athens; but they will, without doubt, admit of a much wider application to the other Grecian cities. Yet on one point there existed a remarkable difference. Though the popular tribunals were generally introduced, they did not prevail in every state. For if I understand Aristotle rightly, there were no popular tribunals in Sparta, but all processes were there, as in Carthage, decided by magistrates.[1] If Sparta had had such courts, would they not have been mentioned? But when Aristotle says in general, that it is the leading characteristic of a democracy, that the citizens should be the judges of one another,[2] may we not infer, and is it not evident from the nature of things, that popular tribunals disappeared, wherever the sway of the few was established?

The example of Athens shows in a remarkable manner, how the institution of these popular tribunals could affect the whole character of a state. Such could be the case in Athens, where the greatest extent was given to the public trials, by permitting any who desired, to appear as accusers. The whole organization of the Grecian city governments leads us to believe, that most of the other cities had popular tribunals, which, without having exactly the same form, must have been similar to those of Athens. Such tribunals must have existed in Argos, before the introduction of ostracism, and in Syracuse before the similar method of banish-

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 11. *καὶ τας δίκας ὑπό τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.* Is *δίκας* in this passage to be understood of all suits at law, or, according to the more strict use of the word, only of private suits?

[2] Aristot. Polit. vi. 2.

ment by petalism came into vogue. But whether the public processes embraced elsewhere as many subjects as at Athens, and as many things, which to us seem to regard the private citizen alone, is a question which we cannot decide, for want of information.

This point has been entirely overlooked by those who have written on the judicial institutions of Greece; for they had Athens only in view, and treated the subject more as one of jurisprudence than of politics. And yet it is of all the most important. The more limited was the number of public suits, the smaller was the possibility of instituting them, unless some personal injury had previously been sustained. In the list of public offences at Athens, there were many, which, by their very nature, were indefinite. Hence it was easy to bring a public action against almost any one. We need but think of an age of corruption, to understand how Athens, after the Peloponnesian war, could teem with the brood of sycophants, against whom the orators are so loud in their complaints; and whom all the measures, first adopted in consequence of the magnitude of the evil, all the danger and punishments to which false accusers were exposed, were never sufficient to restrain.

Were other cities, at least the democratic ones, in as bad a condition as Athens? Here we are deserted by history; which has preserved for us almost nothing respecting the extent of the public processes and the popular tribunals. But if in Athens several adventitious causes, lying partly in the national character, and partly in the political power of Athens, (for the importance of state trials increases with the importance of the state,) contributed to multiply this class of processes; it by no means follows, that the number was much smaller in most of the other Grecian cities. Popular tribunals are the sources of political revolutions; and what states abounded in them more than the Grecian? The man of influence, always an object of envy, was the most exposed to accusations, where it was so easy to find a ground of accusation; but the man of influence had the greatest resources without the precincts of the court. He with his party, if he is conscious of possessing sufficient strength, has recourse to arms, and instead of suffering himself to be banished from the city, prefers to terminate the action by driving away his

enemies. Were we more intimately acquainted with the history of the numberless political revolutions in Greece, how often would this same succession of events recur? But though we are not always able to establish them by historical evidence, they cannot on the whole be doubted; and they distinctly exhibit the close connexion which existed between the states and their judicial institutions.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

THOUGH wars were so frequent in Greece, the art of war did not make any considerable advances. The constitutions and the whole political condition opposed too many obstacles; and war never became a science, in the full sense of the word, till standing armies were introduced. This has already been satisfactorily proved by history. There were some individual commanders of great merit, who did all that talents could do; but all that they effected was personal. Besides, the extent of states sets limits to improvement. These bounds cannot be accurately marked, where genius and circumstances exercise so much influence; but the absolute strength must also necessarily be considered. The advancement and perfecting of the art of war require experiments on so large a scale, that small states cannot perform them.

After the republican constitutions of the Greeks were established, their armies consisted chiefly of militia. Every citizen was obliged to serve in it, unless the state itself made particular exceptions. In Athens, the obligation continued from the eighteenth to the fifty-eighth year; we do not know whether it was elsewhere the same; but a great difference could hardly have existed. Each citizen was therefore a soldier; even the *inquilini*, the resident strangers, were not always spared;[1] and there were times of distress,

[1] They were at least obliged sometimes to do naval service. Demosth. Phil. i. Op. i. p. 50.

when the very slaves were armed, usually under the promise of their freedom, if they should do their duty.[1]

The militia of a country may, under certain circumstances, very nearly resemble a standing army. Yet the principles on which the two are founded, are very different. The citizen who serves as a soldier, has for his object the defence of his family and his property; and hence the maxim in states, where the army is composed of citizens, that he who has the most to lose, will make the best soldier. In Rome the poorer class, (capite censi,) till the times of Marius, was excluded from military service; and it seems to have been hardly otherwise in Athens.[2] Yet this poorer class was or grew to be the most numerous; accustomed to privations, those who composed it were perhaps for that reason the best fitted for the duties of war. When, on the contrary, standing armies are formed, property ceases to be regarded; and the greatest number of enlistments is made from the needy part of the community. What a contrast between this and the Grecian institutions!

Considering therefore the moderate extent of the Grecian states, it was the less to be expected that any of them could assemble a large army, if the slaves were not enrolled. Even where every one was put in motion, the number remained limited; not more than ten thousand Athenians fought on the plain of Marathon. Large armies could be collected only by the union of many states; the most numerous ever collected in Greece, during its independence, was in the battle of Platææ.[3] But these considerable alliances were commonly of a temporary nature; and for that reason the art of war could not be much advanced by them. From the battle of Platææ till the age of Epaminondas, that is, during the most flourishing period of Greece, a Grecian army of thirty thousand men was probably never assembled in one place.

The Persian wars seem to have been suited to promote the improvement of military science. But after the battle of Platææ, it was the navy and not the land forces which

[1] Thucyd. iv. 5.
[2] Harpocration in Θῆτες. Yet it is evident from the passage, that the case was different in the time of Demosthenes.
[3] About 111,000 men. But only 38,000 were heavily armed; and of the light-armed troops, 37,000 were Spartan Helots. Herod. ix. 29, 30.

became of decisive influence. After that battle, no considerable one was fought by land; no large Grecian army was again brought together. By maintaining the ascendency in the Ægean Sea, Greece was protected.

The petty wars which, after the victories over the Persians, were carried on between the several states, could not contribute much to the advancement of the art. They were nothing but single expeditions, decided by single insignificant engagements.

No such advancement could therefore be expected till the time of the Peloponnesian war, which involved all Greece. But this war soon came to be carried on more by sea than by land; and the military operations consisted principally in sieges. No single great battle was fought on land during its whole course; besides naval science, therefore, the art of besieging may have made some progress, especially in the expedition against Syracuse. But as this expedition terminated in the total destruction of the army, it could have no abiding consequences.

Till the age of Epaminondas, Sparta and Athens are the only states which attract our attention. In Sparta, where the militia resembled a standing army, it would seem that the art of war might have made advances. But two causes prevented. The one was the obstinate attachment to ancient usage, which rendered changes and improvements difficult. The other was the remarkable scarcity of great commanders, a scarcity to have been least expected in a warlike state; but which may have proceeded from the former cause. If we possessed a history of Pausanias, written by himself, it would perhaps show us how his talents, limited in their exercise by the regulations of his native city, proved ruinous to himself, as in the case of the German Wallenstein, by making him a traitor. Leonidas has our admiration for his greatness as a man, not as a general; and the fiery Brasidas, well fitted to be the hero of a revolutionary war, like the Peloponnesian, fell in the very beginning of his career,[1] and no worthy successors appeared till Lysander and Agesilaus. And of the first of these two, it is

[1] Thucyd. v. 10. When we read his proclamation, addressed to the Acanthians, Thucyd. iv. 85, we believe ourselves brought down to the years 1793 and 1794.

known that he trusted rather in the Persian subsidies than in himself.

More could then have been expected from Athens. But here, as our preceding remarks have made apparent, the army was subordinate to the navy. From the commencement of the splendid period of that republic, its political greatness rested on the latter. This preserved to it the ascendency; its allies were maritime cities, and assisted with ships rather than with troops; and the destiny of Athens was decided on the sea, gloriously at Salamis, and tragically on the Hellespont.[1] In Athens, therefore, no strong motive could exist, to perfect the art of war by land.

Such were the obstacles in general; others lay in the manner in which the military affairs of the Grecians were organized. We mention first the situation of the commanders; at least in Athens and in several other cities;[2] in which not one, but several generals shared the chief command with one another, and even that usually for a short period of time.

Where a militia exists, the political divisions are usually military in their origin. Such was the case with the tribes in Rome and in Athens.[3] The ten wards of this last city had each its own leader; and these together were the generals.[4] So it was in the Persian, so in the Peloponnesian war.[5] That a similar regulation existed in Bœotia, is evident from the number of their commanders; and we learn the same respecting Syracuse, as well from the history of its war with Athens,[6] as from the elevation of Dionysius. In Athens, a kind of destiny secured in the decisive moment the preponderance to a superior mind, a Miltiades; but where the command was shared by so many, it is obvious that existing institutions could receive but little improvement.

Another still greater obstacle lay in the circumstance, that the troops were not paid. Before the Peloponnesian war, or at least before the administration of Pericles, no pay

[1] In the year 406 B. C., near Ægospotamos.
[2] As, e. g., in Thebes and in Syracuse.
[3] These were called *tribus* in Rome, φύλαι in Athens.
[4] The στρατηγοί, of whom ten were annually appointed.
[5] Compare the instructive narration in Herod. vi. 109, respecting the consultation previous to the battle of Marathon. [6] Thucyd. vi. 63.

was given in Athens or in any Grecian city, except, perhaps, Corinth. Military service was the duty of a citizen; and he who served, was obliged to provide for himself. But he who receives nothing from the state, will the less submit to its commands. From that period, the custom of paying was so far introduced, that those who had actually taken the field, received a very small compensation.[1] With such a constitution, moral causes must have outweighed commands. Courage and patriotism can animate an army of citizens, but can hardly make a machine of them; and what fruits would have been gathered by him, who should have succeeded in the attempt?

Beside these difficulties, there existed in many states another, arising from the weakness of their cavalry, or a total want of it. Homer knows nothing of cavalry. It does not seem to have been introduced into the Grecian states till after the establishment of republican forms of government; since, according to the remark of Aristotle, the opulent citizens found in it at once a support of their power and a gratification of their vanity.[2] But whether a city could have cavalry, depended on the nature of its territory, and the quantity of pasture which it possessed. Where the territory was not favourable, the cavalry was not strong. Athens, where so much attention was paid to this subject, never had more than a thousand men; Sparta appears, before Agesilaus, to have had few, or perhaps originally none at all; the Peloponnesus was little adapted to it; and Thessaly, the only state of the mother country which possessed any considerable body of it, was not remarkably skilful in making use of it.[3] Where it existed, none but wealthy citizens could serve in it, for the service was expensive. This was the case in Athens;[4] and yet here the state provided for the support of the horses even in time of peace; and the weak but splendid cavalry formed no inconsiderable article in the sum of the yearly expenditures.[5]

[1] The Athenians paid from two to four oboli daily.
[2] On Sparta, consult Xenoph. Op. p. 596.
[3] See the account of their war with the Phocians. Pausan. p. 798. The forces of Thessaly seem to have consisted chiefly in cavalry; at least nothing else is mentioned. The surest proof of their little progress in the art of war.
[4] The knights, ἱππεῖς, formed the second class according to property.
[5] According to Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. Op. p. 956, it cost forty talents annually.

Previous to the Macedonian times, the distinction between heavy and light horse seems to have been unknown in Greece; though it would be too much to assert that a difference in the equipments no where prevailed. The Athenian horsemen were equipped much like a modern cuirassier, with breastplate, helmet, and greaves; and even the horses were partly covered.[1] From the exercises which Xenophon prescribes, to leap over ditches and walls, we must not conceive the armour as too cumbersome.[2] I find no accounts of that of the Thessalian cavalry; but from what Pausanias says, it could not have been very light.[3]

With respect to the infantry, the difference between heavy and light-armed troops[4] prevailed throughout all Greece. The former were armed for the attack and close conflict. They wore a coat of mail and helmet; the rest of the body was protected by the shield. For the attack they had both spear and sword. The light troops, unencumbered with that heavy armour, carried the javelin, with bow and arrows.[5]

The weapons continued, therefore, the same as those which we find used in the Homeric age. But many inquiries and many attempts were made to improve them in various respects. Whether a straight or curved sword was the best;[6] whether a longer or shorter shield deserved the preference;[7] above all, how the weight of the coat of mail could be diminished, and whether it should be made of metal or of some lighter substance,[8] were questions of no little importance. Yet previous to the Macedonian age, we hear of no changes which could give a new character to the whole; and therefore we must leave to the antiquarian all further particular researches.

[1] Xenoph. de Re Equestri, Op. p. 951, has described them minutely.
[2] Xenoph. Op. p. 944.
[3] Pausan. p. 797. The horsemen who had been thrown down, being unable to rise, were slain by the Phocians.
[4] Ὁπλῖται and ψιλοί. See Potter's Archæolog.
[5] Bow and arrows do not seem to have been favourite weapons; they are seldom mentioned, and only in connexion with certain tribes, as the Cretans. Javelins were preferred. These were carried by the cavalry, as appears from Xenoph. ll. cc.
[6] Xenoph. Op. p. 953.
[7] Hence the different names θυρεὸς and σάκος, the large shield, ἀσπὶς and πέλτη, the small one, etc.
[8] The invention of the lighter coat of mail distinguishes Iphicrates. Cornel. Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

On the other hand, we ask leave, so far as one who has not been initiated into the art of war may venture his opinions, to offer some remarks respecting the progress made by the Greeks in the art which relates to the positions and evolutions of armies, all which we comprehend under the word tactics. We the more desire to do this, because it will afford us a favourable opportunity of expressing an opinion on some of their most distinguished generals. It can with truth be said, that the art of tactics is in some respects independent of the progress of the other branches of military science; and in others is necessarily dependent on them. It is independent, so far as we speak of taking advantage of situation and the ground. The leader of a savage horde may profit by his position, no less than the commander of the best-disciplined army. Each will do it in his own way. It is an affair of genius, and rules cannot be given on the subject. He can do it, to whom nature has given the necessary keenness and quickness of view. This art is therefore always the property of individuals; it cannot be propagated or preserved by instructions. Entirely the reverse is true of the drawing up of an army and the evolutions dependent thereupon. They rest upon rules and knowledge, which are lasting; though we readily concede that this is but as it were the inanimate body of the art, into which genius must breathe life. Modern history has shown by a great example, how those forms may continue in the most courageous and best-disciplined army, and yet produce no effect when the spirit of them has passed away. But here a subject is proposed to the historian, of which he can treat. Can this be done better than by comparing together several of the principal engagements, of which detailed accounts have been preserved? Inferences which may thus be drawn respecting the progress of tactics, can hardly be exposed to any considerable errors.

In the Persian wars, the victory of Marathon was the first splendid military action of the Greeks, or rather of the Athenians. Athens owed it to the heroic spirit of her Miltiades. It was he who turned the scale, when it was still a question, whether a battle should be ventured or not. The voices of the ten leaders, of whom Miltiades was one, were divided; the eleventh vote of the Polemarch was to

decide. At this moment Miltiades arose and addressed the Polemarch Callimachus.[1] "It now rests with you to reduce Athens to slavery, or, setting it free, to leave a reputation among men, such as neither Harmodius nor Aristogiton has left; for long as the city of Athens has existed, it has never been in any danger like the present. If it should submit to the Persians, it is already determined what it will suffer under its tyrants; should it be saved, it can become the first of Grecian cities. If we do not join battle, I fear a faction will confuse the minds of the Athenians, and make them Persian; if we fight, victory will be ours with the gods." History can relate of a great man nothing more important than his conduct in the most decisive moment of his life. Miltiades himself could not have foreboded how much depended on that moment; yet he gained his end, and Callimachus adopted his opinion. But besides the talent of the general, who knew how to avail himself of his position to cover his wings, the victory was not less decided by the discipline of the Athenian militia, accustomed to preserve their ranks even while advancing with rapidity. They ran to the encounter;[2] the first of the Greeks, who did so. The wings of the enemy were discomfited; and the name of Marathon became immortal among men.

The battle of Platææ, which happened eleven years later,[3] is one of those, respecting which we have the most accurate accounts.[4] The motions of the army on the preceding days, give it an importance for the student of tactics. In his evolutions the Persian general seems to have been superior to the Grecian; for he cut off all communication with them, and all supplies of water, and compelled them to change their encampment. But the want of cavalry in the face of an army which abounded in it, made every motion of the Greeks difficult; and when we remember the internal organization of the army, and the little power possessed by

[1] Herod. vi. 109.

[2] ἐν δρόμῳ, Herod. vi. 112. Herodotus says expressly, that they made the attack with closed ranks, ἀθρόοι; we must not therefore think of a wild onset. They had neither cavalry nor archers; just as the Swiss at Novara in 1513 were without cavalry and artillery; in each case the result was the same. When enthusiasm attacks, computation fails.

[3] In the year 479 B. C.

[4] Herod. ix. 28, etc. Plutarch. in Aristide, Op. ii. p. 510, etc., has made use of Herodotus.

the commander, not only over the allies, but even over his own Spartans,[1] we shall discover still greater difficulties, with which Pausanias had to contend. And yet the Grecians obtained a splendid victory; but it was far more the result of the desperate attack made by the Tegeans and the Spartans, than of artful evolutions. In the days which preceded the battle, Pausanias appears as a general of prudence and sound judgment; he owed the victory not to himself, but to a part of his army and to fortune.

Of the battles which the able and successful Cimon won of the Persians, history has preserved no details; but yet enough to show, that the science of tactics was not advanced by them. They were for the most part naval engagements; those which took place on land, were only unexpected attacks. After his death, Plutarch tells us expressly, nothing great or considerable was executed.[2]

The first campaigns of the Peloponnesian war show beyond dispute, that the art of war, in a higher sense, had made but little progress. They were only inroads followed by nothing decisive. We have already remarked, why, in the progress of that long and weary war, tactics gained so little.

The case was changed, when, after this war, Sparta, contending for the rank she had won, found her Agesilaus, and was yet obliged to yield the ascendency to Thebes. Here the decision was made by armies and not by navies. In the view of those states, therefore, armies rose in importance.

We will not refuse to Agesilaus any of the praises which Xenophon has lavished on him. He was a model not only of a Spartan, but of a Grecian general. In the Spartan method of war, he made one change; in his wars against the Persians in Asia, he was the first to form a numerous cavalry; and to show that he knew the use of it.[3] Except this he made no essential alteration in tactics. The proof of this is found in the description which Xenophon has given[4] of the battle of Coronea. The same usual position was taken;

[1] See in Herodotus, and Plutarch ll. cc. p. 517, the relation of the disobedience of Amompharetus, in confirmation of the remark which we made above, p. 233, on Pausanias.

[2] Plutarch. in Cimone, Op. iii. p. 217.

[3] But that too was only temporary. The battle of Leuctra shows how bad the Spartan cavalry was at a subsequent period. See Xenoph. Op. p. 696.

[4] Xenoph. in Agesil. Op. p. 659.

the usual method of attack, by opposing a straight line to a straight line; without any artificial evolutions, either before or during the battle.

If it should appear from all this, that the higher branches of the art of war, including tactics, had not made so considerable progress as might have been expected, from the greatest of commanders, we would not in any degree diminish the fame of those distinguished men. Their glory rests on something independent of the mere evolutions of their armies. The Grecian leader was more closely united to his soldiers; he was obliged to know how to gain the confidence of his fellow-soldiers, who at the same time were his fellow-citizens. This could not be done by commands; rank and birth were here of no avail; every thing depended on personal character; and to be esteemed a great man it was necessary to give proofs of greatness.

It is the glory of the Greek nation, that it produced in almost every science and art the man, who first clearly recognised the eternal principles on which it rests, and by the application of them, unconsciously became the instructer of posterity. In the art of war, such a man appeared in Epaminondas. His fame as a warrior is his least glory; the world should behold in him the noblest character of his nation. He was for his age, what Gustavus Adolphus was for a later one. If we take from each of these great men, the peculiarities of their times, it will be difficult to find two more congenial spirits, two characters more nearly resembling each other. The parallel we leave for others to draw; of both we never can hear too much; it is Epaminondas, the skilful soldier, whom we are now to consider. The idea on which his change in the method of war was founded, was as simple as the man himself; and we can hardly fail of observing, that it proceeded from his peculiar situation. With an inferior force he had to cope with a more powerful adversary;[1] and this is the true criterion of military genius. It did not escape him, that he could not succeed with the former order of battle, according to which one line was drawn up in front of the other. Hence he determined to concentrate the attack in one point with a part of his army, whilst he with-

[1] The Spartan forces in the battle of Leuctra were thrice as numerous as the Theban; and besides, till that time, had been reckoned invincible.

drew the rest; and his object was, in that one point to break through the hostile line. In this manner he was triumphant at Leuctra, where he fell upon the right wing of the Spartans. But at Leuctra, the success of the Theban cavalry had led the way to a successful issue; it is at Mantinea, that we see for the first time the full application of the new tactics, which are described to us by one profoundly acquainted with the subject. "Epaminondas," says Xenophon,[1] "advanced with his army like a galley with threatening prow; sure that if he could once break through the line of his adversaries, a general flight would ensue. He therefore determined to make the attack with the flower of his army, while he drew back the weaker part of it." Thus the illustrious Theban solved the great problem in tactics, by means of its position, to use the several parts of an army at will; the art of war which was thus invented deserved the name, and was the same which insured to Alexander the victory on the Granicus, as well as to Frederic at Leuthen. It is easy to be perceived, that the execution of the plan was a still greater effort than its invention. Troops far better trained than the usual armies of the Greeks, were needed. And it is in this very circumstance, that Xenophon, himself an experienced officer, places the great merit of Epaminondas.[2]

We may therefore say with truth, that the higher branches of the art of war began with Epaminondas to be understood. But even before him, a change had gradually taken place in the whole military regulations; a change of the most decisive importance.

We allude to the custom of paying the troops. In states which originally made exclusive use of militia, the form and the spirit of their military institutions must have been changed by the introduction of mercenary troops. These could not have the internal regulations of the militia; which were founded on the division of the citizens; and although the Swiss mercenaries of the sixteenth century have proved that battles can be gained even with hired soldiers, yet the examples of those times have also proved that evils are inseparable from the custom.

[1] Xenoph. H. Gr. vi. Op. p. 596. We learn from the same passage how much the excellent Theban cavalry (formed by Pelopidas) surpassed the Spartan.

[2] Xenoph. Op. p. 645.

The use of mercenaries in Greece, may be traced to a very remote period. The tyrants, those usurpers who made their appearance in the cities at so early a date, were doubtless the first to introduce it; because they needed an armed force to protect their usurped authority. But this force did not always consist of foreigners; but rather, especially in the early times, of an armed party of the citizens, or was selected from among the partisans of the tyrant;[1] and further, an institution which was regarded as unjust, could not continue, still less be adopted and regularly established.

Hired troops, of which we would here treat, began to be employed in the Grecian cities at a later period. In the beginning of the Persian war, at Marathon and at Platææ we hear nothing of them. In the Peloponnesian war, they were commonly,[2] and after these times, almost uuiversally employed. Several causes operated to produce this effect.

The first was the whole condition of private life. When luxury and the comforts of life were introduced after the Persians were known, it is not astonishing that the rich desired to be free from military service. On the other hand, the Peloponnesian war and the almost universal revolutions produced by it, had so increased the number of the poor, that there was a numerous class who made a profession of war, and were ready to serve any one who would pay them. But still more important was the fact, that with the Persians no less than the Greeks, the same change in domestic life produced the same consequences. The subsidies of the former first enabled the Spartans to hire troops. But they soon hired in their turn, and in greater numbers than the Greeks; and no mercenaries were so acceptable, none so indispensable to them as the Grecian. The high wages which they gave, like those of the British in modern times, allured nu-

[1] This was done by Pisistratus on his first usurpation; Herod. i. 59. In later times, (let the history of Syracuse be called to mind,) the hired troops of the tyrants were wholly or chiefly composed of foreigners.

[2] The hired troops of the Spartans, from the Peloponnesus, are mentioned as early as the times of Brasidas; Thucyd. L. iv. 80; those of Athens from Thrace, about the same time; Thucyd. L. v. 6; those of the Corinthians and others we find constantly mentioned. In the Peloponnesus, it was chiefly the Arcadians who served as mercenaries; hence the proverb among the poets; ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικοῦροι, Athen. i. p. 27, for they did not serve for nothing.

merous troops across the sea; and we need but call to mind the ten thousand whom Clearchus led to Cyrus the younger, and with whom Xenophon made his retreat,[1] to be convinced that great multitudes followed this kind of life. The subsequent Phocian war[2] was conducted by the Phocians, who were aided by the treasures of Delphi, almost exclusively with hired troops; and Demosthenes is loud in his complaints and censure of a custom, which all his eloquence was not able to change.[3]

Of all writers, Isocrates has spoken the most distinctly on this subject. His long life continued almost through the whole period in which this custom arose; and the consequences were so distinctly visible in his old age, his patriotism could not but break forth in lamentations. Those very troops of Clearchus and Xenophon, troops which made the Persians tremble,—who were they? Men, says Isocrates,[4] of such reputation, that they could not reside in their native cities. "Formerly," says he in another place,[5] "there was no such thing as mercenaries; now the situation of Greece is such, that it would be far easier to raise an army of vagabonds than of citizens." The natural consequences of this state of things was, that he who had the most money, had also the most power. He could raise an army at will. But on how uncertain a foundation did this power repose! The rich man can be outbid by the rich; and Greece learned, what Carthage learned also with a more melancholy certainty,[6] that a state which trusts to mercenary troops, must finally tremble before them. "Unless," says Isocrates to Philip,[7] "to provide for the support of these people by establishing colonies of them, they will soon collect in vast troops, and be more formidable to the Hellenes, than the barbarians."[8]

We have already remarked, that in the eyes of the Greeks, the navy was more important than the army. They very early distinguished ships of war from merchant vessels; of which the consequence was, that, as the former belonged to

[1] In the year 400 B. C.
[2] Called also the Sacred war, from 357 till 347 B. C.
[3] See his Philippic and Olynthiac orations.
[4] Isocrat. Panegyr. Op. p. 71. [5] Isocrat. Or. ad Phil. Op. p. 101.
[6] In the wars with the mercenaries, 240—237 B. C.
[7] Isocrat. ad Philip. Op. p. 106.
[8] We learn from Xenophon's retreat, that they were formidable to their own commanders; just as were the Swiss at Milan.

the state, to build and fit out fleets was entirely a public concern. Yet to judge correctly of the condition and progress of naval science among the Greeks, we must not forget, that the scene of action for their squadrons was, and continued to be, limited to the Ægean and Ionian Seas. The expedition of Athens against Syracuse, is the most distant which was ever undertaken by any Grecian fleet of the mother country; with what success is known. Even the Black Sea, though open to their vessels of commerce, was hardly visited by their galleys of war, because no occasion ever required it. The seas which they navigated were full of islands; it was never difficult to find landing-places and harbours; and the naval expeditions were not much more than passages by sea. Further; Greece, especially the most cultivated eastern part of it, did not abound in wood; and though some of the western or inland districts[1] were better provided with it, the rivers, which were hardly more than mountain streams, afforded little opportunity for the transportation of timber. The cities, therefore, which built fleets, were obliged to seek their timber at a distance; we know of Athens, that it imported what it needed from Thrace.[2] The expense was therefore necessarily great; none but the richest cities were able to bear them; and hence it is easy to see, that limitations were produced, which make the exertions of several states for their navy, appear to us in a very extraordinary light. Finally; the manning of the fleets was attended with peculiar difficulties. Two kinds of men, mariners and soldiers, were employed. The latter were citizens, and belonged to the militia; but according to the earlier regulations, the citizens were not obliged to do service on board of the ships. Slaves were used in part, especially for the oars; and in part foreigners were hired. Such is the description given by Isocrates. "Formerly," says he,[3] "in the better times of Athens, foreigners and slaves were used for the management of the vessels; but citizens performed service in arms. Now the case is reversed; those of the city are compelled to serve as mariners,[4] while the soldiers consist of mercenaries." The manning of

[1] As Acarnania and Arcadia. [2] Thucyd. iv. 108.
[3] Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 169. See Scheffer de Milit. Naut. ii. 3.
[4] Especially the Inquilini.

the fleets was therefore attended with great expense; and it is known respecting them from the Peloponnesian war, that Sparta could not have borne them but for the alliance and subsidies of Persia.

These causes are sufficient to limit our expectations of the naval affairs of the Grecians. Yet here, also, the different epochs must be distinguished.

We learn of Homer and of the Argonautic poets, that the Greeks even in the heroic age had ships which were fitted out for distant voyages. The piracy, which before that period had been so common, must have made it necessary for ships to be prepared, not only for carrying freight, but for fighting. These vessels were called long, by way of distinguishing them from the more ancient round ones, which were fit only for the transportation of merchandise; though we would by no means deny, that the former were also used for the purposes of commerce. It was characteristic of them, that all the rowers sat in one line. In such times of insecurity, fast sailing is the chief merit of a vessel; be it for the attack or for flight. This must have been promoted in the lengthened vessels both by the form itself, and the increased number of rowers; which gradually rose from twenty to fifty, and even more. Hence there was a particular class of ships, which derived their name from that circumstance.[1]

But the incident which made a real and the only epoch in the history of Grecian naval architecture, is the invention of the triremes. They were distinguished by the triple order of benches for rowing, placed one above the other.[2] It thus became necessary to build them much higher; and though swiftness may have been carefully regarded, strength and firmness must have been viewed as of equal importance. But even before the Macedonian times, and always after them, the chief strength of the Grecian fleet lay in the triremes, just as that of modern fleets in ships of the line of the second and third rate.

[1] The πεντηκόντοροι. See Scheffer de Varietate Nav. in Gronov. Thes. xi. p. 752.

[2] Scheffer de Milit. Naval. ii. 2. I believe this point, once so much contested, is now no longer doubted; although uncertainty still exists respecting the order of the rows. Compare the prints and illustrations in Antichità d'Ercolano, T. v. at the end.

The structure of the triremes would alone warrant the inference, that a naval force, that is, a squadron destined solely for war, and possessed by the state, did not exist in Greece till after these were invented. But there is in Thucydides[1] a passage, which in my opinion settles this point beyond a doubt. "When, after the abolition of monarchies, the cities became more wealthy, the Greeks began to build fleets, and to pay more attention to the sea. The Corinthians were the first to change the ships according to our present form; for in Greece the first triremes were built at Corinth; and it was the ship-builder Aminocles of Corinth, who built for the Samians four (such) vessels. But it was about three hundred years before the end of this war,[2] that Aminocles came to the Samians. The oldest naval battle with which we are acquainted, was fought between the Corinthians and the Corcyræans; since that time, two hundred and sixty years have elapsed."[3]

This testimony, more important than all the accounts of later grammarians and compilers, proves that it was in the seventh century that the Grecian cities began to support fleets. The account of the great historian is made much clearer by the inquiries respecting Grecian commerce, which show that the same period beheld the seeds of Grecian cities, planted on the sea-coast from Asia to Sicily, spring up and flourish in the genial beams of liberty. The year, it is true, is not mentioned, in which the first triremes were built in Corinth; but the whole connexion shows, that the invention was still recent in the age of Aminocles; and as the first naval battle between the Greeks was fought forty years later, it is obvious, that they were then but beginning to support fleets.

But at the same time we must confess that naval architecture, after this first great step, made no further considerable advances before the Macedonian age. Thucydides says this expressly; for he observes, that the Corinthians gave the ships the form which they continued to have in his time. Neither did it at once become a general custom to build triremes. Till the Persian wars, the use of the long ships and those of fifty oars was the most usual; the Syracusans and Corcyræans were, about this time, the first to have

[1] Thucyd. i. 13.
[2] About 700 years B. C.
[3] About 640 years B. C.

whole fleets consisting of triremes.[1] In these, many improvements may have been made; but as no essential change took place, we leave this subject, and many others relating to naval matters, to the industry of the antiquarian.

We would only add a few remarks on the naval tactics of the Greeks. Did they receive a scientific form earlier than the military? And if so, through whom, and by what means? And here the reader must not forget, that we are treating of the times previous to the dominion of Macedonia.

It is apparent from the preceding observations, that the Greeks had more reason to improve their naval than their military tactics. They were often obliged to contend with fleets, not only superior to theirs in number, but also in the excellence of the vessels; for in the Persian wars, the squadrons of the Phœnicians were arrayed against them. Even when the victory had been gained, the safety of Greece still depended on its maritime force. This formed the foundation of the greatness of the first of the Grecian cities. Naval actions, more than battles by land, decided the destiny of the states. What circumstances and relations could be more favourable to the display of great talents? And where may we indulge greater expectations, especially when we look through the lists of the men to whom Athens and Sparta intrusted the command of their squadrons?

We can best commence the history of the naval tactics of Greece, at the period in which we have descriptions of their engagements at sea. The earliest account which we possess, is of the battle which took place near the island Lada, off Miletus, between the Ionian fleet and that of the Phœnicians in the service of Persia. The navy of the Ionians had then reached its best state; it consisted of not less than three hundred and fifty triremes, while that of the Phœnicians was almost twice as large. We find that a premeditated position was taken in the days before the battle. In the divisions of the first line, there were intervals, through which those of the second could sail.[2] But the battle itself is not instructive, as the Persians previously succeeded in dividing the fleet of the allies.

When Xerxes invaded Greece, Themistocles gained the

[1] Thucyd. i. 14. [2] Herod, vi. 12, etc. Here too we have an instance of how little could be effected by the commander.

glory of being his country's preserver by sea. But it must not be forgotten, that though he was the commander of the Athenians, he had not the general command of the allies. This post he had the prudence and moderation to yield, at least nominally, to Eurybiades the Spartan.[1] Still it was Themistocles who directed the whole, not by commands, but by persuasion; and in this art who was equal to him? Twice he ventured to meet the much superior navy of the Persians; first at Artemisium, then at Salamis. But in both instances he remedied his inferiority, not so much by artful manœuvres, as by choosing his situation. He would not meet the immense Persian fleet in the open sea, where the wings of the enemy would have unavoidably extended beyond his own. Hence he chose his first position at the northern entrance of the Strait of Eubœa,[2] and after the indecisive engagements of Artemisium, retreated through those straits to the Saronic bay; where the nook between Attica and the island of Salamis offered a station still more secure. In such a position, where the enemy is expected in close array, manœuvres are not further needed; but the relation of Herodotus leaves us in doubt, whether most to admire the discernment, or the prudence and adroitness of the commander.

Of the later naval engagements which took place in the course of those wars, we have only general accounts. The Greeks beat the Persians too easily. Where an enemy is despised, the art of war cannot make much progress.

We have particular accounts[3] of the naval fight, which, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, took place between the Corcyræans and Corinthians; and after which, both nations erected a trophy. The fleet of the Corinthians formed one line; that of the Corcyræans, on the contrary, was drawn up in three divisions. But the historian remarks, that no manœuvres took place; they grappled at once, and ship fought singly with ship. All that we read of the fleet of the Corcyræans, gives us no high opinion of their skill in naval tactics. In a second naval engagement with the

[1] On this and what follows, consult the interesting narrative of Herodotus, viii. 2.

[2] The Euripus, as it was called. The Persians sent a part of their squadron round the island, to block up the southern entrance, and thus cut off the retreat of the Greeks; but their squadron was destroyed by a storm. Herod. l. c.

[3] Thucyd. i. 47, etc.

Peloponnesians, they showed still less adroitness, and would have been ruined, had not the division of the Athenians covered their retreat.[1]

The naval tactics which were now known to the Greeks, consisted chiefly in sailing round, and sailing through the enemy's line.[2] The object of the first was, to extend the line beyond the opposite wings; of the second, to break through the hostile line. To prevent this, the other fleet was drawn up in two lines, both with intervals, so that the divisions of the second line could pass through the intervals in the first, and thus assist them, when assistance was needed. This order was particularly understood by the Athenians, who also adopted another method of attack, not with the prow, but obliquely from the side; so that the oars of the enemy's ship were broken, and the ships thus made unmanageable. In those matters, the Athenians were superior not only to the Spartans, but even to the Syracusans.[3]

The two last years of the Peloponnesian war were particularly remarkable for naval encounters; but for a knowledge of tactics, the engagement between the Spartans under Callicratidas, and the Athenians, near Lesbos, alone deserves notice; for it gives us an example of the management of a squadron in a double row. The Athenian fleet was drawn up in two lines, both on the right and the left wing. Each wing consisted of two divisions, each division of fifteen ships; and was supported by equal divisions in the second line; the centre was composed of one line. This order, says Xenophon,[4] was chosen, that the fleet might not be broken through. The Spartan fleet, on the contrary, formed but one line; prepared for sailing round or breaking through the enemy. The battle was obstinate; it was long before the Athenians gained the victory, as Callicratidas fell. His steersman, before the battle, had advised him to retreat, on account of the greatly superior force of the Athenians. "Were I to fall, Sparta could exist as well," was his answer.

The naval tactics of the ancients were further improved in the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, and under the Ptolemies. In forming an opinion respecting

[1] Thucyd. iii. 77, 78. Xenoph. H. Gr. i. Op. p. 446. fight in Thucyd. l. c.

[2] Περιπλεῖν and διεκπλεῖν. Thucyd. vii. 36.

[3] See the description of the

[4] Xenoph. Op. p. 446.

them, two things should not be forgotten. First; less depended on the winds than in modern tactics; for the triremes were moved rather by oars than sails. Secondly; where battles were always fought near at hand, and the ships always ran alongside of each other, the manœuvres of the fleets could not be so various or so important, as where the ships remain at a certain distance, and manœuvres are performed during the whole action. But though the naval tactics of the moderns are more difficult and intricate, we must not infer that the naval battles of the ancients were comparatively insignificant. They decided wars in ancient times much more frequently than in modern; and if the loss of men is to be taken into consideration, it might easily be shown, that one naval battle of the ancients often swept away more men, than three or even more in our age.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATESMEN AND ORATORS.

THE character of the statesmen in republics like the Grecian must, in many respects, differ from the statesmen of the modern European monarchies; and can be sketched with difficulty. Yet it is necessary to form a distinct conception of the sphere of action in which those men exerted themselves, who justly form the pride of antiquity. But it may seem the less superfluous to enter into this subject, since we shall thus gain an opportunity of forming more correct opinions respecting several of those men. Though Athens was their home and the theatre of their actions, they were the property of Greece; and are here to be held up as the representatives of so many others, of whom history has preserved for us less information, because they made their appearance in cities of less renown.

The different character of the Grecian states necessarily exercised an influence on the character of the statesmen, who appeared in them. Where the law exercised unlimited power, as it did in Sparta, there was no room for demagogues like those of Athens. But difference of time was as

influential as the difference of constitutions. How then could it be otherwise expected, than that with the increasing culture of the nation, there should be a change in the influence and the conduct of those who were at its head.

In the age of Solon, men first appeared in the mother country, who were worthy of the name of statesmen. Many had before that period been in possession of power, and not unfrequently had become tyrants; but none can be called statesmen, as the word itself denotes, except those who as freemen conduct the affairs of cultivated nations.

In Solon's age,[1] the relations of the Grecian states had not yet become intricate. No one of them exercised sway over the rest; and no one endeavoured to do so; even the importance of Sparta in the Peloponnesus was founded on her attempts to liberate the cities from the yoke of the tyrants. In such a period, when the individual states were chiefly occupied with their own concerns and those of their nearest neighbours, the statesman's sphere of action could not for any length of time be extended beyond the internal government and administration. The seven wise men, from whom the Greeks date the age in which politics began to be a science, were not speculative philosophers, but rulers, presidents, and counsellors of states; rulers, as Periander of Corinth and Pittacus of Mitylene; presidents, as Solon of Athens, Chilo of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus; counsellors, as Bias and Thales, of princes and cities.[2] Of these, Solon is the only one with whom we are much acquainted; he is known as a lawgiver, and also as a soldier and poet. But it was not till after the wars with Persia, that the men appeared whom we can call statesmen in the modern sense of the word. For it was then for the first time, when a contest arose with a nation to all appearances infinitely superior in power, and the question of existence was at issue, and when good counsel was not less important than action, that a greater political interest was excited, which employed the strongest minds. And this interest was not and could not be transitory. For it gave birth in Greece to the idea of supremacy, which a single state obtained and preserved

[1] Between 600 and 550 years B. C.

[2] See Diog. Laert. i. c. 1—5. The passages which relate to them, have already been collected and illustrated by Meiners and other writers on the history of philosophy. Meiners's Geschichte der Wissenschaften, i. p. 43.

for nearly seventy years; and which, as we have already remarked, became the foundation of its greatness and its splendour. Political affairs and negotiations were now to be judged of by a new criterion. The foreign relations were now the most important; and it was in conducting them, that the first statesmen were employed. But their sphere of action was by no means limited to Athens alone; it was in some measure extended over the whole of Greece.

The object of these men was, and could not but be, to gain influence in a community, in which some inequality was produced by birth, (as certain families, like those of the Eupatridæ, were held superior to the rest, forming a sort of nobility, and even a political party,) yet in which birth had very little influence on future consequence. In Athens, as in England, certain families or classes of families advocated certain political ideas and principles, by means of which the democratic and aristocratic parties were formed, and kept up amidst a variety of changes. But the history of Athens still abounds in proofs, that the influence possessed over the people by no means depended on birth. Here, as in the other similar states, there were two methods of gaining such influence; by deeds in war, and in peace by counsel. In some periods, military glory was the most esteemed; in others, influence could be gained without it. In the early period, during the war with the Persians, the commanders of the armies were also statesmen; and how could it be otherwise? But when the affairs of peace grew more important, a new course was opened to the man of genius. Yet it was long before the statesman, as such, could rise in Athens; the qualifications of a general long remained essential to his influence; though the age finally came, in which the former began to be of more consequence than the latter. We shall not therefore expose ourselves to the danger of being misapprehended, if we distinguish the three periods from one another; the first, in which the statesman was subordinate to the general; the next, in which the general was subordinate to the statesman; and the third, in which the statesman acted independently of the general. Without any elaborate argument, the reader will immediately perceive, that here a certain relation exists to the increasing culture of the nation; the mere military com-

mander may rule a nation of barbarians; but the statesman who has no pretensions to the qualifications of a general, finds no place except among a cultivated people. To mark more distinctly the limits of the three periods, we will call the first that of Themistocles, the second that of Pericles, and the third that of Demosthenes.

In the first age it is easy to perceive, that the qualities of a commander were of more importance than those of a statesman. The state was to be saved on the field of battle; and yet prudence was needed for its safety no less than courage. Themistocles himself may be regarded as the representative of this period. Destined by nature to become a demagogue rather than a general, he was still forced by the character and the spirit of his age to build his political influence on his military fame. He owed his greatness to the Persian war and Salamis. But as a general, he is perhaps the most perfect model of a popular leader, who effects less by commands than by persuasion and knowledge of men. His nation recognised in him the most prudent of its citizens; and he understood his nation better than any one, not merely collectively, but individually. Hence proceeded his influence. "He was most distinguished," says Thucydides,[1] "for the strength of his natural powers; and for this he is the most admirable of men. His understanding made him the most acute observer of every unexpected incident, without any previous or subsequent inquiries; and gave him the most accurate foresight of the future. Whatever he undertook, he was able to execute; and to form a true judgment on whatever was new to him. In doubtful matters, he could best tell what was to be done or to be avoided; and, in a word, he was the first for strength of natural powers, and for promptness of decision." Happy the state which is favoured with such a citizen! Even in great dangers it has no need to fear. He who considers the whole history of Themistocles, will admire him less for his deeds of heroism, than for the manner in which he preserved the courage of his nation, and in the decisive moment brought them to the decisive measure, rather to enter their ships and desert their native city, than subject themselves to the Persian yoke. Such things can be done only

[1] Thucyd. i. 138.

by a man of superior genius. It is true that his great talents were united to a character, which was not entirely free from selfishness.[1] But the interests of his country were never sacrificed to his private advantage. And in judging of Themistocles, it must never be forgotten, that he was the first who, without family, rose to eminence in Athens, and destroyed the power of the nobility.[2] This could never be forgiven him; and it is not strange, that, persecuted as he was by Sparta, he should have been overwhelmed by his foreign and domestic enemies. But when he quitted ungrateful Athens, his object was already accomplished. He had practically demonstrated that he understood the art which he vaunted, of making of a small state a large one. The reception with which he met in Persia, does no less honour to him than to Artaxerxes; and although it is doubtful whether he did not escape serving against his country by a voluntary death,[3] it is certain that he did nothing which could sully his fame.

If Themistocles shows how talents could rise in a state like Athens, Aristides is an example of the influence of character. His influence and his share in public business were grounded on the conviction of his honesty and disinterestedness; although he also needed the support of military glory. As early as at Marathon, he, as one of the ten generals, stood by the side of Miltiades; and had himself the magnanimity to yield to him the supreme command.[4] At Platææ, he was the leader of the Athenians; and after the liberties of Greece had been rescued by this victory, and Athens had established its supremacy in the alliance against Persia, he was appointed, at the request of the allies, to superintend the general exchequer, and performed the most difficult office of fixing for each of them its proportion of the annual tribute.[5] Thus Athens owed to him not much

[1] See in particular the relation of the corruption of the Grecian generals by the Eubœans. Herod. viii. 5.

[2] Plutarch. in Themistoc. Op. I. p. 438.

[3] "He died," says Thucydides, "of disease. Some say he died of poison, which he took because he could not perform all that he had promised the king." Thucyd. i. 138. Thucydides says nothing of the tradition, that he destroyed himself by drinking bull's blood. Plutarch. Op. i. p. 498. The story seems therefore to have received additions; Thucydides speaks so decisively, that he could hardly have doubted the natural death of Themistocles.

[4] Plutarch. Op. i. p. 489.

[5] "Aristides," says Plutarch, "made inquiries respecting the territory and

less than to Themistocles, who had been his rival from youth. If political and moral principles rendered the union of the two impossible, (nothing but the urgent necessities of the country effected it for a short time,) it must not be forgotten, that Aristides, though probably of no opulent family,[1] belonged by his birth to the class of the Eupatridæ.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the third whom we should name in this first period, connects it, as it were, with the succeeding. He too was more of a general than a statesman. His policy had but one object, continual war against the Persians, as the means of preserving the unity of the Greeks. This he pursued through his whole life, from the battle of Salamis, (and he had been the first to give the example of deserting the city and entering the ships,[2]) till shortly before the glorious peace which he had promoted, but did not live to see concluded.[3] He seems, therefore, to have taken no further share in the internal affairs, than he was forced to do by his situation. For descended from a noble family, and a pupil of Aristides, possessing the principles of his political instructer, he desired the favour of the people, only as the means of preserving his character as a military commander; and yet he did not escape the lot which had fallen to Themistocles and Aristides. But his military fame procured his speedy return; and confirmed him, as it increased, in the possession of his place. It was by the means which Cimon used to preserve the favour of the people, that he held a place, as we have observed, between the first and second period. His liberality was not confined to citizens alone; even he began to attract attention by public improvements, made for the most part at his own expense. Themistocles had fortified the city and the Piræeus; and Cimon began to ornament them. With the Persian spoils he built a part of the walls of the citadel.[4] He caused the marshy ground at its side[5] to be dried and paved; he

revenue of the several states; and fixed accordingly the tribute of each state to general satisfaction." Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 535. "But even before that time it was his character, which had gained for Athens the supremacy. For the allies desired a president like him; and even invited him to assume the supreme command." Plutarch. ii. p. 532. He was at that time general of the Athenians with Cimon.

[1] How uncertain this was, appears from Plutarch. iii. p. 478.
[2] Plutarch. Op. iii. p. 181.
[3] He died in the year 449 B. C.
[4] Plutarch. Op. iii. p. 202.
[5] Called *αἱ λίμναι*.

prepared an abode for Plato and his philosophy, by converting the barren field, which occupied the site of the Academy, into a lovely, well-watered grove; and for the Athenians, he made the market-place their most favourite place of resort, by planting it with plane-trees.[1] He was intimately acquainted with the artists of his time, especially with the painter Polygnotus; to whose art and patriotism, the Athenians were indebted for the paintings which decorated the most celebrated of their public halls.[2]

Cimon may therefore justly be styled the precursor of Pericles, whose name we use to designate the second period. The time was arrived, when the arts of peace were to flourish no less than those of war; when almost every branch of the arts and of literature was to put forth its most beautiful and most imperishable blossoms.

Under such circumstances, and in a republic, of which no one could possess the direction without understanding the means of winning and preserving the respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens, it is obvious, that new qualities were necessary in the statesman, and new requisitions made of him. The reciprocal influence which exists between men of genius and their age, is perhaps one of the most interesting inquiries for which history presents us the materials. When we survey the several periods in which, at a greater or less distance, the remarkable changes of individual nations, and even of a large part of mankind, have taken place, we shall always find in them individual men, who may in some measure be regarded as the representatives of their age; and who frequently and justly lend their names to it. They can in a certain degree rise above their age; but they do not the less remain children of the time in which they live; and a history of mankind, as contained in the history of these leading minds, would perhaps be the most faithful that can be given. He who has truly delineated Herrman and Cæsar, or Gregory, or Luther, or Frederic, has sketched the chief traits of their respective ages. To be in advance of one's age, as is the usual mode of expression, means but to understand one's age correctly

[1] Plutarch. l. c.
[2] Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 178. Hence called the variegated, *ποικίλη*. It was adjoining to the forum.

in all its bearings; and to act on the principles which result from such knowledge. In this lies the secret of great men, that no one can betray them, because no one shares their penetration, or rather in many cases their presaging insight into the future. On hearing the age of Pericles mentioned, a crowd of glorious associations is called up; he who becomes more profoundly acquainted with it, soon finds that no pure ideal of perfection then existed. To behold the mere citizen of a republic, raising his nation, and by means of his nation all mankind, to a higher position, is a spectacle which history has never but once been able, under similar circumstances, to repeat, in Lorenzo the Magnificent. Enviable men, around whose brows the unfading laurel twines its verdure! If fame in succeeding generations, if the grateful remembrance of posterity, is no vain felicity, who would not willingly exchange his claims for yours?

In his political course, Pericles was guided by a simple principle; to be the first in his own city, whilst he secured to it the first place among cities. Its political preponderance depended on the preservation of its supremacy over Greece; and this was to be preserved, not by force alone; but by every thing which, according to Grecian ideas, could render a city illustrious. Hence he felt himself the necessity of improving his mind more variously than had hitherto been common in Athens; and he availed himself for that end of all the means which his age afforded him. He was the first statesman, who felt that a certain degree of acquaintance with philosophy was requisite; not in order to involve his mind in the intricacies of a system, but to exercise himself in thinking with freedom; and he became the pupil of Anaxagoras.[1] If before no orators, except those appointed by the state, had spoken in the popular assemblies, he was the first who came forward as a voluntary orator;[2] and the study of eloquence was necessary for him, although he never made the duties of an active statesman subordinate to those of a public speaker. Whilst he ornamented Athens by those master-pieces of architecture and the arts of design, he was not the patron, but the personal friend of a Phidias and

[1] In proof of this and the following account, consult Plutarch in the biography of Pericles. Op. T. ii.

[2] Plutarch makes a distinction between him and the orators appointed by the state; l. c. p. 601. See Petit. de Leg. Att. iii. 3.

similar men; and who does not know, that his intimacy with Aspasia, his friend, his mistress, and at last his wife, imparted to his mind that finer culture, which he would have looked for in vain among the women of Athens. But all this he made subservient to his public career. He desired to be altogether a statesman, and he was so. "There was in the whole city," says Plutarch,[1] "but one street in which he was ever seen; the street which led to the market-place and the council-house. He declined all invitations to banquets, and all gay assemblies and company. During the whole period of his administration, he never dined at the table of a friend; he did but just make his appearance at the nuptials of his nephew Euryptolemus; but immediately after the libation[2] he arose. He did not always appear even in the popular assemblies; but only when important business was to be transacted; smaller concerns he intrusted to his friends and the orators." Thus Pericles exhibited the model of a statesman, such as Greece had never yet seen, and was not to see again. His history shows, that he became great amidst the collision of parties; all of which he finally annihilated; and we need not therefore be astonished, if the opinions of his contemporaries were not united in his favour. We learn of Plutarch,[3] how zealously the comic poets attacked him. But he has gained the voice of one man, whose authority surpasses that of all the rest, the voice of Thucydides. "So long as he presided over the state in peace," says the historian,[4] "he did it with moderation; the state was preserved in its integrity, and was even advanced under him to its highest degree of greatness. When the war broke out, he showed that he had made a just calculation of his strength. The first in dignity and prudence, he was superior to all suspicion of corruption; he therefore swayed the people almost at will; he guided them, and was not guided by them; for he did not speak according to their humour, but often opposed them with dignity and even with vehemence. If they were inclined to do any thing unreason-

[1] Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 601.

[2] That is, at the beginning of the repast. These little traits seem to me to designate the man, who never forgave himself any thing. What nobler object can be contemplated, than a great statesman, who, living entirely for his high calling, and living worthily of it, spares only moments for himself.

[3] As, e. g., Op. ii. p. 592. [4] Thucyd. ii. 65.

ably, he knew how to restrain them; if they suffered their courage to sink without reason, he could renew their confidence. His administration was therefore nominally the government of the people, but in reality the government of the first man." To a character described by such a master, no additions need be made; but we cannot omit to observe, that Pericles, though so great as a statesman, was not unmindful of the fame of military command. In this the rule of his conduct seems to have been, great prudence, and to undertake nothing without the greatest probability of success; and such was the confidence reposed in him, that, in the last fifteen years of his administration, he seems to have held the place of general without interruption.[1]

While we render to Pericles the tribute of just admiration, we ought not to forget that he was favoured by the circumstances of his times. A man like him is capable of effecting much when the state, of which he is the head, is flourishing, and the people itself is constantly unfolding talents and powers, of which he must be able to take advantage. Pericles himself never could have played his part a second time; how much less those who were his successors! Of these history has but one to mention, of whom we must take notice, because he belonged, in a certain sense, not merely to Athens, but to Greece; we mean Alcibiades. The age in which he appeared was altogether warlike; and of this he merits the blame. He needed, therefore, the qualifications of a general more than those of a statesman. Still it may be said with confidence, that even in better times he would not have become a Pericles, although he seemed destined by birth, talents, and fortune to play a similar part. Pericles regarded, in every thing, first the state and then himself; Alcibiades, on the contrary, first himself and then the state. Is more needed to delineate his character as a statesman? Vanity was his leading trait. He is thus described by the same great historian, who has drawn for us the picture of Pericles. "Although Alcibiades," says he,[2] "was distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wealth and consequence, his desires were always greater than his

[1] Namely, after his victory over his antagonist, the elder Thucydides, who was supported by the party of the Optimates. Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 626, 627.
[2] Thucyd. vi. 15.

fortune; particularly of keeping splendid equipages, and supporting other extravagances; which contributed not a little to the downfal of the Athenians." His history is so well known, that it is not necessary to establish these remarks by any particular references; his whole life from beginning to end is a confirmation of them.

The men who have thus far been named, united, though in different degrees, the characters of the statesman and the general. By what means was such an entire separation of the two produced, as may be observed in the third period, which we have named from Demosthenes? The name alone explains to us distinctly enough, that the reason is to be looked for in the dominion of eloquence; but the question remains still to be answered, Why and from what causes did eloquence obtain so late its ascendency in politics?

We do not read that Themistocles and Aristides were skilled in oratory as an art. It is certain, that of all practical statesmen, Pericles was the first who deserved that praise; although it is uncertain whether he took advantage of the instructions which then began to be given by the teachers of eloquence.[1] But though the orations of Pericles were artfully composed, they cannot be called works of art in the same sense with those of Demosthenes and his contemporaries. As Pericles left no writings, it must remain undecided whether he wrote out his speeches word for word. A circumstance, of which the memory is preserved by Plutarch, appears to make this very uncertain. "He was accustomed," says the biographer,[2] "whenever he was to speak in public, previously to entreat the gods, that he might not utter, against his will, any word which should not belong to the subject." Does not this seem to show, that he was not accustomed to write his orations, and deliver them from memory, but that he rather left much to be filled up by the impulse of the moment? The speech which Thucydides represents him to have delivered,[3] is the work of the historian; but

[1] According to Plutarch, i. p. 594, the sophist Damon was his instructer; but, as it appears, rather his political counsellor, than his regular instructer in eloquence. He made use of the pretext, says Plutarch, of teaching him music. Gorgias of Leontium, who is commonly mentioned as beginning the class of sophists, can hardly have been his master. See the fragment from the Schol. ad Hermog. ap. Reisk. Or. Gr. viii. p. 195.
[2] Plut. Op. ii. p. 604.
[3] Thucyd. ii. 60.

we can judge from that and other similar discourses contained in the same author, of the character of public eloquence before and during the Peloponnesian war; since they could not but be composed in the taste and after the manner of the times. But how do they differ in style from those of the age of Demosthenes! How much less can those orations, great as are their various merits, be considered as classic models in the art of eloquence! We find in them little or nothing of an artificial plan; little of that rhetorical amplification and those figures and artifices, by which the later orators produced an effect on their hearers. We justly admire in them the strength of many of their thoughts, and single expressions and passages. But they seem to prove beyond a question, that the rhetorical style was not then formed at Athens. They have far more the character of martial addresses; they bear the impress of an age, in which the orator in the popular assemblies was at the same time the commander in war.[1]

And by what means did Grecian eloquence in public speaking gain that peculiar character, which it possessed in the age of Demosthenes? The origin and progress of public speaking always depends in a certain degree on external circumstances. It is not enough that the constitution leaves room for it; for then it would have come to perfection in other Grecian cities, and in Athens at a much earlier period than it did. Neither can we assume the artificial disposition of the parts of a discourse and the instruction given in rhetoric, as the standard by which to judge of the actual appearance of great political orators. External circumstances must also be such as to make the want of orators perceptible. And when can this take place in free republics, except in times—not of war, for there arms must decide; but rather in times of impending dangers, which may yet be averted by prudence and courageous resolutions? In such times the public speaker is in his place; he beholds the field of glory opened before him; and if no other motive than patriotism should lead him to ascend the stage from which the people was addressed, where could his bosom be warmed by a nobler inspiration?

[1] In the masterly sketch which is given by Cicero, in Bruto, cap. 7—13, of the succession of Greek orators, much instruction on these subjects may be found.

This was the case in Greece, and especially in Athens, during the age of Philip; for it was Philip who called forth a Demosthenes. Every thing which was needed to produce such an orator, had already been prepared. The form of government had long since made public speaking customary, and had opened a place for its influence. Eloquence was no longer regarded as merely a gift of nature, but as the fruit of study; and the orator spoke to a people, which was sufficiently well informed, to understand and estimate his merits. To this were added those external causes, the difficult relations of the times. Where could there have been a better field for great public speakers? Where would their appearance have been more easily accounted for? Where was it more natural, that the practical statesman should more and more apply himself to the study of eloquence, and thus the third period distinguished by us be introduced, in which the mere orator, without the talents of a military commander, could direct the affairs of the state.

But when we investigate the history of practical eloquence in Greece, (for we speak of that, and not of the theory,) we are soon led to remark, what deserves to be carefully considered; that in this last period of time, political eloquence and that of the bar became much more closely connected than before. The men who in the earlier times had stood at the head of the state, Pericles, Alcibiades, and the rest, did not make their way to eminence through the business of advocates. Though in individual cases, as Pericles in that of Cimon,[1] they appeared as accusers in public trials, they never made a profession of pleading in the courts of justice, as did the orators of the age of Demosthenes. This gives rise to an important question in the history of practical politics no less than of oratory. When did the advocates in Greece become statesmen; and by what means did they become so?

If I do not err, it is not difficult to prove, that during, and by means of the Peloponnesian war, the labours of the advocate and the statesman first came to be united. The state trials, as is apparent from our remarks in a preceding chapter respecting the judicial institutions, produced this

[1] Plutarch. Op. i. p. 610. And even then, as the writer remarks, he was rather apparently than really an accuser.

result. But these began to be numerous during and immediately after that war; and they could not have become very frequent, though individual ones occurred, before the spirit of faction, which supported them, had taken root too deeply to be extirpated. Of the orators with whom we are acquainted, Antiphon is the earliest who must here be mentioned. The sketch drawn of him by Thucydides, represents a man, who, properly an advocate, was drawn into public affairs against his inclination; and at last was obliged to defend his life for it.[1] Of his contemporaries, Andocides and Lysias, the first would probably have long played a conspicuous part in politics but for his restless spirit and his want of morals.[2] His rival Lysias, to judge from those of his orations which are still extant, was entirely an advocate; but these were chiefly delivered on such matters, as were considered at Athens to belong to public questions at law; and the eloquence of the bar naturally rose to a higher degree of consideration, as trials not only were multiplied, but also increased in importance. In this manner, by the multitude of public processes, the path was opened to the advocates to a share in the business of the state; and the ideas of orator and statesman became inseparable. This is no where more distinctly perceived, than in the writings of Isocrates, which are so often instructive on these subjects. He, who was only a teacher of eloquence, (for he was conscious of being too timid to speak in public,) esteemed himself no less a teacher of political science; and as he never delivered discourses concerning public affairs, he wrote respecting them.[3] Several of his essays are of the class which we call memorials, directed by him to rulers and kings; although his friends had warned him, how dangerous this kind of writing might prove for him.[4] They produced no greater effect than such writings commonly do, where they are not supported by personal connexions; but no one will deny, that his instructions contributed much towards the education of many orators and statesmen.[5]

Nothing would be more superfluous, than the desire of

[1] Thucyd. viii. 68. [2] Hauptmann de Andocide, ap. Reisk. vol. viii. p. 535.
[3] See in particular the introduction to the Panathenaicus. Op. p. 234, etc.
[4] Orat. ad. Philip. Op. p. 85.
[5] Cic. Brut. c. 8. Isocrates, cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit, atque officina dicendi; magnus orator et perfectus magister.

becoming the eulogist of that master in his art, whom the united voice of so many centuries has declared to be the first; and whose worth the only rival whom antiquity placed by his side, has described in a manner at once exact, and equally honourable to both.[1] We would not here speak of Demosthenes the orator, but of Demosthenes the statesman; and of him only as far as the man, the orator, and the statesman were most intimately connected in him. His political principles came from the depths of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and his convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators; because with him there was no surrender of his convictions, no partial compromise, in a word, no trace of weakness. This is the real essence of his art; every thing else was but secondary. And in this how much does he rise above Cicero! And yet who ever suffered more severely than he for his greatness? Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purest[2] tragic character, with which history is acquainted. When, still trembling with the vehement force of his language, we read his life in Plutarch; when we transfer ourselves into his times and his situation; we are carried away by a deeper interest, than can be excited by any hero of the epic muse or of tragedy. From his first appearance till the moment when he swallows poison in the temple, we see him contending against destiny, which seems to mock him with malignant cruelty. It throws him to the ground, but never subdues him. What a flood of emotions must have poured through his manly breast amidst this interchange of reviving and expiring hopes. How natural was it, that the lines of melancholy[3] and of indignation, such as we behold in his bust,[4] should have been imprinted on his severe countenance! Hardly had he passed the years of youth, when he appeared

[1] Cicero in Bruto, c. 9.
[2] He was naturally calumniated beyond any other. And yet they could bring no charge against him but his silence in the affair of Harpalus, (see below,) and that he was in Persian pay; which was the common charge against all who did not side with Philip. Could they have proved it, is it probable that they would have kept back their proofs?
[3] His adversary, when he insultingly said that Demosthenes "could weep more easily than other men could laugh," Æschin. in Ctesiph. Op. iii. p. 597. Reisk., uttered a deeper truth than he himself was aware of.
[4] Visconti, Iconographie, Pl. xxx.

in his own behalf as the accuser of his faithless guardians;[1] from whom, however, he was able to rescue only a small part of his patrimony.[2] In his next attempts, insulted by the multitude, though encouraged by a few who anticipated his future greatness, he supported an obstinate contest with himself, till he gained the victory over his own nature.[3] He now appeared once more as an accuser in public prosecutions,[4] before he ventured to speak on the affairs of the state. But in the very first of his public speeches[5] we see the independent statesman, who not dazzled by a splendid project, opposes a vast undertaking. When Philip soon after displayed his designs against Greece by his interference in the Phocian war, he for the first time appeared against that monarch in his first Philippic oration.[6] From this period he had found the great business of his life. Sometimes as counsellor, sometimes as accuser, sometimes as ambassador, he protected the independence of his country against the Macedonian policy. Splendid success seemed at first to reward his exertions. He had already won a number of states for Athens;[7] when Philip invaded Greece, he had already succeeded not only in gaining over the Thebans, but in kindling their enthusiasm;[8] when the day of Chæronea dashed his hopes to the earth.[9] But he courageously declares in the assembly of the people, that he still does not repent of the counsels which he had given.[10] An unexpected incident changes the whole aspect of things. Philip falls the

[1] In the orations against Aphobus, Op. ii. Reisk.
[2] Plutarch. iv. p. 700.
[3] Many stories came subsequently to be told about it; but the story of the pebble-stones which he put in his mouth, rests on the testimony of Demetrius Phalereus, who had heard it from the orator himself. Plut. iv. p. 709. The same is true of various other particulars.
[4] Against Androtion, Timocrates, and others. He was then 27 years old. Plut. p. 717.
[5] In the oration of the *συμμορίαι*, or *classes*, pronounced in the year 354 B. C. He opposed an offensive war against the Persians, for which the Athenians were ready, in the hope of effecting a general union of the Greeks. Here we already find the maxim, which formed the theme of his subsequent orations, as of the speeches of Chatham; To stand on one's own feet.
[6] Pronounced in the year 352.
[7] Achaia, Corinth, Megara, and others. Plut. iv. p. 720.
[8] Plut. iv. p. 722. A leading passage respecting his political activity.
[9] In the year 338 B. C.
[10] Plut. iv. p. 726. His enemies even then endeavoured to attack him, but in vain. The people assigned to him the funeral oration on those who fell at Chæronea; and by this did honour to him and to themselves

victim of assassination;[1] and a youth, who as yet is but little known, is his successor. Immediately Demosthenes institutes a second alliance of the Greeks; but Alexander suddenly appears before Thebes; the terrible vengeance which he here takes, instantly destroys the league; Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and several of their supporters, are required to be delivered up; but Demades is at that time able to settle the difficulty and to appease the king.[2] His strength was therefore enfeebled, as Alexander departed for Asia; he begins to raise his head once more, when Sparta attempts to throw off the yoke;[3] but under Antipater he is overpowered. Yet it was about this very time that by the most celebrated of his discourses he gained the victory over the most eloquent of his adversaries; and Æschines was forced to depart from Athens.[4] But this seems only to have the more embittered his enemies, the leaders of the Macedonian party; and they soon found an opportunity of preparing his downfal. When Harpalus, a fugitive from the army of Alexander, came with his treasures to Athens, and the question arose, whether he could be permitted to remain there, Demosthenes was accused of having been corrupted by his money, at least to be silent.[5] This was sufficient to procure the imposition of a fine;[6] and as this was not paid, he was thrown into prison. From thence he succeeded in escaping; but to the man who lived only for his country, exile was no less an evil than imprisonment. He resided for the most part in Ægina and at Trœzen, from whence he looked with moist eyes towards the neighbouring Attica.[7] Suddenly and unexpectedly a new ray of light broke through the clouds. Tidings were brought, that Alexander was dead.[8] The moment of deliverance seemed at hand; the excitement pervaded every Grecian state; the ambassadors of the Athenians passed through the cities; Demosthenes joined himself to the number, and exerted all his eloquence and power to unite them against Macedonia.[9] In requital for

[1] In the year 336 B. C.
[2] Plutarch. iv. p. 731.
[3] In the year 330 B. C.
[4] The oration for the Crown. The trial took place in the year 330 B. C.
[5] Plutarch. iv. p. 733. I leave it to the reader to form an opinion respecting the anecdotes which are there related. His accuser was Dinarchus, whose calumnious oration we still possess. Or. Gr. vol. iv. Reisk.
[6] Of 50 talents (not far from 45,000 dollars); Plut. iv. p. 735.
[7] Plut. iv. 736.
[8] In the year 323.
[9] Plut. iv. p. 737.

such services, the people decreed his return; and years of sufferings were at last followed by a day of exalted compensation. A galley was sent to Ægina to bring back the advocate of liberty. All Athens was in motion; no magistrate, no priest remained in the city, when it was reported that Demosthenes was advancing from the Piræeus.[1] Overpowered by his feelings, he extended his arms and declared himself happier than Alcibiades;[2] for his countrymen had recalled him, not by compulsion, but from choice. It was a momentary glimpse of the sun, which still darker clouds were soon to conceal. Antipater and Craterus were victorious; and with them the Macedonian party in Athens; Demosthenes and his friends were numbered among the accused, and at the instigation of Demades were condemned to die. They had already withdrawn in secret from the city; but where could they find a place of refuge? Hyperides with two others took refuge in Ægina in the temple of Ajax. In vain! they were torn away, dragged before Antipater, and executed. Demosthenes had escaped to the island Calauria in the vicinity of Trœzen; and took refuge in the temple of Neptune.[3] It was to no purpose that Archias, the satellite of Antipater, urged him to surrender himself under promise of pardon. He pretended he wished to write something; bit the quill, and swallowed the poison contained in it. He then veiled himself, reclining his head backwards, till he felt the operation of the poison. "O Neptune!" he exclaimed, "they have defiled thy temple; but honouring thee, I will leave it while yet living." But he sank before the altar,[4] and a sudden death separated him from a world, which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes?

It seemed by no means superfluous to exhibit a picture of Grecian statesmen during that period, by sketching the history of him, who holds the first rank among them. We learn from it, that the sphere of action of such men, though they are called orators, extended far beyond their orations.

[1] Plut. iv. p. 738. [2] Who saw a similar day of return.
[3] See, for the following, Plut. iv. p. 741.
[4] What a subject for the art of sculpture! and yet one, which has never, to my knowledge, been made use of. The artist would only need to draw after Plutarch.

From these, it is true, we chiefly derive our knowledge of them. But how differently would Demosthenes appear to us, if we were particularly acquainted with the details of his political career![1] How much must have been needed to effect such an alliance, as he was repeatedly able to form! What journeys, what connexions, what skill in winning persons of influence, and in managing mankind!

And what were the means which these statesmen of antiquity could command, when we compare them with those of modern times? They had no orders from the cabinet to execute. They had not the disposal of the wealth of nations; they could not obtain by force, what others would not voluntarily yield. Even the comparison which might be made between them and the British statesmen, is true only as far as the latter also stood in need of eloquence to confirm their influence. But the other means which Pitt could employ to form a party, were not possessed by Demosthenes. He had no presents to offer, no places to give away, no ribbons and titles to promise. On the contrary, he was opposed by men, who could control every thing by which covetousness or ambition can be tempted. What could he oppose to them, but his talents, his activity, and his courage? Provided with no other arms, he supported the contest against the superiority of foreign strength, and the still more dangerous contest with the corruptions of his own nation. It was his high calling, to be the pillar of a sinking state. Thirty years he remained true to it, and he did not yield till he was buried beneath its ruins.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SCIENCES IN CONNEXION WITH THE STATE.

THE relation which exists between science and political institutions, is of a twofold nature. It may be asked, What

[1] If the voice of history on this subject were not loud enough, this might be inferred from the calumnies of Dinarchus. It is not inconsistent with it, that Demosthenes may sometimes, in his negotiations, have been too much carried away by the liveliness of his feelings.

has the state done for the promotion of the sciences? And also, What influence in return have the sciences, or any particular branch of them, exerted on the state? Both questions deserve to be considered in the case of the Greeks.

Where the government is actively engaged in promoting the sciences, their previous existence may be inferred. To create them neither is, nor can be a concern of the state. Even where they are beginning to flourish, it cannot at once be expected, that they should receive public support; because they do not stand in immediate relation with the general government. They are the fruit of the investigations of individual eminent men; who have a right to expect nothing, but that no hinderances should be laid in the way of their inquiries and labours. Such was the situation of things in the Grecian states, at the time when scientific pursuits began to gain life. What inducement could the state have had to interfere at once for their encouragement. In Greece the motive which was of influence in the East, did not exist. Religion had no secret doctrines. She required no institutions for their dissemination. There certainly were public schools for instruction in reading, writing, and in music (poetry and song); over which teachers were appointed in all the principal cities; and the laws provided that no abuses dangerous to youth should find entrance to them.[1] But in most of them the masters were probably not paid by the state;[2] they received a compensation from their pupils. The same is true of the more advanced instruction delivered by the sophists; some of whom amassed wealth from their occupation; yet not at the expense of the state, but of their pupils.

Thus it appears, that excepting the gymnasia, which were destined for bodily exercises, and of which the support was one of the duties incumbent on citizens,[3] no higher institutions for instruction existed previous to the Macedonian age.

[1] See the laws of Solon on this point. Petit. Leg. Att. L. ii. Tit. iv. p. 239.

[2] I limit the proposition on purpose, for it would be altogether false to assert generally, that this never took place. Charonidas, in his laws at Catana, which were afterwards adopted in Thurium, had expressly enacted, that the school-masters should be paid by the state, Diod. xii. p. 80, as an affair of the utmost importance. Since the schools were so carefully watched over, may not the same have taken place in many other cities? This however is true only of the inferior or popular schools.

[3] The γυμνασιάρχαι; see Petit. iii. Tit. iv. p. 355.

But when the mass of scientific knowledge had accumulated; when it was felt how valuable that knowledge was to the state; when the monarchical constitutions were introduced after the age of Alexander; provision was made for such institutions; the museum of Alexandria and that of Pergamus were established; and it still remains for a more thorough investigation to decide, whether the state remained wholly inactive, while the schools of philosophy and of rhetoric were forming. Shall the Grecian republics, then, still continue to be cited, as has been done by the celebrated founder of a new school of political economy, in proof that the state should leave the sciences to provide for themselves? Should it not rather encourage and provide for them in countries, where the culture of most of them is in several relations necessary for its welfare? where the teacher of religion as well as the judge, where the physician as well as the statesman, stands in need of various kinds of knowledge?

But when that assertion is understood as implying that the state among the Greeks was wholly unconcerned about intellectual culture and improvement, but left these subjects to themselves, a monstrous error lies at the bottom of it. No states in the whole course of history have proportionally done more for them than the Grecian; but they did it in a different manner from the moderns. We measure intellectual culture by the state of science; for which our modern states, as is well known, have at times done so much and so little; the Greeks, on the contrary, were accustomed to find their standard in the arts. The state among the Greeks did little for the sciences, because it did every thing for the arts. The latter, as we shall more fully explain hereafter, were of more immediate importance to it than the former; while the reverse is true among the moderns. How then can we be astonished that the arts were the chief object of interest to the Grecian states?

The answer to the other question embraces a wider field: Among the Greeks, what consequences had the sciences for the state? And here we would in the first place treat of philosophy, and then annex to the inquiry on that subject, some remarks respecting history.

After so many acute and copious explanations of the Grecian philosophy, no one will here expect a new analysis of

their systems. It is our object to show how the connexion between philosophy and politics originated among the Greeks, how it was continued and increased, and what was its influence?

The philosophy of the Greeks, as of other nations, began with inquiries into the origin of things. The opinions of the Ionian school respecting it are generally known. If, as a modern historical critic has made to appear very probable,[1] they were at first connected with religious representations, as we find them in the Orphic precepts, they did not long remain thus united, for they were stript of their mythological garb; and in this manner the philosophy of the Greeks gained its independence, while in the East it always remained connected with religion. Still it is no where mentioned, that the philosophers who belonged to this school had made the state the object of their inquiries; yet if we consider Anaxagoras as of the number, his connexion with Pericles, and the influence which by means of his instructions he exercised over that statesman, are remarkable. But, as we observed in a former chapter, no instruction in a philosophic system was given; but in the application of some propositions in natural philosophy to practical politics. Plutarch has preserved for us the true object. "He freed Pericles," says the biographer,[2] "from that superstition, which proceeds from false judgments respecting auguries and prodigies, by explaining to him their natural causes." He who bears in mind the great influence exercised by this belief or superstition on the undertakings of the statesmen of antiquity, will not mistake the importance of such instruction; and he will also understand the consequences, which could follow this diminution of respect for the popular religion in the eyes of the multitude. The persecution of Anaxagoras for denying the gods, and exercising his reason respecting celestial things,[3] could not be averted by Pericles himself; who was obliged to consent to the banishment of the philosopher. And this was the commencement of the contest between philosophy and the popular religion; a contest, which was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and was at-

[1] Bouterweck. Commentatio de primis philosophorum Græcorum decretis physicis. See Gött. Gel. Anzeig. 1812. St. 11.
[2] Plut. i. p. 597. [3] Plut. i. p. 654, 655.

tended by further consequences, that we must not omit to observe.

Pythagoras, though somewhat younger than the founder of the Ionian school, was himself an Ionian of the island of Samos. Nevertheless he found his sphere of action not there, but in Croton in Lower Italy. Of no one of the Grecian sages is the history so involved in the obscurities of tradition and the marvellous; and yet no other became of such political importance.[1] If we desire to estimate the influence of his philosophy on the state, we must by all means distinguish the influence of the Pythagorean league on the cities of Magna Græcia, from the influence of his philosophy on Greece itself, after that league had come to an end.

If we subject to a critical investigation, that which antiquity relates in a credible manner of his society and their objects, we observe a phenomenon, which is in many respects without a parallel. And yet I believe this is most intimately connected with the aristocratic and democratic factions which may be remarked so frequently in the Grecian states. Pythagoras had deserted Samos, to escape from the government of Polycrates; and whatever scruples may be raised respecting his other journeys, no one has denied his residence in Egypt. At the time when he visited this country, probably under Amasis, who made it accessible to the Greeks, the throne of the Pharaohs was still standing, and the influence of the caste of priests unimpaired. From them it is certain that he adopted much, both in respect to dress and manner of living; and could it have escaped a man of his penetration, how much can be effected in a state by the union of men of influence; although he must have seen, that a caste of priests could never thrive among the Greeks? According to all which we hear respecting him, he was master of the art of exciting, not attention only, but enthusiasm. His dignity, his dress, the purity of his morals, his eloquence, were of such a kind, that men were inclined to ex-

[1] We cannot exactly fix the year of the birth or of the death of Pythagoras. It is most probable that he came to Croton about the year 540; he was certainly there at the period of the destruction of Sybaris, in the year 510 B. C. His league, which existed at that time, was afterwards, about the year 500 B. C., dissolved by Cylon and his faction. Little would remain to be added to the critical inquiries of Meiners respecting the Pythagorean Philosophy, if he had not almost wholly neglected to treat of the political doctrines of Pythagoras.

alt him above the class of common mortals.[1] A comparison of the history of the several cities in Magna Græcia, at the time of his appearing in them, distinctly shows, that the government, in the most flourishing of them, was possessed by the higher class. Against this order a popular party began about this time to be formed; and the controversies of the two soon occasioned the destruction of Sybaris.[2] Pythagoras, who was any thing rather than a friend to the mob, joined the party of the higher order; which in its turn found support in his splendid talents. But this was the period in which luxury had risen in those cities, and especially in the rich families, to a degree never before known. It could not escape a man like him, that this corruption of manners must be followed by the downfal of his party; and hence it was natural for him to resolve to found his political reform on a moral one.[3] Being intimately connected with the higher order, he united them in a narrower circle; and necessity soon occasioned a distinction to be made between the class of those who were on probation, and those who were already admitted.[4] Self-government was the grand object of his moral reform. For this end he found it necessary to prescribe a certain manner of life, which was distinguished by a most cleanly but not luxurious clothing, a regular diet, a methodical division of time, part of which was to be appropriated to the individual himself and part to the state. And this may have contributed not a little to form those firm friendships, without which not much influence on public affairs can be exercised in republics. His acquaintance with speculative and mathematical science need not here be mentioned, since it is altogether unknown to us, how far he applied it to political purposes.

When we consider, that his society, of which he himself formed the central point, but which had its branches in the

[1] See the passages in proof of this in Meiners, B. i. s. 405, etc. They are chiefly taken from Aristoxenus, one of the most credible witnesses.

[2] The party of the nobles, 500 in number, fled after their banishment from thence to Croton, and prayed for protection; which they received principally by the advice of Pythagoras. Diod. xii. p. 77. Wechel. The passages which prove that those cities had aristocratical constitutions, may be found in Meiners, i. 396.

[3] See the passages in evidence of this, and the incredible sensation produced by him, in Meiners, i. p. 396.

[4] Therefore in Herod. ii. 81, the Pythagorean sect is enumerated among the mysteries.

other cities of Magna Græcia, and according to some accounts even in Carthage and Cyrene, continued to exist for at least thirty years, we can realize that it may have borne not only blossoms, but fruits. His disciples came by degrees to fill the most important posts, not only in Croton, but also in the other Grecian cities; and yet at the time of the destruction of Sybaris, the sect must have existed in its full force; since Pythagoras advised the reception of the banished;[1] and in the war against Sybaris, one of his most distinguished scholars, the wrestler Milo,[2] held the supreme command. But when a secret society pursues political ends, it naturally follows, that an opposing party increases in the same degree in which the preponderating influence of such a society becomes more felt.[3] But in this case, the opposition existed already in the popular party.[4] It therefore only needed a daring leader, like Cylon, to scatter the society by violence; the assembly was surprised, and most of them cut down, while a few only, and with them their master, escaped. After such a victory of the adverse faction, the expulsion of the rest of the Pythagoreans who remained alive, from their offices, was a natural consequence; and the political importance of the society was at an end. It was never able to raise its head again.

With the political doctrines of the Pythagoreans, we are acquainted only from later writers, who are yet worthy of credit, and of whom accounts and fragments have been preserved, especially in the collections of Stobæus. "They regarded anarchy," says Aristoxenus,[5] "as the greatest evil; because man cannot exist without social order. They held that every thing depended on the relation between the governing and the governed; that the former should be not only prudent, but mild; and that the latter should not only

[1] Diod. l. c.

[2] Violent bodily exercises formed a part of the discipline of Pythagoras. Six times in one Olympiad, prizes at Olympia were gained in those days by inhabitants of Croton. Must not this too have contributed to increase the fame of Pythagoras?

[3] Need I cite the example of the Illuminati?

[4] Cylon, the author of that commotion, is described as the leader of the democratic party; and this is proved by the anarchy which ensued after the catastrophe, and continued till order was restored by the mother cities in Achaia.

[5] Stob. Serm. xli. p. 243. This evidence is taken either from Aristoxenus, or from Aristotle himself, and therefore, according to Meiners, not to be rejected.

obey, but love their magistrates; that it was necessary to grow accustomed even in boyhood to regard order and harmony as beautiful and useful, disorder and confusion as hateful and injurious." From the fragments of the writings of the early Pythagoreans, as of Archytas, Diotogenes, and Hippodamus,[1] we perceive that they were not blindly attached to a single form of government; but only insisted that there should be no unlawful tyranny. Where a royal government existed, kings should be subject to the laws, and act only as the chief magistrates.[2] They regarded a mixed constitution as the best; and although they were far from desiring unlimited democracies, they desired quite as little unlimited aristocracies; but even where the administration resided principally in the hands of the upper class, they reserved a share of it for the people.[3]

Though the political agency of the society terminated with its dissolution, the Pythagorean lessons by no means became extinct. They were extended through Greece with the writings of the Pythagoreans, who were paid with high prices; but in that country they gained political importance, only so far as they contributed to the education of individual distinguished men. Of these, we need only to mention Epaminondas.

In Greece, the sophists are generally considered to have been the first, who applied philosophy to political science, which then became a subject of scientific instruction. Yet Plutarch, in a remarkable passage,[4] speaks of a political school which had been kept up in Athens, from the time of Solon. "Themistocles," says he, "could not have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, as some contend. He was a disciple of Mnesiphilus, who was neither an orator, nor one of the physical philosophers;[5] but who was employed on that kind of wisdom, which consists in political skill and practical sagacity, and which, from the time of Solon, had been preserved as in a school." That a man like Solon should have gathered around himself a circle which he made acquainted with his thoughts and maxims, was not only natural, but

[1] Meiners considers all these writings as not genuine. His reasoning however does not apply to the political fragments, which are to be found in cap. xli. and xliii.
[2] See in particular the fragments of Archytas. Serm. xliv. p. 314.
[3] Compare the fragment of Diotogenes, cap. xlvi. p. 329.
[4] In Themistocles, Op. i. p. 440. [5] The Ionian and Eleatic sages.

was necessary for the preservation of his code of laws; and it was not less natural that his younger friends should in turn deliver to theirs the principles of that venerable sage. But the words of the biographer himself show clearly enough, that no methodical instruction was given; but principles of practical wisdom, consisting in maxims for the conducting of public affairs, and drawn from experience; maxims of which the few remaining poetical fragments of the lawgiver contain so valuable a store.

From this practical direction, the Grecian philosophers after the times of Pythagoras entirely withdrew; and devoted themselves altogether to metaphysical speculations. They were employed in inquiries respecting the elements, and the nature of things; and came necessarily upon the question, which has so often been repeated, and which never can be answered, respecting the truth or falsehood of the perceptions of our senses. We know with what zeal these inquiries were made in the Eleatic school. They employed in a great measure Xenophanes, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and others. If therefore we read of individuals among these men, that they attained to political eminence,[1] their philosophy was connected with their political station only so far as they thus became conspicuous; and because wise men were selected for counsellors. In one point a nearer relation existed between their philosophy and the state; we mean in their diminishing or attempting to diminish the respect for the popular religion. In a country where the religion was a poetical one, and where philosophy had become entirely distinct from religion, the spirit of free, unlimited speculation, on its awakening, could not but scrutinize the popular faith, and soon detect its weaknesses. This we hear was done by Xenophanes, who with equal boldness used bitter expressions respecting the gods, and the epic poets who have invented about the gods such indecent fables.[2] This contradiction between philosophy and the popular religion, is on the one side the most certain proof of the independence of the former; but it was also the point, in which the state and philosophy came in contact, not without

[1] As Empedocles in Agrigentum; who is said to have refused the diadem, and confirmed the liberties of the people. Diog. Laërt. viii. ii. 9.
[2] Diog. Laërt. ix. ii. 3.

danger to the state, and if not to philosophy itself, yet to the philosophers.

Yet however far the speculations of those reasoners were removed from the state and from politics, the spirit of the times and necessity created many points of contact; which serve to explain the appearance of the sophists, and the part which they acted. Without regarding their doctrines, we may find their external character designated by the circumstance, that they were the first who gave instruction for pay. This presupposes that the want of scientific instruction began to be felt; and this again implies, that independent of such instruction, the nation had made progress in intellectual culture. In other words; he who desired to become distinguished in the state, felt the necessity of improving his mind by instruction. He was obliged to learn to speak, and therefore to think; and exercises in these two things constituted the whole instruction of the sophists. But it was of great importance, that the minds of men had been employed and continued to be employed so much with those metaphysical questions, which, as they from their very nature can never be answered with certainty, are well suited for disputation, and admit so various answers.

From the copious inquiries which have been made respecting the sophists by modern writers of the history of philosophy,[1] and from the preceding remarks, it is sufficiently evident that they were a fruit of the age. It is

[1] Yet even after all that has here been done by Meiners, Tenneman, and others, many things remain obscure; for the explanation of which, the foundation must be laid in a more accurate chronology of the sophists. The learned dissertation of Geel *Historia Critica Sophistarum, qui Socratis ætate Athenis floruerunt* in *Nova Acta literaria Societatis Rheno Trajectinæ* 1823, treats only of the age of Socrates; yet it explains the difference between rhetoricians and sophists; and the causes of the origin of the sophists. Even the sophists before the Macedonian times (of a later period we here make no mention) did not continue the same; and we should do Gorgias and Protagoras great injustice, were we to place them in the same rank with those, against whom the aged Isocrates in his Panathenaicus, Op. p. 236, and De Sophistis, p. 293, makes such bitter complaints. Gorgias, Protagoras, and Hippias, were commonly called the elder sophists; of whom Gorgias is said to have come to Athens in the year 427 as ambassador, although this is not mentioned by Thucydides. But it is evident from Aristophanes, who brought his Clouds upon the stage, for the first time, 424 years B. C., that at that epoch the sophists had already been long established at Athens. It appears that the great celebrity and wealth of the sophists commenced in the times of Gorgias and the following. In the Clouds, Socrates and his pupils are represented, so far from being rich, as poor wretches, who do not know how they are to subsist from one day to another.

worthy of remark, that the most celebrated of them came from the most various parts of the Grecian world; Gorgias, who begins the series, from Leontium in Sicily; Protagoras from Abdera on the coast of Thrace; Hippias from Colophon in Asia Minor; not to mention a multitude of those who were less famous. This is a remarkable proof, how generally, since the Persian wars, a literary spirit had begun to animate the nation. Most of those men, it is true, removed to Athens; to which place Gorgias was sent as ambassador during the Peloponnesian war; because this city, so long as it held the first rank, opened the widest and most profitable theatre for their exertions; but they also often travelled through the cities of Greece in the train of their pupils; met with the kindest reception; and were employed as counsellors in public affairs, and not unfrequently as ambassadors. They gave instruction at a high price to all young men who joined them, in every branch of knowledge deemed essential to their education. This undoubtedly occasioned that boasting of universal knowledge, which has been laid to their charge; but it must also be remembered, that in those days the extent of the sciences was still very limited.

The sophists at first embraced in their course of instruction, philosophy as well as rhetoric. But that which they called philosophy was, as with the scholastic philosophers, the art of confounding an opponent by syllogisms and sophisms; and the subjects about which they were most fond of speculating, were some of those metaphysical questions, respecting which we ought finally to learn, that we never can know any thing. This kind of reasoning, since disputation and speaking were taught, was very closely connected with rhetoric. Subsequently the sophists and rhetoricians formed distinct classes; but the different classes which Isocrates distinguished in his old age,[1] could hardly have been so decidedly marked in his youth.

The precepts and the very name of the sophists became odious among the ancients; and it would be in vain to attempt to free them entirely from the reproaches, which were cast on them by sages and by the comic writers. But yet they cannot be deprived of the glory of having made

[1] Isocrates, Op. p. 293, etc.

the higher class of their nation sensible of the necessity of a liberal education. They rose rapidly and extraordinarily, because they were deeply connected with the wants of the times. In states, where every thing was discussed orally, and where every thing was just beginning to bloom, the instructers in logic and rhetoric could not but be acceptable. But in two respects, they soon became injurious and even dangerous to the state; by reducing eloquence to the mere art of disputing, and by degrading or ridiculing the popular religion.

The first seems to have been a very natural consequence of the condition of the sciences at that time. The more limited is the knowledge of men, the more bold are they in their assertions; the less they know, the more they believe they do and can know. Man persuades himself of nothing more readily, than that he has arrived at the bounds of human knowledge. This belief creates in him a dogmatical spirit; because he believes he can prove every thing. But where it is believed that every thing can be proved, there naturally arises the art of proving the contrary proposition; and the art of disputing among the sophists degenerated to this. The art of confounding right and wrong, objected to them by the comic poets, may have had a very injurious influence on social life; but a greater evil resulting from it was the destroying of a nice sense of truth; for even truth itself becomes contemptible, when it is believed, that it can as well be refuted, as established, by an argument.

That the popular religion was held in less esteem, was probably a consequence of the more intimate connexion, which existed between the elder sophists and their predecessors and contemporaries of the Eleatic school. In these accusations injustice has perhaps been done to some of them; for it may be doubted whether Protagoras deserved the name of atheist;[1] yet no circumstance probably contributed so much to make them odious in the eyes of the people.

If to these things we add their lax moral principles, which consisted in lessons of prudence, how life could be

[1] He had only said he knew not whether the gods existed or not; yet for this he was banished from Athens, and his writings were burnt. Sext. Emp. ix. 57. That the atheism of Prodicus is uncertain, has been already observed by Tenneman. Gesch. d, Phil. i. S. 377.

made easy and be enjoyed, but which doubtless assisted in procuring for them pupils and followers, we can survey all the evil influence which they exercised. And yet these very aberrations of the human understanding may have been necessary, to awaken the minds which were to point out better paths.

The son of Sophroniscus is the first among these. He began the opposition to the sophists. Just as Philip called forth a Demosthenes, the sophists produced a Socrates. After all that antiquity has left us concerning him, and all the observations of modern historians, he is one of the characters most difficult to be understood, and stands by himself, not only in his own nation, but in the whole history of the culture of our race. For what sage, who was neither a public teacher, nor a writer, nor a religious reformer, has had such an influence on his own age and on posterity, as he? We willingly concede, that his sphere of action has far exceeded his own expectations and designs. These hardly had reference to posterity. Every thing seems to indicate, that they were calculated for his contemporaries alone. But it may with justice be remarked, that this only increases the difficulty of an explanation. For who will not ask; How could this man, without intending it, have had an influence on all centuries after his time? The chief reason is to be found in the nature of his philosophy; yet external causes came to his assistance.

After so many have written upon his philosophy, it would be superfluous to delineate it anew. It made its way, because it immediately related to the higher matters of interest to man. While the sophists were brooding over mere speculations, and their contests were but contests of words, Socrates taught those who came near him, to look into themselves; man and his relations with the world were the objects of his investigations. That we may not repeat what has already been so well remarked by others, we will here allow ourselves only some general observations respecting the philosopher himself and his career.

His influence was most closely connected with the forms of social life in Athens; in a country where these are not the same, a second Socrates could never exercise the influence of the first. He gave instruction neither in his house, nor

in any fixed place; the public squares and halls were the favourite scenes of his conversations. For such instruction a proper audience can be found only in a nation, in which private life is in a very high degree public in its nature. This was the case with the Athenians. Such a method of teaching could be effectual among them, because they were not only accustomed to pass a large portion of the day in places of public resort, but also to speak of almost every subject which could occur. It was here that the sophists passed much of their time, not to give formal instruction, which, as it was paid for, was given in a definite place, but, as Plato reproaches them, in order to gain rich young men as pupils. The war which Socrates had once for all declared against them, made him from choice, and most frequently, pass his time where he could expect to find his adversaries, as well as his friends and followers.[1]

The manner in which he taught, was not less important. It was by conversation, not by continued discourse. He had therefore adopted the very manner which is most suitable to public places. But in two respects, his conversation, apart from the matter it contained, was distinguished from the common intercourse of life. The one was the irony which he knew how to introduce, especially in his attacks on the sophists; the other and more important, was the conviction which he often expressed, that he spoke from the impulse of divine power. Socrates differs from the whole class of men, whom we embrace under the name of prophets; for, while these appear as the immediate envoys and messengers of the divinity, he did but occasionally insinuate his claim to this character, although he never denied it. He neither desired to found a new religion, nor to improve the existing one; which was necessarily the object of the prophets. The appearance of a Socrates was therefore the noblest result of the separation of philosophy from religion, a merit belonging solely to the Greeks; in

[1] From this point of resemblance, I think we may explain how Aristophanes could confound Socrates with the sophists. He represents him as giving instruction for money, and in a house of his own, appropriated to study (φροντιστήριον); and these two circumstances are true of the sophists, but not of Socrates. I can therefore discover in *his* Socrates nothing but the representative of the sophists. To be sure the comic poet would have better provided for his reputation with posterity, if he had brought a Prodicus or Gorgias upon the stage instead of Socrates.

no Eastern nation could a Socrates have found his sphere. But he became a martyr to his doctrines. It would be superfluous to prove anew, the groundlessness of the charges, that he denied the popular religion, and was a corrupter of the youth.[1] But we will not neglect to observe, that by his death he produced even more important consequences than by his life. If he had been snatched away by sickness, who knows whether he would have been remembered more than other meritorious instructers? His friends and pupils would have spoken of him with respect, but hardly with enthusiasm. But the poisoned cup insured him immortality. By his death, in connexion with his doctrines, he exhibited in reality one of those sublime ideal conceptions, of which the Grecian nation alone is so fertile; he presented what till then had been wanting, the image of a sage who dies for his convictions.

The philosophy of Socrates had no immediate relations with politics. Its object was man, considered as a moral being, not as a citizen. Hence it was indirectly of the more importance to the state; since it was nothing less than an attempt to meet the ruin, with which the state was threatened by a false kind of philosophy. This object was not fully attained; but must the blame of the failure be attributed to Socrates?

From his school, or rather, from his circle, a number of distinguished minds were produced, who in part differed from each other in their opinions and systems, as opposite poles. This could not have happened, but because Socrates had no system, and hence laid no chains on the spirit of inquiry. He would but excite the minds of others; and hence we perceive how there could have been among his associates, an Antisthenes, who made self-denial, and an Aristippus, who made enjoyment, the basis of ethics; a Pyrrho, whose object it was to doubt, and a Euclid, who was eager to demonstrate. As the philosophy of these men was in no manner connected with politics, we pass over them, that we may not leave unmentioned the greatest of all the pupils of Socrates.

To comprehend the character of Plato, a genius would be

[1] See, beside the works on the history of philosophy, the Essay of Tychsen, Ueber den Process des Socrates, in Bibl. d. alten Litt. u. Kunst. St. I. 2.

required, hardly inferior to his. Common or even uncommon philosophic acumen, industry, and learning in this case are not sufficient. The mind of Plato rose above visible objects, and entered on the higher regions, where exist the eternal first forms of things. To these his eye was undeviatingly directed, as the only regions where knowledge can be found,—since there is nothing beyond opinion in the world of the senses,—and where real beauty, goodness, and justice dwell eternal and unchangeable as the Divinity, and yet distinct from the Divinity. He who cannot follow Plato to those regions, and feel with him, in the veil of mythological fables, what he himself felt rather than knew, may make many valuable and correct remarks respecting that philosopher, but is not capable of presenting a perfect and adequate image of him. The attempt to give a body to that which is ethereal, is vain; for it then ceases to be ethereal. But the relation in which he stood to his nation can be very distinctly delineated. In him the poetic character of the Greeks expressed itself philosophically. It was only in a nation so thoroughly poetical, that a Plato could be produced.

Socrates had contemplated man as a moral being; Plato's philosophy embraced the social union. Long before him, the state had so far become an object of speculation, that writers had endeavoured to sketch the model of a perfect constitution. No more immediate occasion for such exercise could be found than in the Grecian cities, which formed as it were the model of a chart of free states; which, by means of their wants and changes, almost necessarily conducted the reflecting mind to such objects of thought. The first distinct attempt of this kind, as we expressly learn from Aristotle,[1] was made by Hippodamus of Miletus, who must have been a contemporary of Themistocles.[2] The marked separation of the three classes of artists, agriculturists, and soldiers, and the division which he makes of land into sacred, public, and private land, remind us of the Egyptian institutions. Not only his plan, but that of Phaneas of Chalcedon, is discussed at large by Aristotle. Investigations of

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. cap. 8.
[2] According to Aristotle, he was employed in the construction of the Piræeus, which was the work of Themistocles.

constitutions and codes of laws now became subjects frequently treated of; they could hardly have much practical influence, since the days were past in which new lawgivers could have appeared in Greece. Of many works composed in those times, none have come down to us but the two treatises of Plato. These, especially that of the republic, are intelligible only to those who comprehend and bear always in mind, that the Greeks regarded a state as a moral person, which governs itself, and cannot be swayed by any impulse from a higher power,[1] nor be governed by another. Then it is no longer difficult to explain the close and indissoluble union between morals and politics, a union which modern writers have so frequently called in question.

During the days of the freedom of Greece, almost every grand question connected with theoretical or practical philosophy, was made the object of inquiry and discussion. The later writers may perhaps have answered them differently and with greater acuteness; but to the earliest belongs the great merit of having presented to the reflecting mind, the objects after which they should strive. The relations of the later systems of Grecian philosophy to the earlier ones, show how far the Stoic system was allied to the Cynic, the Epicurean to the Cyrenaic, that of the later sceptics to that of Pyrrho and the Eleatic school,—these subjects we leave to be explained by some writer, who is capable of giving, not a voluminous, but succinct and spirited account of the efforts made among the Greeks by the understanding, as employed on subjects of philosophy.

If the relations of philosophy to the political institutions must be estimated by its reaction on them, the reverse is in some measure true of the science of history. This stands in connexion with the state, inasmuch as it is the result of the changes and destinies of the state. It is true, that history was not long limited among the Greeks to their own nation. As there was free intercourse with foreigners, accounts and traditions respecting their origin, manners, and revolutions became common. But every thing proceeded from the history of their native country; this always remained the

[1] We would here especially refer to the following excellent treatise. J. L. G. de Geer. Diatribe in Politices Platonicæ Principia. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1810.

central point. And here again we perceive the just views of the Greeks. Is not each nation the nearest object to itself? And next to the present moment, what can interest it more than its own previous condition?

This was early and very generally felt; and if historical accounts have been preserved but scantily or not at all, the fault is to be attributed, not to the want of exertions to insure that end, but to the imperfection of the means which the nations could control; that is, not merely to the want of an alphabet, but of the materials which are used in writing. Persepolis, Thebes, Mexico,—do not all these furnish distinct proofs of the truth of our remark?

But not less depended on the circumstance, whether any persons, a peculiar class or caste in the nation, were commissioned to record the events as they passed. Where a priesthood existed, the preparing of the calendar, however imperfect or perfect it might be, was their business; and to this it was easy to add the writing of annals.

The Greeks had no such separate order of priests; and hence we hear nothing of any annals which they possessed.[1] Yet religion still did something for history. A multitude of relations, preserving the memory of early events, were associated with the consecrated offerings in the temples. How often are these referred to by Herodotus! and the historical remarks of Pausanias are almost always made in connexion with them. But they could neither fix a succession of time, nor do more than confirm single facts.

The history, therefore, of the Greeks emanated from an entirely different source, from tradition; and since this supplied poetry with its subjects, the poets remained for centuries the sole preservers of traditional accounts. But it does not follow, that Grecian history was an invention, because it was originally poetical. Indeed, it never entirely lost that character. The subjects of history, as presented by tradition, were only interwoven with fictions. But it is obvious of itself, that the character of the Grecian traditions must have had a great or even a decisive influence on the character of their history.

[1] Where a sort of hereditary priesthood existed, as in Sicyon, from the earliest times, a sort of annals was connected with it. They seem, however, to have consisted chiefly in an enumeration of the succession of priests, and therefore hardly deserve the name.

By means of the original and continued division of the nation into many tribes, the traditions were very much enriched. Each tribe had its heroes and its deeds of valour to employ the bard. To convince ourselves of this, we need but cast a glance on the tales of the Grecian heroes. Individuals among them, who were more distinguished than the rest, as Hercules and Jason, became the heroes of the nation, and therefore the favourites of the poets. And after the first great national enterprise, after Troy had fallen, need we be astonished that the historic muse preferred this to all other subjects?

All this is too well known to need any more copious exposition.[1] But much as Homer and the cyclic poets eclipsed the succeeding ones, historic poetry kept pace with the political culture of the nation. This union we must not leave unobserved.

That advancement in political culture was, as we observed above, connected with the rising prosperity of the cities in Greece and of the colonies. The founding of cities (κτίσεις) therefore formed an essential part of the earlier history. But cities were founded by heroes; and the traditions respecting these things were therefore intimately connected with the rest. Who does not see, how wide a field was here opened for historic poetry? Such narrations had always a lasting interest for the inhabitants; they were, by their very nature, of a kind to be exaggerated till they became marvellous; and were connected with accounts of the most ancient voyages; stories of the wonders of foreign and distant countries; the island of the Cyclops, the garden of the Hesperides, the rich Iberia, and others. What could afford more agreeable nourishment to the imagination of a youthful people? What could be more attractive to the poets?

Hence there arose among the Greeks a particular class of historic poems, which, though in subject and form most intimately connected with other poems, were yet specially commemorative of the founding of the several cities. The class embraced, it is true, cities of the mother country;[2]

[1] See Heyne, Historiæ scribendæ inter Græcos primordia. Comment. Soc. Sc. Gotting. vol. xiv.

[2] Especially Athens. Here is the source of the lake Atthides. So too Eumelus has celebrated in song the oldest history of Corinth. Bibliothek d. alten Litt. und Kunst. ii. 94. Of narratives respecting colonies, we would

but chiefly related to the colonies; for their establishment, intimately interwoven with the history of heroes, offered the richest materials.

History continued to be treated in a poetical manner, till near the time of the Persian wars. How deeply, therefore, must the poetic character have been imprinted upon Grecian history? Experience has taught that it was indelibly so. When the first writers appeared who made use of prose, this character was changed only with respect to the form, but by no means to the matter. They related in prose what the poets had told in verse. This is expressly stated by Strabo.[1] "The earliest writers," says he, "Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, preserved the poetic character, though not the measure of verse. Those who came after them, were the first to descend from that height to the present style of writing." The opinion of Cicero seems therefore to have been ill founded, when he compares the oldest historians, and particularly Pherecydes, with the earliest annalists of the Romans, Fabius Pictor and Cato,[2] whose style was certainly not poetical.

The larger number and the earliest of the narrators of traditions,[3] as Herodotus styles them in distinction from the epic poets, were Ionians. Epic poetry was followed by narrations in prose, in the very countries where it had been cultivated most successfully. History has left us in uncertainty respecting the more immediate causes of this change; but has not the East always been the land of fables? Here, where the crowd of colonial cities was springing up, which were founded toward the end of the heroic age, that class of narrations which relate to these subjects found the most appropriate themes. In explaining therefore the origin of historic science among the Greeks, it may perhaps be proper to remember, that they participated in the character of the oriental nations; although they merit the glory of having subsequently given to that science its true and peculiar character.

But in the period in which the prose style of narration was thus forming, the improvement of historic science ap-

cite that of Herodotus on the origin of Cyrene; of which the poetic source seems unquestionable. How many similar relations in Pausanias betray the same origin!

[1] Strabo, i. p. 34.

[2] Cicero de Oratore, ii. 12.

[3] The λογογράφοι, as Hecatæus and others.

pears to have been promoted by several very natural causes. The larger number and the most celebrated of those mythological historians lived and flourished in the latter half of the sixth century before the Christian era; that is, not long before the commencement of the Persian wars.[1] Of these the earliest are said to have been Cadmus of Miletus, and Hecatæus of the same place, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Syros, Charon of Lampsacus, and several others whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus enumerates. They belong to the age in which the nation was rising in youthful energy; when it was already extended to the west and the east, and its flourishing cities were engaged in various commerce; when it had become acquainted with many nations, and travelling had begun to be common. From the title of the works of these narrators of traditions, it is evident that they were not careful to limit themselves to the accounts, which they found in the ancient epic poets; but that they took a wider range, embracing the history of cities and nations, and also the description of the coasts of the countries. A proof of this is found in the catalogue of the writings of Hellanicus the Lesbian, one of the latest of them.[2]

These remarks, when considered in connexion, will serve to show us the character of history before Herodotus. It was in its origin entirely Grecian; and even when the sphere of observation was extended to foreign countries, kept pace with the political advancement of the nation. It preserved its poetical character, and therefore did not become critical; but it was developed with perfect freedom; and was never held by the priests in bondage to religion. As poetry had for a long time been the means of its preservation, it became in some measure the play of fancy (although epic poetry was much more restricted than the subsequent lyric and tragic); but in return, as it was propagated by no hieroglyphics, it could never, as in Egypt, degenerate into mere symbolical narration. When it came to be transferred from poetry to prose, it was necessarily connected with improvements in the art of writing; and the deficiency of our accounts on this subject[3] is one of the chief reasons why we

[1] Between the 60th and 70th Olympiad, or 540—500 years B. C.

[2] See Creuzer's Historic Art among the Greeks in its Origin and Progress. Compare Dahlmann's Historical Inquiries, in the Life of Herodotus, p. 108, especially on Hecatæus.

[3] See Wolfii Prolegom. p. xl. etc.

are so little able to mark the progress of its particular branches. But whatever influences these causes may have exercised, the great reason which retarded historic science before Herodotus lay in the want of subjects.

Before the Persian wars, there was no subject capable of inspiring the historian. The Trojan war, the Argonautic expedition, all great undertakings, belonged to tradition, and hence belonged more than half to poetry. The narrations of the origin of the individual cities, accounts of distant nations and countries, might gratify curiosity, might afford amusement; but nothing more. There existed no great national subject of universal interest.

At length came the Persian wars. The victory at Marathon first awakened a spirit of valour; whether this was more inflamed by the defeat at Thermopylæ, or the victory at Salamis, it is difficult to say; with the battle of Platææ, freedom was saved. What a subject for the historic Muse!

The subject, from its very nature, belonged exclusively to history; and poetry had no share in it. It was no subject of hoary antiquity, nor yet of the present moment; but of a period which had but recently passed away. And yet it came so variously in contact with tradition, that an historian in a critical age would often have been compelled to take his walks into the regions of mythology. How much more, then, at a time, when the bounds between history and tradition had not yet been in the slightest degree marked out!

Herodotus employed himself on this subject, and managed it in a manner which surpassed all expectation.[1] Many

[1] Dahlmann in 1823 published his careful criticism on the life of the father of History, in the second volume of his Historical Inquiries. Herodot.; aus seinem Buche sein Leben. The critic recognises the value of the great historian, to whose just fame I hope by this work to have contributed something; yet he proves, that on many points an uncertainty prevails, sufficient to warrant a difference of opinion. I count among them, the time of the composition and publication of the work of Herodotus. Certainly, in its present form, it is not the production of his youth; and it is quite as improbable that it could have been written after his seventy-seventh year. The mention by Dahlmann of several events as late as 408 B. C., warrants an inference only as to the time when Herodotus published his work, not as to the time when he wrote it. The death of Amyrtæus of Syncellus, as Dahlmann remarks, and as the new Armenian edition of Eusebius confirms, happened eight years earlier, that is, 416 B. C.; and if the Darius, mentioned i. 130, is Darius Nothus, it is surprising that he is not more precisely designated. The most natural inference is, that Herodotus, as a young man, collected his materials on his travels, wrote it at Thurium in the maturity of manhood, about 444 B. C., but did not publish it till his old age. That he formed his design early and

things, it is true, served to facilitate his labour. Many attempts had been made to explain the earliest history of cities and nations; travelling had been rendered easy by the extensive commerce of the Grecian cities, and several of his predecessors are known to have visited many countries;[1] the mythological writers (λογογράφοι) had already formed the language for prosaic narration; and the nation for which he wrote was already awake to the beauties of historic composition. Still he was the first who undertook to treat of a purely historical subject; and thus to take the decisive step, which gave to history its rank as an independent science. Yet he did not limit himself to his chief subject, but gave it such an extent, that his work, notwithstanding its epic unity, became in a certain sense a universal history.[2] Continuing the thread of his story from the times when controversies first arose between the Hellenes and the barbarians, till those when at Platææ the war was terminated so gloriously for the Greeks, Hellas, attacked but liberated, became the great subject of his narration; opportunities were constantly presenting themselves, or were introduced, of interweaving the description and history of the countries and nations, which required to be mentioned, without ever losing sight of his chief object, to which he returns from every episode. He had himself visited the greater part of these countries and nations; had seen them with his own eyes; had collected information from the most credible sources. But when he enters upon the antiquities of the nations, especially of his own, he makes use of the means afforded him by his age; and here his work borders on those of the earlier historians (the λογογράφοι). It is no longer necessary to appear as his defender; posterity has not continued unjust towards him. No writer has received more frequent confirmation by the advances which, within the last thirty years, have been made in the knowledge of nations and countries, than Herodotus, who was formerly so often the object of ridicule. But our sole purpose was to show in what manner the science of history had been elevated by his choice of a subject; and how this

travelled to further it, cannot be doubted. How many an additional inquiry was necessary as he composed it! It was a work fit to employ a long life.

[1] As Hecatæus and Pherecydes.

[2] Only the history of the Assyrians he reserved for a separate work; i. 184. This he probably never wrote. Dahlmann, p. 227.

choice was intimately connected with the impulse given to the political character of his nation.

The first great step had thus been taken. A purely historical subject, relating to the past, but to no distant period, and no longer belonging to tradition, had been treated by a master, who had devoted the largest part of his life to a plan, framed with deliberation and executed with enthusiasm. The nation possessed an historical work, which first showed what history is; and which was particularly well fitted to awaken a taste for it. As Herodotus read his work to all Greece assembled at Olympia, a youth, according to the tradition, was incited by it to become, not his imitator, but his successor.[1]

Thucydides appeared. His predecessor had written a history of the past. He became the historian of his own time. He was the first who seized on this idea, on which the whole character of his work depends; though others, especially the ancient cities, looked for it in his style, his eloquence, and other secondary matters. By this means he advanced the science of history in a higher degree than he himself was aware of. His subject made him necessarily a critic.

The storm of the Persian wars had been terrific, but transitory. During its continuance, no historian could appear. It was not till after its fury had for some time abated, and men had regained their composure of mind, that Herodotus could find a place. Amidst the splendour of the victories which had been gained, under the shade of security won by valour,—with what emotions did the Greek look back upon those years! Who could be more welcome to him than the

[1] That Thucydides was not present as a hearer of Herodotus, is clearly proved by Dahlmann, p. 20 and 216. Had he, as a youth of sixteen in the year 456 B. C., listened to Herodotus, he must have formed his purpose of becoming an historian at least two-and-thirty years before he carried it into effect, and before he had chosen a subject; for his biographer, Marcellinus, informs us, that he did not write his history till after his exile, that is, after the year 424 B. C. The narrative of Lucian, that Herodotus read his history aloud at Olympia, contains no date; the assumption that it was in 456 B. C., rests on the anecdote about Thucydides, which Lucian does not mention. Why then may it not have taken place at a later day? Lucian may have coloured the narrative, but hardly invented it. That such readings took place, not before the whole people, but only before those interested, follows of course; and if Herodotus read not his whole work, but only a part of it, (and his work was probably finished by portions,) the difficulties suggested by Dahlmann disappear. These remarks are designed not to prove the truth of the narrative, but to show that it does not involve improbabilities.

historian, who painted for him this picture of his own glory, not only as a whole, but in its parts! The age of Thucydides, on the contrary, was full of grandeur, but of difficulties. In the long and obstinate war with one another, the Grecian states sought to overturn each other from their very foundations. It was not the age of wars only, but of revolutions with all their horrors. Whether a man were an aristocrat or democrat, a friend of Athens or of Sparta, was the question on which depended fortune, liberty, and life. A beneficent reverse rescued Thucydides from the whirlpool; and gave him that immortality, which the capture of Amphipolis never could have conferred on him.[1] The fruit of his leisure was the history of his age; a work he himself proposed to write, and actually wrote, for eternity.[2]

This is not the place to eulogize the man, who remained calm amidst all the turbulence of the passions, the only exile that has written an impartial history. His acquaintance with states and business, his deep political acuteness, his style, nervous, though occasionally uncouth,—have all been illustrated by others. We will only allow ourselves to show, by a few remarks, how much historic science was advanced by the nature of his subject.

The undertaking of the man who was the first to form the idea of writing the history of his own times, and of events in which he himself had a share, must not be compared with that of the modern writer, who compiles it from many written documents. He was compelled to investigate every thing by personal inquiry; and that, too, in a period when every thing was misrepresented by passion and party spirit. But antiquity had not inwrapped his subject in the veil of tradition, nor had it in its nature any epic interest. The subject was thoroughly prosaic; setting before the writer no other aim, than that of exhibiting the truth. In this lay the sole interest; and to ascertain and repeat the truth, is all which we can fairly demand of the historian. We honour and respect him, because, penetrated with the consciousness of his dignity, he never for a moment becomes untrue to it.

[1] After Amphipolis had been taken by Brasidas, Thucydides was accused of having come too late to the assistance of that city, and was banished by the Athenian people; he actually passed twenty years in exile in Thrace, where he possessed valuable mines. Let Thucydides himself be heard on this subject, iv. 104, and v. 26. [2] Κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί. Thucyd. i. 22.

A sentiment of reverence accompanies us from the first to the last leaf of his work. Not the historian, History herself seems to address us.

But to what new views must he have been led, when, with the desire of arriving at truth, he turned his eyes to the form under which history had thus far appeared! It was his immediate aim to relate the events of his own times; but the preceding age could not remain wholly excluded from the sphere of his observation. It appeared to him clothed in the mantle of tradition; and he who scrutinized every thing with care, was not caught by its delusive splendour. He endeavoured to contemplate antiquity as it was, to take from it this false glare, leaving nothing but the light of truth; and thus was produced that invaluable introduction which precedes his work.

By such means Thucydides was the inventor of an art, which before him had been almost unknown, the art of historic criticism; without being conscious of the infinite value of his invention. For he did not apply it to all branches of knowledge, but only to his subject, because it was a natural consequence of that subject. The historic Muse had made him acquainted with her most secret nature; no one before or after him has drawn the line more clearly between history and tradition. And what is this, but to draw the distinction between the historic culture of the East and West? and—if we recognise how much depended on this historic culture—between the whole scientific culture of the East and West? For to repeat a remark, which has already been cursorily made, the great difference between the two consists in this; in the West, the free spirit of criticism was developed, and in the East never.

It is therefore just to say, that Thucydides advanced a giant's step. It is just to say, that he rose above his age; neither his own nor the following could reach him. Poetic tradition was too deeply interwoven with Grecian history, to admit of an entire separation. A Theopompus and Ephorus, whenever the heroic age was to be discussed, drew their materials with as little concern from the writers of mythological fables and the poets, as if Thucydides never had written.

A third step yet remained to be taken; and it was in some respects the most dangerous of all; to become the historian of one's own exploits. This step was taken by Xenophon. For when we speak of his historic writings, his Anabasis so far surpasses the rest, that it alone deserves to be mentioned. But this new step may with propriety be called one of the most important. Would that he who ventured to take it, had found many successors! By the mildness and modesty of his personal character, Xenophon was secured from the faults, into which men are so apt to fall, when they describe their own actions; although these virtues and the nature of his subject could not give his work those superior qualities, which the genius of Cæsar knew how to impart to his Commentaries.

Thus, in the period of their freedom, all the principal kinds of history were developed among the Greeks. What was done afterwards, can hardly be called progress, although the subjects of history grew more various and more extensive with the enlarged sphere of politics in the Macedonian and Roman age; and the idea of a universal history was more distinctly entertained. But after the downfal of liberty, when rhetoric became prevalent and was applied to history, the higher kind of criticism ceased to be employed in it. The style, the manner in which a subject was treated, was regarded; not the subject itself. The essence was forgotten in disputes about the form. We have abundant proofs of this in the judgments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has nevertheless been usually mentioned as the first of these critics.

CHAPTER XV.

POETRY AND THE ARTS IN CONNEXION WITH THE STATE.

WHETHER in our inquiries on the political institutions of Greece, their poetry and arts must be considered,—will hardly be made a question by any of my readers. Almost every one of the preceding chapters has served to show how closely they were connected with the state. Yet our remarks must be limited to the question: What was the nature, and what were the consequences of this connexion?

But even in answering this we might be carried very far, if we were to pass the bounds which the character of this work prescribes. In speaking of poetry, we would principally consider the dramatic; since we have already spoken of the epic. But the drama can hardly be discussed, separate from lyric poetry. We place the arts in immediate connexion with poetry, because nature herself had united them among the Greeks; among whom the arts are as it were the key to poetry. The remark of a modern critic[1] is perfectly true, that the masterpieces of the plastic art furnish the best commentary on the tragedians. Although it is not always the same persons whom the poets and the sculptors bring before us, we yet derive from them our conceptions of the ideal forms. He who has seen the sublime figures of Niobe and Laocoon, can easily represent to his mind an Electra or an Œdipus in the forms under which they floated in the mind of the poet.

With the advancing culture of Greece, the connexion between poetry and arts and the state increased; and was most intimate in its flourishing age. Even the earliest lawgivers of the Greeks regarded poetry as the chief means of forming the character of youth; and of exercising an influence on their riper years. But in an age when there was as yet no literature, poetry could not be separate from song; and was commonly accompanied with an instrument. Hence came the meaning of the word music, which embraced all this together. Yet this is chiefly true of lyric poetry, which, as the immediate expression of the feelings of the poet, was much more intimately connected with song than the epic. If we do but bear constantly in mind the leading idea which the Greek had framed of a state, as a moral person that was to govern itself, we can comprehend the whole importance, which music, in the wider sense of the word, possessed in the eyes of the Grecian lawgivers. It seemed to them in that age, when there was as yet no philosophic culture, when the feelings and the management of the feelings were of the greatest moment, the best means of influencing them; and we need not be astonished, when we read in Plutarch[2]

[1] A. W. Schlegel, über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur, Th. i. s. 67. A. W. Schlegel, on Dramatic Literature.

[2] In his essay De Musicâ. Op. ii. p. 1131.

and other writers, of the great severity with which the laws, especially in Sparta, insisted on the preservation of the ancient music, and the established tunes. It may be difficult in our days, when music is no longer considered the lever of national force,[1] to form any distinct idea of those institutions of the ancients. But as human nature is never untrue to itself, institutions which are founded on it are always preserved to a certain extent and under certain forms. In the nineteenth century, in which there is no longer any danger of corrupting a nation by changes in music, (although it would be very presumptuous to give a hasty opinion on its influence and effects,) no regiment is raised without its band; and the commander, who instead of a warlike march should order a dirge to be played, would justly incur the same reproaches with him, who in ancient days made an unseasonable use of the Lydian instead of the Dorian measure.

Lyric poetry was moreover intimately connected with the popular religion; or was in fact a result of it; for hymns in praise of the gods are mentioned as its first fruits.[2] It was therefore important to the state as a support of the popular religion, particularly by contributing to the splendour of the festivals. For when was a festival celebrated by the Greeks, and the songs of the poets not heard? But they received their greatest importance from the institution of choral songs. These choruses, even independent of the drama, were the chief ornament of the festivals; and were composed of persons of various ages. There were those of youths, of men, and of the aged; which responded to each other alternately in song.[3] As the festivals were a public concern, so too were the choruses; and we have no cause to be astonished, that the preparation of them formed a part of the civil burdens.

The choral song at the festivals was as ancient as the

[1] That in his times, when music was used only in the theatres, it had lost its ancient application, is the complaint of Plutarch, ii. 1140.

[2] "Music," says Plutarch, ii. p. 1140, "was first made use of in the temples and sacred places in praise of the gods, and for the instruction of youth; long before it was introduced into the theatres, which at that time were not in existence."

[3] See in particular the whole oration of Demosthenes against Midias, who had abused Demosthenes as *choragus*, or leader of the chorus.

heroic age, or at least as the times of Homer.[1] Although it was capable of receiving great ornaments, and did actually receive them, it did not necessarily require any great preparations. The similar spectacles which modern travellers have witnessed in the islands of the South Sea, especially the Society Islands, carry us back to the earlier world of Greece. The drama was the result of those choruses; but from its nature it could only be a later fruit of the poetic spirit of the nation.

The drama interests us here only in its connexion with the state. But this inquiry goes very deeply into its nature. A question arises of a twofold character: What did the state do for the drama, and in what respects was the drama, by its nature and organization, connected with and of importance to the state?

Dramatic poetry, whose object is to give a distinct and lively representation of an action, always requires decorations, however splendid or paltry they may be; and an assembly, before which the representation may be made. Dramatic poetry is therefore essentially more public than that of any other description. Of all kinds of verse, this concerns the state the most nearly. Among the Greeks we may add, that it was an affair of religion, and therefore an essential part of their festivals. But these festivals were entirely an affair of the state; they belonged, as has been observed above, to the most urgent political wants. Here then we find a reason why the state should not only have so much encouraged dramatic exhibitions, but have even considered them no less essential than the popular assemblies and popular tribunals. A Grecian state could not exist without festivals, nor festivals without choruses and plays.

In what manner the state encouraged the drama, we know only with respect to Athens. But that the other Grecian cities in the mother country, and also in the colonies, had their theatres no less than Athens, is apparent from the remains of them, which are almost always to be found wherever there are traces of a Grecian city. The theatres were built and decorated at the public expense;

[1] See the Hymn. in Apoll. v. 147, etc. respecting the choruses at the Ionian festivals in Delos.

we find in Grecian cities no instance, as far as my knowledge extends, where private persons erected them, as was usual in Rome. Their structure was always the same, such as may still be seen in Herculaneum; and we must therefore infer, that all the external means of representation remained the same; although the wealth and taste of individual cities introduced higher degrees of splendour; which in our times we may observe in our larger cities, compared with the smaller or provincial towns. But from the remains of the Grecian theatres, the size and extent of these buildings are apparent, and their great dissimilarity in this respect to modern ones. If they had not been regarded as a real want, and if the emulation of the cities had not also exerted its influence, we might doubt whether sufficient means could have been found for erecting them.

The bringing forward of the single plays belonged to the civil burdens, (λειτουργίαι,) which the opulent were obliged to bear in rotation, or which they voluntarily assumed. We can hardly doubt, that these regulations in other cities resembled those in Athens, though on this subject we have no distinct testimony. Thus the state threw these expenses in part upon private persons; but the matter was not the less a public concern, for this expense was considered as a contribution due to the state. But another regulation may astonish us still more than this; the regulation by which money was granted from the public treasury to the poorer citizens, that they might be able to visit the theatres. This was the case in Athens, though not till the times in which the state began to sink under the moral corruption of its citizens. The desire of pleasure may in such periods degenerate into a sort of phrensy; and the preservation of tranquillity may demand sacrifices, which are reluctantly made even by those who consent.

Though the oldest dramatic essays among the Greeks may be of a more remote age, there is no doubt that Æschylus was the father, not only of the finished drama, but also of the Grecian stage. It was not, therefore, till after the victories over the Persians (he himself fought in the battle of Salamis) that a theatre of stone was erected in Athens;[1]

[1] The occasion is related by Suidas in Πρατίνας. At the representation of a play of Æschylus, the wooden scaffold, on which the spectators stood, gave way.

and all that concerns the drama began to be developed in that city. The contests of the poets, which were introduced there at the festivals of Bacchus, and which, though they cost the state only a crown, rewarded the poet more than gold could have done, contributed much to excite emulation. It was about this time that Athens began to be the seat of literature, and in the scale of political importance the first state in Greece. Hence we can explain the remarkable fact, that the dramatic art seemed in that city as at home. Athens directed the taste of the other cities; and without being the capital in the same degree as Paris and London, her great superiority in intellectual culture secured to her that supremacy, which was the more glorious, as it rested not on violence, but on the voluntary concession of her pre-eminence.

I am acquainted with no investigation of the question, in what manner, after the erection of a stage at Athens, theatrical amusements were extended throughout the other Grecian cities. The ruins which remain in them leave it still uncertain when they were built; and where can we find dates to settle this point? But so many vestiges make it highly probable, that the drama was introduced into the other cities before the Macedonian age. Neither tragic nor comic poets were at home in Athens exclusively; but started up in the most various regions of the Grecian world.[1] Athenian poets were invited to resort to the courts of foreign princes.[2] A king of Syracuse was himself a tragic poet.[3] In the same city, Athenian captives regained their liberty by fragments from the tragedies of Euripides. The inhabitants of Abdera, when their fellow-citizen Archelaus played the part of Andromeda, were seized with a theatric passion bordering on madness.[4] Other proofs, if necessary, might be found. It may seem doubtful, whether the same may be said of the comic drama; which in Athens was of so local a character, that it could hardly have been understood in the other cities; or at least much of its wit must have been lost. But is it

[1] Abundant proof may be found in Fabricii Bibl. Gr. T. i. in the Catalog. Tragicorum et Comicorum deperditorum.

[2] Euripides was invited to repair to the court of Archelaus, king of Macedonia.

[3] Dionysius the elder. A fragment of his has been preserved in Stob. Eclog. i. iv. 19.

[4] Lucian. de conscrib. histor. Op. iv. p. 159, Bip.

safe from the few remaining pieces of a single comic poet to judge of the hundreds produced by a multitude of others, and no longer extant?

To answer the other question, In what relation the theatre among the Greeks, from its very nature, stood to the state, we must distinguish its two chief divisions. Before the Macedonian age, while comedy was still permitted to preserve its republican character,[1] tragedy and comedy, as there were no intermediate kinds,[2] remained as different from each other as seriousness and mirth. They had no points of contact.

Tragedy, introducing upon the stage the heroes of Greece, was the representation of great events of the elder days, according to the ideal conceptions of the Greeks;[3] comedy, on the contrary, was the parody of the present; as we shall hereafter illustrate more fully. In these explanations, the whole difference of the two has been expressed.

Tragedy was in certain respects a result of epic poetry. For this had always preserved the recollection of the heroic age; without which the tragic poets would have had to contend with no less difficulties, than the moderns, when they have borrowed subjects from the fables of the North. It was only necessary to mention the name of the chief person, and the whole story of his adventures was recalled to every mind. Hence the artificial weaving of a plot, was only so far a duty of the poet as the nature of the drama requires; grandeur and liveliness of manner were, on the contrary, far more in the spirit of the heroic world. Not the event, but the character of the action, was important. Whether the issue was fortunate or unfortunate, was a matter of indifference; but it was necessary that the action should be in itself sublime; should be the result of the play of the passions;

[1] The old comedy, as it was called.

[2] The satiric drama, as it was called, was not an intermediate class, but a corruption of tragedy.

[3] Two plays, the Persians of Æschylus, and the Destruction of Miletus of Phrynichus, formed exceptions. But they had no imitators; and the last-mentioned poet was even punished for it by the Athenians. Herod. vi. 21. Here too we observe the correct judgment of the nation, which desired, in the tragic drama, an excitement of the passions; but purely of the passions, without any personal allusions. This was possible only in subjects taken from early times. But still a certain regard for historic truth, as contained in the traditions, was required by the Grecian taste. Subjects altogether fictitious were unknown. The consequences of this deserve to be illustrated at large. If the tragic drama was thus limited to the traditions respecting the heroes, it at the same time obtained a certain solemn support which gave it dignity.

and should never depart from the gravity, which is as it were the colouring of the world of heroes. In this consists the tragic part of the drama. But though the final event was in itself indifferent, the poets naturally preferred subjects in which it was unfortunate for the chief personages. In such the tragic interest was the greatest; the catastrophe the most fearful; the effect least uncertain. A tragic issue suited best the whole character of the kind of poetry.

The tragic drama could have but few points of relation with the state. The political world which was here exhibited, was entirely different from the actual one of the times; the forms of monarchy alone were introduced on the stage. The same remark, therefore, which has been made respecting the epic, is true also of the tragic poetry of the Greeks. The violent commotions in the ancient royal families, and their extinction, were not represented to make them objects of contempt or hatred, and to quicken the spirit of republicanism; but solely because no other actions equally possessed the sublimity of the tragic character. But the moral effects which were produced by these representations may have been politically important. Whilst the Grecian continued to live in the heroic world, that elevation of mind could not so well disappear, which is seen so frequently in the acts of the nation. If Homer and the epic poets first raised its spirit to the sublimity belonging to it, the tragic poets did much to preserve that elevated tone. And if this elevated spirit formed the strength of the state, they have as strong a claim to immortality, as the military commanders and the leaders of the people.

Comedy was more closely allied to the state; as we may presuppose from the circumstance, that it had relation to the present and not to the past. We have explained it above to be the parody of the present,[1] that is, of the contemporary public condition, in the sense in which the Greeks understand this expression. Private life, as such, was never the

[1] A. W. Schlegel, in his work on Dramatic Literature and Art, i. p. 271, considers the characteristic of comedy to have been, that it was a parody of tragedy. It certainly was so very frequently, and thus far his remark is correct. Tragedy was a part of the public life; the parody of tragedy was therefore a fit subject for the comic stage; and the relation between the tragic and comic poets was such, that the latter were naturally fond of ridiculing the former. The readers of Aristophanes know this. Yet we must be very careful how we thus confine the range of comedy. It was not essentially a parody.

subject of comedy, except so far as it was connected with the public. But these points of contact were so many and so various, that the comic poet could not but frequently present views of private life. The relation of comedy was therefore altogether political, so far as we comprehend every thing public under this word. But the scenes which were exhibited were not represented with fidelity, but were caricatured. This seems to have been agreed upon by a silent convention; and therefore such representations could not injure those against whom they were directed, much more than the caricature prints of our times. We would not be understood to justify unconditionally the incredible impudence of the Grecian comic poets, in whose eyes neither men, nor morals, nor the gods were sacred. But a public tribunal of character is an actual necessity, where a popular government exists; and in those times what other such tribunal could have existed than the theatre? Whatever excited public attention, whether in persons or in things, it might be expected, would be brought upon the stage. The most powerful demagogue, in the height of his power, did not escape this fate; nay, the people of Athens itself had the satisfaction of seeing itself personified, and brought upon the stage, where it could laugh at itself, till it was satisfied with mirth;[1] and—crowned the poet for having done it. What is our freedom of the press, our licentiousness of the press, compared with this dramatic freedom and licentiousness?

But though the ridicule of the comic poets could not much injure the individual against whom it chanced to be directed, the question is still by no means answered, What consequences had the comic drama for the state, and for morals, which with the Greeks were inseparably connected with the state? Those judgments passed on public characters may have had some influence, but not a great deal; unless perhaps to make men more cautious; and this was no small consideration. When we see that Pericles, notwithstanding all the attacks of the comic poets,[2] was not to be deposed, and that even Cleon, when he had been made a public jest in the person of the Paphlagonian, lost nothing of his influence, we cannot make a very high estimate of

[1] As in the Knights of Aristophanes.
[2] Specimens of them may be seen in Plutarch. Op. i. p. 620.

that advantage. So far as morals are concerned, it is true, that the ideas of propriety are conventional; and that it would be wrong to infer from a violation of them in language, a corresponding violation in action. The inhabitant of the North, who has not grown accustomed to the much greater licence given to the tongue by the southern nations, may here easily be mistaken. The jokes of Harlequin, especially in his extemporaneous performances, are often hardly less unrestrained than those of Aristophanes; and the southern countries are not on that account on the whole more corrupt than the northern, although some offences are more common in the former. But the incredible levity with which the rules of modesty were transgressed, could not remain without consequences. Another important point is the influence of comedy on the religion of the people. The comic poets were careful never to appear as atheists; that would have led to exile; they rather defended the popular religion. But the manner in which this was done, was often worse than a direct attack. Who could appear with reverent devotion at the altar of Jove, after growing weary with laughing at him in the Clouds, or after having seen him pay court to earthly beauties? Even on the minds of the most frivolous nation in the world, indelible impressions must have been made.

The ancient comedy has commonly been called a political farce; and the expression is just, if we interpret the word political in the wide sense in which we have explained it. It is sufficiently known, that, after the downfal of the popular rule, there was no longer any field for this ancient comedy, that it lost its sting in the middle comedy as it is termed, and that the new was of an entirely different character.[1] As this new kind lost its local character with the personal allusions, the old obstacles to its diffusion throughout the Grecian world no longer existed. And though we may doubt whether the plays of Cratinus and Aristophanes were ever acted out of Athens, no question can certainly be raised with respect to those of Menander and Diphilus. But as this new species of theatrical composition was not introduced

[1] The difference of these kinds is best explained in the excellent work of Schlegel, i. p. 326.

and perfected till the Macedonian age, the subject does not fall within the sphere of our observations.

With our notions we should think the connexion of the arts with politics much less than of the theatre; and yet it was among the Greeks even closer and more various. The encouragement of the arts is in our times left chiefly to private taste; and is greater or smaller according to the number of amateurs. The state takes an interest in them only to prevent their total decay, or for the sake of some particular design.

The case was entirely different in the period when they flourished among the Greeks. The arts with them were exclusively public, and not at all an affair of individuals. They afterwards became so, yet never in the same degree as with us; nor even as with the Romans. These positions require to be further developed and more accurately proved.

By the arts we mean the three great branches of them, architecture, sculpture, and painting. On each of these we have some remarks to offer.

Architecture is distinguished from the two others by the circumstance, that its object is use no less than beauty. Not only the moderns, but the Romans of the later ages, endeavoured to unite them both; and in this manner private buildings became objects of art. Among the Greeks, a tendency to this seems to have existed in the heroic age. In a former chapter, we remarked that in the dwellings and halls of the kings, there prevailed a certain grandeur and splendour, which, however, we shall hardly be willing to designate by the name of scientific architecture. When the monarchical forms disappeared, and living in cities, and with it republican equality, gained ground, those differences in the dwellings disappeared of themselves; and every thing which we read respecting private houses in every subsequent age, confirms us in the idea, that they could make no pretensions to elegance of construction.[1] It would be difficult to produce a single example of such a building. But we find express evidence to the contrary. Athens was by no means a fine city like some of our modern ones, in which there are

[1] It follows of course, that the testimony of writers of the Macedonian, or the Roman age, are not here taken into consideration, since we are not treating of those times.

whole streets of palaces occupied as the dwellings of private persons. A stranger could have been in Athens without imagining himself to be in the city which contained the greatest masterpieces of architecture. The splendour of the city was not perceived till the public squares and the Acropolis were approached.[1] The small dwellings of Themistocles and of Aristides were long pointed out; and the building of large houses was regarded as a proof of pride.[2] But when luxury increased, the houses were built on a larger scale; several chambers for the accommodation of strangers and for other purposes were built round the court, which commonly formed the centre; but all this might take place, and yet the building could lay no claims to beauty. If a town, which was, it is true, but a provincial town, may be cited to corroborate this, we have one still before our eyes. A walk through the excavated streets of Pompeii will be sufficient to establish our remark. Where the pomp and splendour of the public edifices were so great as among the Greeks, it was not possible for private buildings to rival them.

Architecture, as applied to public purposes, began with the construction of temples; and till the time of the Persian wars, or just before, we hear of no other considerable public edifices. The number of temples remarkable for their architecture, was till that time a limited one; although, in the age just preceding the war with Persia, this art had already produced some of its first works among the Greeks. In Greece itself the temple of Delphi was the most celebrated, after it had been rebuilt by the Alcmæonidæ.[3] There was also the temple of Apollo in Delos. But it was about this time, that the invention of the Ionic order by the Asiatic Greeks in addition to the Doric, which had been used till then, constituted a new epoch in the history of architecture. The splendid temple of Diana at Ephesus, erected by the joint exertions of the cities and princes of Grecian Asia, was the first building in this new style.[4] About the same time Polycrates built the temple of Juno in Samos. The temples

[1] Dicæarchus de Statu Græciæ, cap. 8. Huds.

[2] Demosthenes reproaches the wealthy Midias with his large house at Eleusis, which intercepted the light of others. Op. i. p. 565. [3] Herod. v. 62.

[4] See the instructive disquisition; Der Tempel der Diana zu Ephesus, von A. Hirt. Berlin, 1809.

which afterwards formed the glory of Greece, those of Athens on the Acropolis and elsewhere, were all erected after the Persian war. So too was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. As to the temples in Lower Italy and Sicily, we can fix the epoch in which, if not all, yet the largest and most splendid of them, the chief temples of Agrigentum, were erected; and that epoch is also subsequent to the Persian war.[1] And if those of the ancient Doric order, at Pæstum and Segestus, belong to an earlier period, they cannot to one much earlier; as these cities themselves were founded so much later than those in Asia Minor. Just before and after the Persian war, arose that prodigious emulation of the cities, to make themselves famous for their temples; and this produced those masterpieces of architecture.

The other principal kinds of public buildings, which were conspicuous for their splendour, were the theatres, the places for musical exhibitions, the porticos, and the gymnasia. Of the theatres it has already been observed, that they were erected subsequently to the Persian wars. The same is true of the halls for music. The porticos, those favourite places of resort to a people who lived so much in public, belonged in part to the temples,[2] and in part surrounded the public squares. Of those in Athens, which by their works of art eventually eclipsed the rest, we know that they were not built till after the victory over the barbarians. Of all the public edifices, the gymnasia are those respecting which we have the fewest accounts.[3] They were probably erected at a distance in the rear of the temples; though many of them were distinguished by excellent works of art.

This line of division, carefully drawn between domestic and public architecture by the Greeks, who regarded only the latter as possessing the rank of one of the fine arts, gives a new proof of their correct views of things. In buildings destined for dwellings, necessity and the art are in constant opposition. The latter desires in its works to execute some grand idea independent of the common wants of life; but

[1] A more accurate enumeration of the chief temples of the Greeks, and the periods in which they were built, is to be found in Steiglitz, Geschichte der Baukunst der Alten. Leipzig, 1792.

[2] As, e. g., the λέσχη at Olympia, respecting which Böttiger in his Geschichte der Mahlerey, B. i. s. 296, etc., has given us a learned essay.

[3] On those at Athens, consult Stieglitz in loc. cit. p. 220.

a dwelling is intended to meet those very wants, and is in no respect founded on an idea connected with beauty. The temples are dwellings also, but the dwellings of the gods; and as these have no wants in their places of abode, the art finds here no obstacle to its inventions.

The plastic art[1] and painting bore to each other, among the Greeks, the opposite relation to that which they have borne in modern times. The first was the most cultivated; and though the latter attained the rank of an independent art, it never was able to gain the superiority. It is not for us here to explain the causes of this; we need only mention one, which to us is the most interesting. The more public the arts are among any people, the more naturally will the plastic art surpass that of painting. The works of both may be public, and were so among the Greeks, but those of the former are far better suited for public monuments than those of the latter. The works of painting find their place only on walls; those of the plastic art, existing entirely by themselves, wherever there is room for them.

The works of the plastic art, statues and busts, were, in the times of which we speak, (and among the Greeks, with a few limitations, even in subsequent times,) only public works, that is, designed to be set up, not in private dwellings, but in public places, temples, halls, market-places, gymnasia, and theatres. I know of no one instance of a statue that belonged to a private man; and if there exists any example, it is an exception which confirms the general rule.[2] It may be said, that it is only accidental that we know of no such instances. But if any taste of that kind had prevailed at Athens, we should find traces of it in the comedians and orators. If these are consulted in vain for such indications, we are justified in concluding that no such private tastes existed.

Phidias and his successors, till the Macedonian age, did not therefore labour to supply with their works the houses and collections of individuals. This by no means implies,

[1] The phrase *plastic art* is used, because there is no other which embraces at once the works of stone and of bronze.

[2] Or can the anecdote be cited, which Pausanias relates, p. i. 46, of the cunning of Phryne to gain possession of the god of love made by her lover Praxiteles? Even if it be true, the fact is in our favour; for she consecrated it immediately as a public work of art in Thespiæ, Athen. p. 591; in which city alone it was from that time to be seen. Cic. in Ver. ii. iv. 2.

that they did not receive applications from private persons. If they had not, the incredible multitude of statues, which we have already mentioned, could never have been made.[1] This subject is so important, that it demands to be treated of more at large.

The great masters were principally employed for the cities. These, or the men who were at their head, (as the example of Pericles informs us,) bespoke works of art, or bought them ready made, to ornament the city and the public buildings. We have distinct evidence, that the great masterpieces of Phidias, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, owed their origin to this. Thus were produced the Jupiter at Olympia, the Minerva Polias at Athens, by the first; the Venus at Cnidus, as well as at Cos, by the second; the Colossus of Rhodes, by the third. Yet numerous as were the applications of cities, the immense multitude of statues could not be accounted for, unless the piety and the vanity of individuals had come to their assistance.

The first assisted by the votive offerings; of which all the celebrated temples were full. These were by no means always works of art, but quite as often mere costly presents. Yet the collections of statues and pictures which belonged to those temples, consisted, for the most part, of votive offerings.[2] But these were as often the tribute of gratitude from whole cities, as from individuals.[3]

The vanity of individuals contributed to the same end, by the custom of erecting statues, commonly of bronze, to the victors in the games.[4] When we remember the multitude of these games in Greece, the number of statues will become intelligible; especially of those of bronze, of which

[1] The infinite wealth of Greece in treasures of this kind, has been so clearly exhibited in a late discourse of Jacobs, that it has now become easy to form a distinct idea of them. Jacobs, Uber den Reichthum Griechenlands an plastischen Kunstwerken und die Ursachen desselben.

[2] Not to mention Olympia and Delphi again, we refer to the temple of Juno in Samos, Strab. L. xiv. p. 438, of Bacchus at Athens, Paus. i. 20. The temple of Diana at Ephesus was so rich in works of art, that according to Plin. xxxvi. 14, a description of them would have filled several volumes.

[3] The temples received such presents not only during the lifetime of the donors, but as legacies. A remarkable instance of this is found in the will of Conon, who left 5000 pieces of gold (*στατῆρες*) for that purpose. Lys. Or. Gr. v. p. 639.

[4] See the passage in Pliny, xxxiv. 9. His remark that a statue was erected in honour of every victor at Olympia, seems hardly credible. Cf. Paus. vi. p. 452.

in many instances more than one cast was made; as the native cities of the victors would hardly fail in this manner to appropriate to themselves the fame of their citizens, which formed so much a subject of pride.

Painting, from its very nature, seems to have been more designed for private use. Yet in the age of Pericles, when the great masters in this art appeared in Athens, it was hardly less publicly applied than the art of sculpture. It was in the public porticos and temples, that those masters, Polygnotus, Micon, and others, exhibited the productions of their genius.[1] No trace is to be found of celebrated private pictures in those times.[2]

Yet portrait painting seems peculiarly to belong to private life. This branch of the art was certainly cultivated among the Greeks; but not till the Macedonian age. The likenesses of celebrated men were placed in the pictures which commemorated their actions; as that of Miltiades in the painting of the battle in the Pœcile, or pictured hall in Athens; or the artists found a place for themselves or their mistresses in such public works.[3] But, properly speaking, portrait painting, as such, did not flourish till the times of Philip and Alexander; and was first practised in the school of Apelles.[4] When powerful princes arose, curiosity or flattery desired to possess their likeness; the artists were most sure of receiving compensation for such labours; and private statues as well as pictures began to grow common; although in most cases something of ideal beauty was added to the resemblance.[5]

[1] See Böttiger. Ideen zur Archæologie der Mahlerey. B. i. s. 274, etc.

[2] It is true, Andocides reproached Alcibiades, in his oration against him, of having shut up a painter, who was painting his house; Or. Gr. iv. p. 119. But this was not the way to obtain a fine specimen of the art. Allusion is there made to the painting of the whole house, not of an isolated work of art; and we are not disposed to deny, that in the times of Alcibiades, it was usual to decorate the walls with paintings. On the contrary, this was then very common; for the very painter Archagathus gives as his excuse, that he had already contracted to work for several others. But these common paintings are not to be compared with those in the temples and porticos; which, as Böttiger has proved, Ideen, &c., s. 282, were painted, not on the walls, but on wood.

[3] Polygnotus, e. g., introduced the beautiful Elpinice, the daughter of Miltiades, as Laodice. Plut. iii. p. 178.

[4] This appears from the accounts in Plin. xxxv. xxxvi. 12, &c.

[5] A confirmation, perhaps a more correct statement of these remarks, is expected by every friend of the arts of antiquity in the continuation of Böttiger's Ideen zur Geschichte der Mahlerey. That in this period busts of individuals became for the same reason so much more numerous, has been illustrated by the same scholar in his Andeutungen, s. 183, etc.

We have ventured directly to assert, that the arts in their flourishing period belonged exclusively to public life; and were not, according to the general opinion, which seems to have been silently adopted, divided between that and private life. Be it remembered, this is to be understood only of works of art, in the proper sense of the expression; that is, of those which had no other object but to be works of art; of statues, therefore, and pictures; not of all kinds of sculpture and painting. That the arts connected with private wants were applied to objects of domestic life, to articles of household furniture, to candelabra, vases, tapestry, and garments, will be denied by no one, who is acquainted with antiquity.

It was not till a Lucullus, a Verres, and others among the Romans, had gratified their taste as amateurs, that the arts were introduced into private life; and yet even in Rome an Agrippa could propose to restore to the public all the treasures of the arts, which lay buried in the villas.[1] We should not therefore be astonished, if under such circumstances the ancient destination of arts among the Greeks should have been changed, and they should have so far degenerated as to become the means of gratifying the luxury of individuals. And yet this never took place. This can be proved as well of the mother country, as of the richest of the colonies.

Pausanias, in the second century after the Christian era, travelled through all Greece, and saw and described all the works of art which existed there. And yet I know of no one instance in all Pausanias of a work of art belonging to a private man; much less of whole collections. Every thing was in his day, as before, public in the temples, porticos, and squares. If private persons had possessed works of art, who would have prevented his describing them?

Verres plundered Sicily of its treasures in the arts, wherever he could find them; and his accusers will hardly be suspected of having concealed any thing. But in this accusation, with one single exception,[2] none but public works

[1] Plin. xxxv. cap. ix.

[2] Namely, the four statues which he took from Heius. Cic. in Verrem ii. iv. 2. Yet they stood in a chapel (sacrarium), and were therefore in a certain measure public. The name of Heius seems, however, to betray that the

of art are mentioned. What shall we infer from this, but that no considerable productions of the fine arts were possessed by private persons in Sicily?

So deeply therefore was the idea fixed among the Greeks, that the works of the artists were public, that it could not be eradicated even by the profanations of the Romans. And this is the chief cause of their flourishing. They thus fulfilled their destiny; belonging, not to individuals, but to cultivated humanity. They should constitute a common property. Even in our times, when individuals are permitted to possess them, censure is incurred if others are not allowed to enjoy them. But even where this privilege is conceded, it is not a matter of indifference, whether an individual or the nation is the possessor. The respect shown to the arts by the nation in possessing their productions, confers a higher value on their labours. How much more honoured does the artist feel, how much more freely does he breathe, when he knows that he is exerting himself for a nation, which will esteem its glory increased by his works, instead of toiling for the money and the caprices of individuals!

Such was the condition of the arts in Greece. When emulation arose among the cities to be distinguished by possessing works of art, a field was opened for a Phidias and Polygnotus, for a Praxiteles and Parrhasius. They were better rewarded by glory than by money; some of them never worked for pay.[1] Need we then add any further remarks to explain why the fine arts declined with liberty? Philip and Alexander still saw a Lysippus and an Apelles; but with them ends the series of creative minds, such as no other nation has ever produced.

But the taste of the nation for the arts and their productions, did not end with those artists. They had taken too good care to perpetuate that fondness. When the Grecians had lost almost every thing else, they were still proud of their works of art. This excited even in the Romans respect and admiration. "These works of art, these statues, these pictures," says Cicero,[1] "delight the Greeks beyond every thing. From their complaints[2] you may learn, that that is most bitter to them, which to us appears perhaps trivial and easy to be borne. Of all acts of oppression and injustice, which foreigners and allies in these times have been obliged to endure, nothing has been more hard for the Grecians to bear, than this plundering of their temples and cities!"

We have thus far endeavoured to consider Greece from all the points, in which she made herself glorious as a nation. Who is it, we may finally ask, that conferred upon her immortality? Was it her generals and men of power alone; or was it equally her sages, her poets, and her artists? The voice of ages has decided; and posterity justly places the images of these heroes of peace by the side of those of warriors and kings.[3]

family was not of Grecian origin. But what does one such exception, and in such an age, prove respecting an earlier period?

[1] Polygnotus painted the Pœcile for nothing; Zeuxis, in the last part of his life, would receive no pay for his pictures, but gave them away. Plin. xxxv. 36. Thus a partial answer is given to the question, how the cities could support the great expense for works of art. Besides, in Greece as in Italy, the works of the great masters did not become dear till after their death. The little which we know of their personal condition and circumstances, represents them for the most part as men of fine feelings and good fellowship, who, like the divine Raphael and Correggio, in the moments sacred to mental exertion, raised themselves above human nature, but otherwise enjoyed life without troubling themselves much about money. Phidias for all his masterpieces did not receive a third part as much as Gorgias for his declamations.

[1] Cicero in Verrem, ii. iv. 59. [2] Of the robberies of Verres.

[3] See Visconti, Iconographie ancienne. Paris, 1811.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF GREECE.

THE melancholy task of explaining the causes which led to the fall of Greece, has been facilitated by the preceding investigations. Most of them will occur to the reader; we have only to illustrate them somewhat more at large, and arrange them in a manner to admit of being distinctly comprehended at a single view.[4]

If the constitutions of the individual Grecian states were defective, the constitution of the whole Grecian system was

[4] See Drumann's carefully written History of the Decline of the Grecian States. Berlin, 1815. To have occasioned such works is the highest pleasure for the author. So too in reference to the thirteenth chapter I may cite, Bekker's Demosthenes as a Statesman and Orator. 2 vols. 1815. The best historical and critical introduction to the study of Demosthenes.

still more so. Though geographically united, they cannot be said to have formed one political system. A lasting union was never established between the Grecian states; and a transitory and very imperfect one was effected only in times of danger, as in the Persian wars.

But even this imperfect union was productive of important results. The league which was then established, produced the idea of the supremacy of an individual state. It has already been shown, in what manner Athens managed to acquire this rank, and in what manner that city turned it to advantage; but we have also shown, that a partial supremacy alone existed, embracing only the seaports and the islands, and therefore necessarily resting for its support on the dominion of the seas on each side of Greece, and consequently on a navy.

This was a result of the political relations and the nature of the league. But the consciousness of superiority excited those who were possessed of it to abuse it; and the allies began to be oppressed. Athens, having once established its greatness on this supremacy, would not renounce it when the ancient motives had ceased to operate after the peace with the Persians. Individual states attempted to reclaim by force the independence, which was not voluntarily conceded to them. This led to wars with them; and hence the dominion of the sea was followed by all the other evils, of which even Isocrates complains.[1]

The chief reason of this internal division did not lie merely in vacillating political relations, but more deeply in the difference of tribes. There was a gulf between the Dorian and Ionian, which never could be filled up; a voluntary union of the two for any length of time was impossible. Several causes may be mentioned, as having contributed to render this division incurable. The tribes were divided geographically. In the mother country, the Dorian had the ascendency in the Peloponnesus, the Ionian in Attica, Eubœa, and many of the islands. Their dialects were different; a few words were sufficient to show to which tribe a man belonged. The difference in manners was hardly less considerable, especially with relation to the female sex, which among the Dorians participated in public life; while amongst

[1] Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 176.

the Ionians it was limited to the women's apartments within the houses. And the common people were very much influenced by the circumstance, that the festivals celebrated by the two were not the same.

But the division was made politically incurable by the circumstance, that Sparta was, or at least desired to be, considered the head of the whole Doric tribe. This state, both in its public and private constitution, was in almost every respect the opposite of Athens. As the laws of Lycurgus alone were valid in it, the other Dorian cities did by no means resemble it; but as it was ambitious of being their head, its influence prevailed, at least in the mother country. But that influence was often extended to the colonies; and though the Persian authority may have repressed the hatred of the tribes in Asia Minor, it continued with the greatest acrimony in Sicily. In the war of the Syracusans against the Leontini, the Dorian cities were on the side of the former; the Ionian on that of the latter; and the cities of Lower Italy in their choice of sides were influenced by the same circumstance.[1]

This hatred, preserved and inflamed by the ambition, common to both, of obtaining the supremacy over Greece, was finally followed by that great civil war, which we are accustomed to call the Peloponnesian. Of nearly equal duration, it was to Greece what the thirty years' war was to Germany;[2] without having been terminated by a similar peace. As it was a revolutionary war in the true sense of the expression, it had all the consequences attendant on such a war. The spirit of faction was enabled to strike such deep root, that it never more could be eradicated; and the abuse which Sparta made of her forced supremacy, was fitted to supply it with continual nourishment. Who has described this with more truth or accuracy than Thucydides? "By this war," says he,[3] "all Hellas was set in motion; for on all sides dissensions prevailed between the popular party and the nobles. The former desired to invite the Athenians; the latter, the Lacedemonians. The cities were shaken by sedition; and where this broke out at a less early

[1] Thucyd. iii. 86. [2] It lasted from the year 431 till the year 404, when it was terminated by the taking of Athens.

[3] Thucyd. iii. 82. We have selected only a few remarks from a passage written for all succeeding centuries.

period, greater excesses were attempted than any which had elsewhere taken place. Even the significations of words were changed. Mad rashness was called disinterested courage; prudent delay, timidity. Whoever was violent, was held worthy of confidence; whoever opposed violence, was suspected. The crafty was called intelligent; the more crafty, still more intelligent. In short, praise was given to him who anticipated another in injustice; and to him who encouraged to crime one who himself had never thought of it."

From the words of the historian, the effect of these revolutions on morals is apparent; and yet no states rested so much on morals as the Grecian. For were they not communities which governed themselves? Did not the laws enter most deeply into private life? and was not anarchy a necessary consequence of the moral corruption? This was soon felt in Athens. Throughout the whole of Aristophanes, we see the contrast between the better times that were gone by, and the new, in all parts of public and domestic life; in poetry, in eloquence, in education, in the courts of justice, etc.; and finally in a celebrated dialogue, the ancient and the modern customs are introduced, disputing upon the stage.[1] And who can read the orators without being astonished at the incredible corruption of morals?

This leads us to a kindred topic, the desecration of the popular religion. The careful student of the history of the Grecian nation will observe this increase, as he approaches the age of Philip; and though other causes may have had some influence, we can only thus explain the origin of a religious war like the Phocian. The causes which produced the decay of the popular religion, may for the most part be found in a former chapter. It would be useless to attempt to deny, that the speculations of the philosophers had a great share in it; although the better part of them were strenuous to prevent such a result. Aristophanes was certainly unjust in attributing such designs to Socrates, but he was right in attributing it to philosophy in general. The question now arises: On which side lies the blame? On that of philosophy, or of the popular religion? It is not difficult to answer this question after what we have already

[1] The Λόγος δίκαιος and ἄδικος in the Clouds.

remarked of the latter. A nation with a religion like that of the Greeks, must either refrain from philosophical inquiries, or learn from philosophy that its religion is unfounded. This result cannot be urged against the philosophers as a crime, but only a want of prudence, of which they were guilty in promulgating their positions. The care taken by the best of them in this respect, has already been mentioned; and that the state was not indifferent to the practice of the rest, is proved by the punishments which were inflicted on many of them. But though the systems of the philosophers were restricted to the schools, a multitude of philosophic views were extended, which to a certain degree were adopted by the common people. In Athens, the comedians contributed to this end; for whether with or without design, they extended the doctrines which they ridiculed.

The most melancholy proof of the decay of religious feeling, is found in the Phocian war and the manner in which that war was conducted. In the time of Thucydides, Delphi and its oracle were still revered;[1] although the Spartans began even then to doubt its claims to confidence.[2] When all the former relations of the states were dissolved by the Peloponnesian war and its consequences, those toward the gods were also destroyed; and the crimes committed against them, brought on their own punishment in a new civil war and the downfal of liberty. The treasures stolen from Delphi, with which the war was carried on, suddenly increased the mass of specie current in Greece to an unheard of degree; but increased in an equal degree luxury, and the wants of life.[3] And if any portion of the ancient spirit remained, it was destroyed by the custom of employing mercenary soldiers, a custom which became every day more common, and gave a deadly chill to valour and patriotism.

Thus the evils of which the superior policy of a neighbour knew how to take advantage, were the result of defects in the political constitution; in that very constitution, but for which the glorious fruits of Grecian liberty never could have ripened. But amidst all the disorder, and all the losses, not every thing perished. The national spirit, though

[1] Thucyd. v. 32.
[2] Thucyd. v. 16.
[3] See a leading passage on this topic, in Athen. iv. p. 231.

it could hardly have been expected, still remained, and with it the hope of better times. Amidst all their wars with one another, the Greeks never ceased to consider themselves as one nation. The idea of one day assuming that character animated the best of them. It is an idea which is expressed in almost every one of the writings of the pure Isocrates;[1] and which he could not survive, when after the battle of Chæronea, the spirit of the eloquent old man voluntarily escaped from its earthly veil, beneath which it had passed a hundred years. Yet the echo of his wishes, his prayers, and his instructions did not die away. The last of the Greeks had not yet appeared; and the times were to come, when, in the Achæan league, the splendid day of the greatness of Hellas was to be followed by a still more splendid evening. So certain is it, that a nation is never deserted by destiny, so long as it does not desert itself.

[1] See especially Panathen. Op. 235.

HISTORICAL TREATISES:

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL THEORIES.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CONTINENTAL INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

A. H. L. HEEREN,

KNIGHT OF THE GUELPHIC ORDER, COUNCILLOR AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN.

AN INQUIRY INTO

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

OF

THE REFORMATION,

BEING A PRELIMINARY ATTEMPT AT AN ANSWER TO
THE QUESTION PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH NATIONAL INSTITUTE.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1802.

TO THE READER.

THE following treatise was written in answer to a question proposed by the National Institute of France, as the subject of a prize essay for July, 1803,—viz. "What has been the influence of the Reformation on the political position of the different states of Europe, and upon the diffusion of knowledge?[1] This question, in itself so interesting, attracted my attention the more because the whole course of my studies have been directed towards it. I resolved therefore to attempt an answer to it; but when I had nearly finished the first part, which regards the *political* consequences of the Reformation, I learned from my late friend Von Villers that I should have him for a competitor. Upon this I withdrew myself, and his essay, which proved the successful one, and of which several editions have been published, is universally known. In the mean time I committed my work to the press, even before the day appointed for sending in the essays, but confined it to the political part of the question. The sheets were forwarded as soon as printed to my friend, and he has himself remarked in his preface, that he made use of them in working out this portion of his subject. Any

[1] Quelle a été l'influence de la Reformation sur la situation politique des differens Etats de l'Europe, et sur le progrès des lumières?

service which I may thus have rendered him, he amply repaid me four years after by undertaking the translation of my essay upon the *Influence of the Crusades*, which then obtained the prize at Paris. I have thought it right to preface these remarks; partly, in order to show the relation in which my essay stands to that of my late friend; partly, to excuse the style of the treatise, which could not from the circumstances assume the character of a scholastical and learned dissertation.

It does not pretend to afford the learned historian any thing new in the detail, but aims at presenting a *variety and abundance of general views*, which appear to me to be far from superfluous, inasmuch as a clearer light may thus perhaps be thrown upon the history of modern Europe.

THE great political changes by which the destinies of mankind are permanently affected, and which we are accustomed to call by the general name of revolutions, may be divided, as regards their origin, into two classes. The first includes those which are the work of single individuals, the slaves of passion, who have devoted their lives to conquest, and founded their greatness upon the ruins of the states which fortune has enabled them to overthrow. These may be termed purely warlike revolutions, as they assume that character from the first, and war is their immediate aim.

Such were the exploits of Cyrus and of Timur, and of many other celebrated heroes, who, though at the head of civilized nations, have made conquest at once the first and last object of their career. Phenomena of this class may be highly interesting from their results, but in their origin they are less so, as they usually flow from one source, and that for the most part an unhallowed one — ambition.

The second class is of a very different character, and may be best expressed under the joint name of *moral and political*, as its foundation is laid in the moral nature of man. Under this we range those revolutions which have been prepared by popular ideas, slowly spread, but finally become prevalent; and which, by the direct contrast in which they

stood to the existing order of things, could not but cause violent struggles and great changes in their passage from theory into practice. Like the stream which loses itself in the earth but a short way from its source, as if to accumulate its strength in secret, and breaks forth again a great river, these revolutions arise at moments when they are least thought of, and exhibit signs of strength which the most accurate observer could not have foreseen. These differ therefore from the former by being in the highest degree interesting, as well in their origin as in their consequences. Their general characteristic is that they are prepared long beforehand, and by a process which can hardly ever be discerned.—They thus afford the practised observer abundant employment from the very first; as it is not easy to discover their true origin, even though the immediate cause of their breaking out should be evident to the eye. They differ from the former also in this, that they seldom arise from one, but usually from many and different sources, and these, becoming united, form a torrent which finally bursts through every bulwark, and sweeps away whatever attempts to stem its course.

In order that ideas should become generally adopted and effective, they must be such as can be readily appreciated by the great mass of the people, and of sufficient interest to induce action as well as belief. Religion and politics are the only topics of this nature. Knowledge in its more difficult branches must always be confined to a limited number; nor do we ever read of wars caused between different nations by different systems of philosophy, although it may have chanced that some particular doctrines, by passing into popular opinions, have exercised an influence over their dealings with each other. On the other hand, the ideas of God and of our country are too deeply interwoven with our moral nature to allow of their being entertained merely as objects of reason, and not of the affections also. In fact, the less defined they are, the greater influence do they appear to exercise; and hence it is that they possess the power of acting like electricity, even upon the most uninformed minds, and impart energies to them which assume with ease the character of enthusiasm, or even fanaticism.

Religious notions, it is true, do not seem to have a very

near connexion with political, but, even if the union of the state with its acknowledged forms of worship were less strict, these could seldom be overthrown without entailing the fall of more than can be originally foreseen.

Who shall define the channel of the torrent which has burst its bed? or who sets limits to the earthquake?

But however awful these shocks may be, it is by them more especially that the fortunes of our race are determined.—The moral, like the physical world, owes its purification and its maintenance to the storms which sweep over it.—But centuries and their generations must pass away, before the operation of them is so fully developed as to allow the dim eye of human intelligence to embrace and give judgment upon the full extent of their results. And when this time at length arrives, when the inquirer at last may fairly enter upon his task, what occasion could he select, on which it would be more becoming to feel diffident of his own powers, and to bear continually in mind that his horizon is at best but of scanty extent, and that to review the unlimited universe of the history of man belongs only to a Being himself illimitable?

Since the fall of the Roman empire made way for the erection of the states of modern Europe, this portion of the world has witnessed three revolutions such as we have described. The deep degradation of its inhabitants during the middle ages is chiefly attributable to the want, for many centuries, of an impulse which might call the minds of men, and not merely their bodies, into activity. Hence that overwhelming barbarism which in the tenth and eleventh centuries threatened to extinguish the last gleams of civilization, till at the close of the latter the Crusades were set on foot, and awakened the decaying spirit of mankind from the slumber which threatened to be its last. These expeditions, although fruitless in their immediate event, laid the foundation of a new order of things in Europe. Owing to them the peasantry was freed, although neither quickly nor universally, from the bondage of the feudal law; and while the young Muse of the Knighthood was gathering boldness to utter its conceits in castle and hall, they gradually, by the commerce which they brought to Europe, were the means of establishing in her towns that class of free citizens, on whose prosperity the future fate of nations was to depend.

After a lapse of four centuries Europe sustained a second and still greater change in the Reformation. And as this agreed with the former in the point of their common and immediate origin from religion, although both were undoubtedly of great political importance, it was reserved for our own age to witness a third species of revolution, which, springing immediately from political ideas, obtained an immediate political tendency; and which, when its results are fully developed, will perhaps furnish the historian of future times with even richer materials than either of those which have preceded it.

The National Institute, in requiring a development of the consequences which resulted to the political progress and general illumination of Europe from the Reformation, has chosen a subject worthy of itself. It is a proposition which has never been satisfactorily answered, but which is now ripe for discussion.—Near three centuries have elapsed since that mighty change began to operate; its consequences have developed themselves in all their principal features; the clouds of prejudice and passion, which at first float over an age of great revolutions, and deny a clear view to the observer of the time, have now been long dispersed; and the historian must be content that his own feeble vision should bear the blame, if it cannot embrace the wide prospect before him.

The present inquiry is not directed to the consequences of the Reformation, as it affected the *intelligence* and *civilization* of mankind—this subject is left to others. We shall simply investigate the political results of that event as they affected Europe—and these we shall class under two heads: the 1st, comprising the changes in particular states. The 2nd, those which were wrought in the social and political system of Europe.

In an undertaking of this sort it is evident that the author must be prepared to lay aside the prejudices which his education, his country, and his religion, throw in his way—that he must resolve moreover not to sacrifice the truth, although known and acknowledged, to the brilliancy which invests what is new and paradoxical.—These, I say, are necessary

and evident conditions.—It is only as to the sense in which the term "Consequences of the Reformation" may be fairly used that any observation need be made. On this, however, the full attention of the reader is required, as it must necessarily determine the main features of our inquiry.

The consequences of every event are partly *immediate*, partly *mediate*.

The character of *immediate* consequences is that they must result of themselves from the very nature of a given event, and therefore be of the same stamp with it. The immediate consequences of a religious revolution can be concerned only with religion; and therefore as regards the revolution we are here speaking of, they include nothing but the changes in doctrine or worship of particular portions of the Christian Church.

The *mediate* consequences of an event differ from the former in not flowing from the essence of that event, but in being produced by accidental relations, connexions, and changes of circumstance, in such a way, however, as that without the existence of that event they would not themselves have existed.

It is at once evident that the sphere of the immediate consequences of every event must be comparatively much smaller than that of the mediate. But on this account a view which should be confined only to the former would be very partial; and although it may be urged that the chain of mediate consequences is endless, and therefore incomprehensible by the eye, since each operation gives an impulse to another and a new one, we must remember that the imperfection of our nature imposes a limit, and by subjecting us to the thraldom of time, restrains our view to that which is already determined.

Moreover we have a standard of easy application by which the degrees of distance may be judged. Are all the circles which we form by throwing a stone into the water to be held uncertainly defined, because those on the verge gradually escape the eye?

The influence of the Reformation on the politics and intelligence of Europe belongs to the class of mediate consequences, and the National Institute, by proposing such a question, has shown the extent over which it is intended that

our inquiries should spread. It could not escape the proposers of the question that its chief interest lay in this very point—that on this very account it must needs be a proposition, the answer to which would bring a special ray of hope to the age in which *we* live. The distant results of every great revolution have deceived the expectations of the actors; and there is perhaps no higher gratification to the historian than to follow out the wonderful perplexities of the thread of events on which the fortunes of our kind depend. Submitting to its guidance he wanders on as in a labyrinth, which, amidst rocks and precipices, often opens to his view a landscape of surpassing beauty; and wrapped in wonder he catches amid the storm of ages the voice of Him who tells us, "that *His* ways are not our ways!"

Lift up your eyes then, ye whom in your turn Fate has appointed to be the witnesses, the actors, the victims, of a Revolution! Ye who have lost a father, a brother, a friend, alas! perhaps your all! On the funeral piles of the Inquisition, on the battle-fields of Mühlberg, of Nördlingen and Lützen, innocent blood flowed as freely as our own age has seen it flow! and yet the clouds at length dispersed, and the day-star shone down upon a peaceful and a better world. The horizon clears up now faster than then, and perhaps we ourselves may yet witness those better times which it was in that case the lot only of later generations to enjoy.

Although the original tendency of the Reformation was very far from political, the intimate connexion which in those days subsisted between Church and State rendered it unavoidable, that, as its influence widened, such a tendency should rapidly be acquired. It is true that at the commencement of the sixteenth century those relations were no longer in their full force, which during the preceding period had knit the whole of Western Europe as it were into one empire, composed of a number of princes whom the pope either held or claimed to hold, as vassals to the spiritual supremacy of his office. The temporal authority which had been established by Gregory the Seventh was already broken down, not only by the disobedience and boldness of many of these spiritual sons of the Church, but, and that perhaps in a still greater degree, by the errors of the Roman see itself. A

schism of seventy years, (1378—1449), at one period of which two popes, at another three, were busied in excommunicating each other, had rendered the Christian world disaffected, and had caused the assemblage of those general councils which asserted the fatal doctrine of their authority even over the head of the Church. But notwithstanding this, Church and State were far too closely interwoven throughout the Christian world, to allow of any change being wrought in the former which should not recoil on the latter. Although continual opposition was made to the claims of the pope to be recognised as arbitrator in secular matters, still by the spiritual jurisdiction of his office, and in several other ways, he exercised many most important rights, without denying which a Reformation could hardly even be imagined. As soon therefore as a measure of this kind were set afoot and began its necessary interference, the princes could not remain unmoved—neutrality was out of the question—and they were compelled to declare themselves either for or against it. In the latter case they set themselves in opposition to a party within their own dominions, to which oppression would unavoidably give a political character; in the former they became the direct adversaries of the pope, and in this, as in the other, the political tendency of the Reformation was soon decided.

The moment at which it assumed this form necessarily doubled its importance. When the Reformation broke out there was no longer any great moral interest which could influence politics and breathe into them a spirit of life. Italy, it is true, had been taught a more refined policy by the necessity of maintaining the balance among her states, and this had spread even beyond the Alps, but under the hands of Ferdinand the Catholic it had assumed the form of mere systematical deceit. The influence which the nations of Europe had up to that time exercised by their representatives, upon their own affairs, began either to disappear entirely, or to become weak and unimportant. What shall we say of the Spanish Cortes under Ferdinand and Isabella, and still more under their successors? What of the English Parliament under Henry the Eighth? What of the assembly of the States-general in France under Lewis the Twelfth? All the threads of political power were in the hands of some

few potentates who only abused their trust by spinning them into a web of wretched intrigue for the gratification of their own passions.—Whoever wishes for a proof of this, need only glance into the history of what passed in Italy at that time; and especially at the senseless league of Cambray and its romantic consequences.

The nations of Europe looked on unmoved while this game of vice and folly was played at their expense; and this apathy was seasonably timed for their own more easy subjection to despotism, as it accorded with the increased means of tyranny which the treasures of the New World, then first discovered, put at the disposal of their masters.

In order to awaken Europe from this moral slumber, there was wanted a *new and mighty interest* which should exercise a common influence over both people and princes; and in contemplating which the meaner spirit of cabal, till then most honoured, should be forgotten. Such an interest, both as to novelty and greatness, the Reformation created; and we thus obtain the proper point of view from which to estimate its political importance. Instead of the vulgar impulses of selfishness, Religion became the mainspring of politics; and we soon find hardly any political interest which was not more or less a religious interest, hardly any political party which was not more or less a religious one, nay, hardly any war which was not in a greater or less degree a war of religion. It matters not how far philosophers may hold the doctrines for which men struggled to be right or wrong—the destinies of mankind depended upon their acquiring an interest in what was great and exalted; and that religion *is* in practical effect both great and exalted, even the atheist, who scorns it in theory, must confess. It may be that, with the new interest which was here awakened, a host of prejudices and passions, which in partial instances led to error, was awakened also.—But this hindered not the progress of the whole!

To require that the human race should advance without interruption to its more perfect state, by the path which reason points out, is to mistake our nature, and to forget that we are not creatures of pure reason, but of reason mixed and alloyed with passion. It is difficult for individual man to tread that path, but for the crowd, which only approaches its object by circuitous ways, it is impossible.

FIRST PART.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION UPON THE INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT STATES OF EUROPE.

GERMANY.

It was natural that the state in which the Reformation commenced should be the first to feel its consequences; but besides this, the internal condition of Germany was such as to make these consequences more violent here than elsewhere. The adherence of several of its princes to the Reformed doctrines facilitated the organization of a powerful party, which watched over their infancy, and prevented them from being crushed or set aside, in a manner which would have been impossible in any country less divided within itself. It is well known that the elector, Frederic the Wise, of Saxony, the ruler of the state in which Luther came forward, was the first who did the Reformation this service, although he was soon followed by others. It was thus at once made an affair of state; and by being soon after formally and openly treated as such, and brought, in 1521, before the diet of Worms for decision, it became so highly important in a political point of view, that its very condemnation could only serve to make it still more so.

At the time of Luther's appearance, Germany, as a state, was little more than a cipher in the political system of Europe. Full of strength within, it was yet unable to apply its power.—Its constitution, formed upon *prescription*, was scarcely better than a chaos. Even though the Golden Bull (1356) had sufficiently determined the relations between the head of the empire and the chief of its princes, who could say what the mutual rights of the emperor and the remaining states truly were? The degree of authority which he should possess was thus commonly dependent upon the character and personal power of the emperor. Under the long reign of Frederic III., who slumbered away above half a century upon the throne, (1440—1492,) this authority was nearly annihilated; and under that of Maximilian I., notwithstanding the new institutions, it was, as regarded its own interests, but little augmented.

On the other hand, there was not one of the remaining princes of Germany whose power was sufficient to command respect. They lived more like patriarchs than princes; the ruler of a country appeared to be little more than the chief proprietor in it. Moreover, there was scarcely a prospect that any house would be able to raise itself to sudden eminence. The undivided transmission of property was observed only in the electoral states: in the others, according to custom, the lands of the father were divided among his sons; and, as their marriages were often blessed with even too rich an abundance, it was difficult for a single family to amass any great and secure possessions in land. This weakness of individuals necessarily rendered the power of the whole body inconsiderable. It is true the princes met at the diets to discuss their common interests; but Frederic III. had not even been at the trouble of once attending these meetings in person; and his son, whose numerous projects required proportionate funds, came, for the most part, only to harass the states for supplies. In fact, if the impetuous advance of the hereditary foes of Christendom, who had for fifty years been securely settled in the east of Europe, had not frequently compelled the Germans to make common cause against them, there seems to be no reason why the bands of the empire should not have been wholly dissolved.

It was the Reformation, and the Reformation alone, which suddenly breathed new life into this decaying body, and gave it the political importance which it has since possessed. Many of the German princes soon declared in its favour (whether from conviction or on other grounds it matters not); while, on the other hand, the new sovereign of the empire found it in accordance with his interests to condemn it. Charles V. soon discovered that in the advocates of the Reformation he had to deal with a party which was forming against himself; and although his original repugnance to the Protestant doctrines, as they now began to be termed, may perhaps have been founded upon religious conviction, yet the hatred which he entertained towards them soon became purely political. Charles V., however, was not the

man to allow himself to be blinded by passion; it was to him only the groundwork of a project which soon occupied his whole attention, as far as it was directed to the government of Germany, and the design of which was to maintain and increase the imperial power by the suppression of the party opposed to him. As soon, however, as this party perceived their danger, a closer alliance, among the Protestant princes and states, was the natural consequence.

Thus, after the league of Smalcald, (1530,) both parties stood, prepared for war, awaiting the contest; nor would this have been so long delayed, had not the emperor been engaged upon some other of his numerous undertakings. When, at length, a lapse of sixteen years had brought matters to the point he wished, and he fairly took the field, (1546,) the result showed that the courage of his opponents was not equalled by their abilities; while the issue of the battle of Mühlberg (1547) seemed to exceed even his boldest hopes. He had scarce, however, begun to enjoy the fruits of his victory, when the daring hand of a stripling tore from his grey head the laurels which a few days sufficed to lose, but which it had taken a life of labour to collect; and Maurice, by the treaty of Passau, (1552,) dispelled all the dreams of ambition in which Charles had so long revelled.

Such, in a few words, was the progress of events which occurred in the German empire at this momentous crisis, and which determined its future fate. But even then Germany had ceased to be the Germany of olden times. The new and mighty interest which had been awakened, produced a corresponding change in the politics of the empire. Its princes had learnt to estimate their power; they had found themselves in a position which obliged them to call it into action; and, although the preliminary treaty of Passau, confirmed as it was by the subsequent peace, concluded, 1555, at Augsburgh, had secured equal constitutional rights to both the new and the old party, it was impossible that they should relapse into their former indolence, and with it, into their former political nonentity. Although the words of peace were on men's lips, they had not put away resentment and distrust from their hearts; the new energy which the Reformation had imparted to politics remained in full force; the two parties watched each other ready armed for

a struggle; or if they laid aside their weapons for a moment, it was only to resume them upon the first appearance of danger.

Besides this, the previous peace had been procured too cheaply to allow of its being durable. Great revolutions are not to be decided by the struggle of a moment; and more than this the fortunate attempt of Maurice can hardly be considered. Notwithstanding the peace, Germany resembled the sea while still heaving from the effects of a storm, and for a long time it remained under the influence of revolutionary feelings, which promised a new explosion at every moment; indeed, were it not for the explanation, which is afforded by the personal characters of the three immediate successors of Charles V., history could scarcely present a more extraordinary phenomenon than the continuance of this state of things down to the year 1618, when the thirty years' war at length broke out. The treaty of Westphalia, which concluded it, finally and fully decided the strife between the two parties, and gave to the German empire that constitution, which, down to our own times, has been considered the palladium of its existence.

Thus to the Reformation and its consequences the German body owes the form which it has since assumed, and the vital spirit by which it is animated. It was scarcely conceivable that such a political body, comprising as it did so many and such different states, should for a length of time be kept in activity by any one common interest. For such a purpose what point of union should we have been inclined to select? A desire of aggrandizement, or at least of a powerful influence over the affairs of foreign nations? Such a desire could not exist in a state which, although amply endowed with means of resistance, possessed scarce any of attack.—Perhaps a common commercial interest? Germany had no such interest, nor could have, owing to its geographical position and its division into small states. There remains therefore but one—that which depended upon the necessity of a common resistance to attacks from without. History however shows, by abundant instances, that such causes are transitory, and that with them the interest they call up must pass away also; and the history of Germany in particular has shown how easy the enemies of the

empire found it to acquire friends in a state so composed, and to make war upon Germans by the assistance of Germans. The internal union of this body of states was, therefore, nothing but a slow and lingering disease; which, while it maintained a show of health in its subject, was on that account preparing it the more surely, either for total dissolution, or for subjection—it matters not whether to its own superior, or to a foreigner—but in both cases for its destruction.

It was only by a *Spirit of Disunion* that it could be fairly roused into life; and this the Reformation produced by giving separate and peculiar interests to the Protestant and Catholic parties. It cannot be denied that it was impossible accurately to foretell what the consequences of these divisions might be. The interference of foreign powers in the contest appeared, as in fact it was, inevitable; a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, however, averted the consequences which were thus threatened, and that often more successfully than could have been expected. Moreover, if the separate interests of the two parties had been of such a nature as to render it impossible that they should become subservient to the interests of the empire, or, still worse, if they had been opposed to it, a total dismemberment might have been the result. Luckily, however, this was not the case; neither interest contained in itself any thing contrary to the rights of the head of the empire, or of the individual states: they centred upon the subject of religion and the rights connected with it; and, after abundance of feud and warfare, it was sufficiently ascertained by experience, that the establishment of the Corpus Evangelicorum—which did not receive its definite form till long after the thing itself had existed (1653)—tended to no irremediable division between the diet and the empire. On the contrary, the mutual watch which the two parties kept upon each other, and the constant attentiveness which they showed, often with good reason, sometimes in a degree almost ridiculous, to the slightest advances of their antagonists, afforded a warrant for the maintenance of the German Constitution, at least in its principal parts, which could certainly not have been furnished in any other way. From this more elevated point of view, all those dissensions, debates, and wars, which the Reformation produced in the interior of this body, appear in a more gentle light; they are reckoned only as the means to an end; and if it was the Reformation which at its commencement breathed new life into the empire, it was the Reformation also which for a long time maintained this life and assured its political existence.

AUSTRIA.

THE house of Austria—which of all the dynasties of modern times has lost and won the most—was the first to found its political schemes upon the disturbances of the Reformation. Fate presented it at this crisis with a prince who was superior to all his contemporaries in political talent, and at least equal to any of them in power. It requires abilities of a rare kind to make their possessor feel at home in a new order of things such as a revolution is apt to produce. A great genius alone is capable of rising above the routine of previous experience and custom, and of calculating the combinations by which its measures are to be directed. But however willing we may be to do justice to the political talents of Charles V., it was impossible that he should from the first be able to foresee the course which these violent revolutions would take, at least by any direct process of calculation.

The relation in which he stood to the pope, as Protector of the Church, made him from the beginning an opponent of the Reformation; but his political designs in Germany were not formed till he found in the league of Smalcald (1530) a party armed in direct opposition to himself. The maintenance of the respect due to the majesty of the empire required that this should be suppressed; but then its suppression, even though the existing forms of the constitution should be observed, could hardly be effected without the introduction of absolute power into Germany. That this plan was frustrated, and in a way which no previous calculations could have determined, has been already observed; but still the new doctrines were not the less important as regarded the organization of the Austrian monarchy, even though it did not play a prominent part in the game.

We may remark here, that in the hereditary duchy of Austria, the power of the reigning house became nearly absolute—while that of the states was reduced to a mere shadow—by the suppression of the Protestant party under

Ferdinand II. It derived also the greatest possible advantage from the use which it made of the religious disturbances in Hungary and Bohemia. The house of Hapsburg may thank the Reformation for the opportunities which it afforded them of converting both these states from electoral into hereditary dominions; and of rearing in the latter an absolute sovereignty on the ruins of their ancient national freedom. When the battle of Prague (1620) left the rebellious nation a prey to the tyranny of its conqueror, the moment was not let slip. It was robbed of its privileges, and Bohemia became in FACT an hereditary kingdom, although politicians were still left to dispute whether it should be *called electoral* or not.

The fate of Hungary, although not so immediately decided, was not less owing to the religious disputes of the Reformation. The new doctrines found so ready an admittance here, that the supporters of them soon formed a counterpoise to those of the older creed, and at length, by the peace of Vienna (in 1606) and the capitulation of king Matthias (1608), obtained not only the free exercise of their religion, but, by the latter event, equal political rights with them. The history of Hungary, however, has made it sufficiently known how little the collisions of party were put an end to by these concessions; how little the promises made to the Protestants were observed; how advantage was taken of the excitement which prevailed to introduce foreign troops, and, notwithstanding all remonstrance, to maintain them in the country; and, lastly, how systematically the most crying oppression was practised, till at length (1670) produced conspiracies, the extinction of which necessarily augmented the power of the government. The web of strife, however, was not yet broken off, and its meshes had so thoroughly entangled the Protestant contests with those of Transylvania and the Porte, that it is almost impossible to follow out the separate threads. The dealings with the Protestants, however, evidently formed the groundwork of the tissue. Preparations were thus gradually made for the step which was at length (1687) successfully taken, and the electoral kingdom became hereditary. Nor were the advantages which Austria thus obtained the less important because Hungary has hitherto resisted, with tolerable success, all the attempts which have been made to overturn its remaining rights as a nation.

However little cohesion, then, there may be between the different parts, in themselves so powerful, which compose this monarchy, it chiefly owes to the Reformation, and to the manner in which its consequences were applied, whatever unity and internal stability it possesses. The late changes in Europe have increased its power, both by extending its dominions, and by teaching it how to apply its resources. It has now[1] no distant territory to protect; but placed as it is in continual opposition to powerful adversaries, and deprived of the outworks which formerly guarded it, it must make the best use of those advantages to which the Reformation prepared the way, in order to maintain the proud station which it at present occupies.

PRUSSIA.

THE foundation of the Prussian monarchy was one of the earliest works of the Reformation. It was doubtless beyond mortal power to foresee that so noble a structure should ever be raised upon it. Such a result required a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, and a taskmaster to guide the work, such as hardly any state could show within the annals of a like period of time. And yet the thing is so—without the Reformation, Europe would have had an elector of Brandenburgh, but no king of Prussia. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Prussia was still under priestly dominion, being attached to the Teutonic order which had conquered it; and which, with its grand master, continued to govern it. But scarcely had the new doctrines spread themselves, and pointed out a way by which spiritual princes might render their power hereditary, than Albert, grand master of the Teutonic order in Prussia, and a scion of the house of Brandenburgh, made the first successful attempt of this kind.

As early as the year 1525 he secularized his dominions, and formed them into an hereditary duchy, though as a fief of Poland, and became by his marriage the founder of a line, of which the last female descendant, Anne, espoused John Sigismond, then electoral prince of Brandenburgh, and afterwards elector. When Prussia came into the possession of the electoral house of Brandenburgh, it was still a fief; but by the treaty of Wehlau, (1657,) and more fully

[1] It must be remembered that this was written in 1802. TR.

by the peace of Oliva, (1660,) it was declared a sovereign principality, and its feudal tenure was done away; in 1701 it was raised to a kingdom, and stepped, or at least gradually advanced, into the first rank of European powers.

Although the Reformation, however, was the means, as we have shown, of laying the first stone of the Prussian monarchy, it cannot be said that it conduced greatly to its further erection, unless we are prepared to consider the acquisitions, which it made at the peace of Westphalia, as resulting from that event.

The Reformation has, in fact, exercised a much smaller influence on the double part which Prussia has played in foreign policy, both as one of the powers of Europe, and as one of the first states in the German empire, than is commonly supposed. The causes of this may be sufficiently gathered from the short chronological sketch which we have just given. During the whole period throughout which the interests of religion continued to act as a mainspring in European politics—that is, down to the peace of Westphalia, and the time of Lewis XIV., the house of Brandenburgh was still too weak to exercise any decisive influence upon the German body, to say nothing of Europe at large. As it gradually after this acquired strength under the great elector and its two first kings, the Reformation, as we shall hereafter have to observe, lost all political power, and a new interest took its place. The second, and minor game, which Prussia had to play in the empire, was to maintain the balance against Austria. But Prussia did not fairly become the rival of Austria till the conquest of Silesia by Frederic II., and their relative position was wholly uninfluenced by religion. Besides, although Prussia or Brandenburgh was one of the most powerful, and finally the most powerful, of the Protestant states, it cannot be considered as the head of that party. This pre-eminence belonged, as is well known, from the first, to Saxony; and when Prussia became the more powerful of the two, the matter was no longer of consequence, since this *party*, although it retained the forms of one, was fast losing its essential character as such.

FRANCE.

It was chiefly from Switzerland that France derived its share of the Reformation; and although it was thus influenced rather by the doctrines of Zwingle than those of Luther, yet the political sphere of these two reformers was so nearly the same, that it would be impossible to define that of the one without ascertaining that of the other also. In no other country of Europe, not even in Germany, had the Reformation been so speedily advanced as in Switzerland. The energetic character of these mountaineers leads them to a rapid decision; and the more confined the ideas of a race of herdsmen may be, the more earnestly do they cling to those which they have once adopted. While in Germany the two parties were still engaged with capitulations, the civil war broke out in the cantons, (1530,) and seemed to threaten a total dissolution of the confederacy. Fortunately, however, a short struggle sufficed to produce a lasting peace; and although the mutual hatred of the parties did not immediately pass away, it was not again thought necessary to shed blood for its satisfaction. Bitter feelings gradually subsided; public attention became directed to other subjects; and the enviable fate of this country, which general opinion seemed to agree in considering holy and inviolable, removed it from a participation in the affairs of the rest of Europe, which might easily have lit up the flame of discord anew.

The numerous relations which existed between Switzerland and France, afforded peculiar facilities of access to the Reformation from this quarter; could it have been expected then that a nation, which perhaps may be said to exceed all others in the quick perception of ideas, should long remain indifferent to it? Francis I., however, knew too well how much the kingly power had to fear from a party whose church principles were almost purely democratic, to allow of his encouraging it; the oppression and persecutions of his son gave it consistency, and prepared it for resistance; and when under his weak descendants it lent itself to the ambitious purposes of men in power, it assumed the character of a formidable opposition. The history of the bloody wars which were thus prepared, and which occupied the latter half of the sixteenth century, down to the edict of Nantes, (1562—1598,) is so well known that we need not do more than allude to them; the permanent influence which they exercised upon the political condition of France, is, however, too important to be passed over. This influence

may be considered under two points of view, and these in apparent opposition to each other. It prepared the way on the one hand for the absolute power of the king, and yet on the other it seems, even after the fall of its party, to have maintained a spirit of resistance in the nation.

It is a common phenomenon in great monarchies, that the power of the government does not become firmly established, and either wholly, or in great part, absolute, till it has undergone a struggle with some strong party in opposition to it. At the moment when such a party has been suppressed or disarmed, every thing is open to the sovereign; and even the remaining props of national liberty may be easily put aside. In France the government found such an opposition as we describe, in the party of the Hugonots. It is true that it was the government itself, which by its persecutions, its duplicity, and utter cruelty, converted a friendly *sect* into a *party* of political opponents. This cannot be denied—the cry of death which was raised on St. Bartholomew's night, and echoes to all ages, is too strong an evidence of this; but still an unprejudiced observer must confess, that the foundation of any stable government in France must needs have remained impossible, as long as this party continued to hold arms in its hands.

The edict of Nantes had undoubtedly softened down their violence:—on such fearful storms as had here raged, a period of calm must at any rate follow—; but the events which occurred after the murder of Henry IV. served to show how formidable the Hugonots still were.

It was difficult for any great and effectual measures of government to be carried through without coming in contact with them; for such a party cannot for any time exist without involving its own interests with the interests of the state, in such a multiplicity of ways as to afford abundance of real, or, what is in effect the same, imaginary points of excitement. The struggle which Richelieu maintained against the Hugonots was, therefore, a necessary struggle, if any permanent order of things was to be established in France: he wished to disarm but not to extirpate them; and the condition in which they were left by the peace of Rochelle, (1629,) was such as, in accordance with law, they ought to have been placed in; although, at the same

time, no one will pretend to extenuate the persecutions in which the intolerance of subsequent governments led them to indulge, down to the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

But in proportion as we find it easy to show the truth of our first remark, do we find it difficult to adduce historical proof of the other, its apparent contradiction, viz. that the maintenance of a spirit of resistance in the people was owing to the Hugonot party. It is not however the less true on this account: for in the first place, we cannot doubt that such fearful disturbances as those which were caused by the religious disputes in France, must have left traces in the national character which could not easily be effaced. But, besides this, history has not left us without proofs. It is well known that, after the time of Richelieu, the spirit of opposition which had been raised, passed into the parliament of France. The degree of influence which the Reformation exercised in this case cannot be clearly determined without lengthened details. But it would be difficult to deny such an influence altogether, since by the edict of Nantes the Protestants were allowed a share in the counsels of this body—although their admittance is neither the only nor the principal source, to which we should seek to refer it. Of this, as of their other rights, the Protestants were again deprived by the revocation of the edict; but the spirit of the party was not destroyed by its suppression; it acquired new life, with such modifications only as the change of times rendered necessary, under the garb of Jansenism. A full development of its progress is beyond the limits of this treatise; but we may observe, that the history of literature shows plainly enough that this party derived warmth and vigour from the flame, which the learned disputes of the Protestants and their opponents had kindled in the theology of France. These debates were succeeded by others which produced the great catastrophe of our own day, and by which the Reformation and its political consequences were thrown into the background; but on that account became, in the full sense of the word, more peculiarly the property of history.

ENGLAND.

The Reformation was of still more importance to England than to France; the new doctrines were triumphant here,

as they were, and continued to be, suppressed there; and these two nations—the antipodes of each other in so many respects—were destined to a still wider difference by disagreeing on this point. The important consequences which resulted to the two countries, in their relation to each other, and to Europe in general, from this circumstance, belong to the second division of our subject; we have here only to consider the effects thereby produced upon England itself.

The progress of the Reformation was of a peculiar kind in this country, as we might expect from its insular character. Henry VIII. viewed it only as a means of gratifying his passions and serving his personal interest, and as such, in fact, he used it; but a tyrant, who was guided by the whim of the moment, and incapable of forming any permanent scheme, could not employ it with the ability of Charles V.; while by his supremacy he exercised a more violent despotism over the conscience and opinions of his subjects than the pope would ever have dared to attempt. During the short reign of his son and successor, Edward VI., (1547—1553,) the Reformation was really introduced; but as the bigoted intolerance of his sister Mary (1553—1558) again overturned the feeble and scarce completed edifice, it was reserved for the long and well-conducted reign of Elizabeth (1558—1603) to lay its foundation anew, and upon more secure ground.

The Articles of belief in England were changed; the supremacy of the Roman see was shaken off; but in other respects the framework of the hierarchy was left untouched. By the act of supremacy, renewed under Elizabeth as it had first been passed under Henry, the king stepped into the place of the pope; and this supremacy was probably the chief advantage which accrued to the crown from the Reformation. In times when religion was so inseparably connected with politics, such unlimited spiritual dominion necessarily tended, in substance if not in form, to render the temporal power unlimited also; and the "High Commission" of Elizabeth gives a sufficient example of the uses to which it might be applied. Again, as the Head of the Church required instruments by which it might act as such, the existent hierarchy was left almost unaltered in its ancient form. The Episcopal Church was thus established; which received its definite rule of faith for the first time under

Elizabeth (1571). The English Church, therefore, was distinguished by the peculiarity of its organization in retaining the higher spiritual orders—the archbishops and bishops—with seats and voices in the Upper House. In this manner the hierarchy remained interwoven with the constitution; and the question which we are interested in answering here, regards the value and consequences of this institution to the state.

It was the belief, very naturally resulting from the king's supremacy, that the hierarchy would prove a firm support to the throne at its head, which preserved that body; a belief which afterwards furnished the Stuarts with their favourite maxim: "No bishop, no king." Nevertheless, the connexion asserted in this sentence is by no means so directly evident as to make it unreasonable to inquire whether it had any truth at bottom, or was merely the product of fanaticism.

The political power of the bishops, and their direct influence upon the state through the House of Lords, is too insignificant to have been much relied on. If we are, therefore, to attribute any meaning to the above expression, it must be this: that by uniting the interests of the heads of the church with those of the crown, it was designed, that not only their support, but that of the people itself, should be secured. The political importance of the bishops, therefore, depended upon their influence with the people. And consequently, as soon as the schismatics had acquired strength, and formed themselves into a religious, and as such, into a political party, experience showed that the bishops, although nominally the props of the throne, were but a feeble support. They fell with it, and they were restored with it.

As regards the general question, how far the hierarchy of a state may be called the safeguard of the throne, this must depend chiefly upon the spirit of the times; since by it their influence over the minds of the people is determined. In times of religious fanaticism this may be very great, and the permanence of the throne may be inseparably linked with that of the hierarchy. The progress of events, however, gradually dissolves these ties; and the throne of Great Britain at present rests upon very different support from that of the hierarchy, which is neither important, nor inviolable, except as forming an integral part of the constitution.

But if the Reformation on the one hand laid the foundation of an increase of the kingly power in England, it did not do this without creating a disaffected party on the other; which, when the helm of state passed into a less experienced grasp, was the means of raising a storm under the violence of which the throne gave way, and for a long time remained prostrate.

In times like those such a Reformation as that in England, which was in a certain sense only half a Reformation, was necessarily a dangerous undertaking. A period of revolution will not submit to partial measures, because it is a period of fanaticism. What else then could be expected, than that, in the eyes of the *pure* reformers, the remaining framework of the hierarchy should be deemed an abomination? that Episcopalians and Catholics should be held to differ in little except in name? And when the Church of England was finally guarded about by limits which excluded all other communions from a participation, not only in it, but in the most important political rights, how could it be otherwise than that a contest should ensue? Then, as the religious principles of the insurgents were purely democratic, what was more natural than that the fate of the hierarchy should include that of the throne?

Considered from this point of view, the events of the English revolution, which are too well known to require any further notice, appear in their proper light, as one connected whole. With the restoration of the throne the dominant church was restored also; but when, by the famous Toleration Act of William III., (1688,) the penal laws against the Dissenters were removed, they could no longer form a political party. With the Catholics it was no doubt different; but their number in England was too small to cause apprehension. There may certainly be times, and there have been in England, when the introduction of a Test Act may be necessary; but whether its continuance conduces most to security or danger, is a question which I shall leave others to answer. However this may be, the general interests of Great Britain remained inseparably connected with the Reformation; and by it, after one of the most wonderful revolutions of destiny, the throne was opened to that family under whose glorious dominion England witnessed the appearance of what may, in every sense of the word, be termed her golden age.

But while speaking of the mistress of the sea, let me be allowed to throw a glance upon that neighbouring island, which having been subject to her for centuries, has been deluged with blood, whenever it has dared to shake the fetters which bound it. While the Reformation spread its blessings, sooner or later, over other lands, Ireland appears to have been destined only to feel its curse. The wounds which it dealt here, were too deep to be scarred over; and even since the efforts of a more liberal policy have been directed to their cure, it must be left to time to decide whether the means applied will be sufficient.

Long before the Reformation, the inhabitants of Ireland had been expelled from part of their possessions by English colonists; and a hatred of their conquerors had been engendered, to which the Reformation gave new vigour. The Irish remained Catholic, if for no other cause than that their oppressors were Protestant.

Being again plundered of a considerable portion of their lands, when James I. sent over a new host of colonists, their disaffection was increased; and during the civil wars under the hapless Charles, a fearful insurrection broke out, (1641,) which cost above a hundred thousand of the Protestants in Ireland their lives, and went near to exterminate them altogether.

The civil war now raged for ten years without interruption, till it gave Cromwell a pretext for new acts of injustice, the real object of which was to reward his soldiers. Maltreated, plundered, and hunted into a corner of the island, the Irish saw three parts of their country in the hands of strangers. But even thus the measure of their unhappiness was not yet full. The same revolution which restored, and improved, the English constitution, and secured the national freedom, was to the ill-fated Irish a source of new persecutions, and of final subjection. When William III. had established his authority here with the sword, (1691,) the miserable remnant of their lands was torn from them by proscription; and what was even worse than this, a *legal* despotism was soon after established, such as no other country of Europe has ever witnessed. By the statutes of Anne, (1703,) the Catho-

lics, as long as they adhered to their religion, were incapable of holding land either in freehold or lease, and were denied the means of public education.

In other countries where the subject was the bondsman of his master, care at least was taken of him, and sustenance supplied. Personal freedom was left to the Irish, that it might become a burden and a curse to them. By an organized system of oppression, the people were reduced to a horde of brutal paupers; and the consequences were such as might have been expected. The Irish revenged themselves whenever they could, and their revenge was that of barbarians, because they had been made such. It was in vain that under George III. a less inhuman system of government began to improve whatever still admitted of improvement; in vain that the independence of America released Ireland from her commercial fetters (1782); a feeling of misery so long endured is not to be forgotten within a few years; the traces of such deeply-impressed barbarism are not wont to disappear in a single generation.

The revolution of our own day found Ireland in that convulsive state into which it had been thrown by those of former times, and while still under this influence it was exposed to a new and bloody crisis, which was followed by the Union, in 1800.

By this measure the two countries were formed into one state, and the Irish parliament incorporated with that of Great Britain. It does not appear, however, that its beneficial results will be fully developed till the political equality of the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland shall have been finally established, by the admission of the former into parliament.[1]

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

WHILE other states were either shaken or new-modelled by the Reformation, there was one which was created by it.

[1] It is now six years since the emancipation of the Catholics—thus spoken of by Prof. Heeren twenty-seven years before it took place—was resorted to as a preferable alternative to civil war. Had it been the free gift of the legislature, instead of being extorted by the threat of rebellion, the merits of the measure might have been more fairly tried. As it is, however, the Catholics of Ireland appear to have forgotten the measure itself in their triumph at the mode in which it was obtained, and instead of developing, as our author hoped, the beneficial effects of the Union, the passing of the Catholic Relief bill is likely to prove the means of defeating it altogether. TR.

From the midst of its disturbances the republic of the United Netherlands came forth like a bright star between the pauses of the storm; while, by the mode of its origin, its fate became inseparably connected with the Reformation; and its fall or maintenance dependent upon the fall or maintenance of Protestantism. By the course of events, this republic was almost immediately involved in the most intricate windings of the general politics of Europe; nay, it was so placed as gradually to give them a new direction. Under this most interesting point of view we shall consider it in the next division of our treatise; here we must be allowed to cast a glance upon the influence of the Reformation on its internal constitution.

The founders of this state had, at first, no thoughts of forming a republic. In fact, how could such a project have arisen in an age when there were no republican ideas abroad in Europe? Their views were of far narrower compass; they only sought the maintenance of their old rights and privileges, which were threatened by the despotism of Philip II., and especially by the introduction of the Inquisition.

Fifteen years were thus allowed to elapse from the beginning of the disturbances in 1566, before the Netherlanders formally shook off their allegiance to Philip II., and put it beyond his power to end the quarrel by concession. Even then, however, they had become so little accustomed to the idea of a republic, that they seemed to think it their immediate duty to look about them for a foreign master, requiring only that he should respect their ancient rights and privileges. First they applied to France, then to England —and it was only when Francis of Alençon had clearly proved his incapacity for such an office, and Elizabeth had on grounds of higher policy declined it, that they became republicans—merely because they had no other resource. Their old notions, however, appear still to have been their only guides; and in pursuance of them they established that shapeless confederacy, in which they did not themselves clearly know who was the sovereign. The maintenance of the rights of the states in the several provinces was considered the most important object to be attained; the central government formed itself as circumstances allowed or required; and the republic would have gained but little firmness from it, if amidst many and great deficiencies it had not possessed

the one advantage of allowing free scope to the individual activity and genius of her great men.

In such a state of things, the Reformed religion, although it was the main cause of the insurrection, and, when established as the national mode of worship, the foundation of the republic, could exercise no direct influence upon its further organization. But as the whole existence of this state was grounded on the Reformation, and as it was to religious enthusiasm that its citizens owed their heroic spirit, we must not be astonished that the bigotry of Protestantism was no where else carried so far, or so deeply rooted, as here. The consequence of this was, that the Protestant clergy had much more easy access to the springs of public opinion in this than in any other country; and thus acquired the means of exercising a considerable influence upon the affairs of the state;—an influence of which the history of the republic affords but too many traces. The twelve years' truce of 1609 had no sooner afforded a short period of repose, than the clergy were busy in lighting up the flames of party violence; and Arminians and Gomarists persecuted each other with the same animosity as the Protestants and Catholics had in former times displayed. It is well known by what ties these religious differences became connected with politics, and thus produced the first and bloody struggle between the party of the states and the Orangists. No sooner was it apparent that the doctrines of Arminius found their chief supporters in the higher and more educated classes, and among the members of the states, than Maurice of Orange declared himself for the opposite and orthodox party, and at the head of the majority of the nation dared to bring Oldenbarneveld to the block (1619).

Although it was religion, however, which gave a pretext to the parties for a commencement of the feud, with which the subsequent history of this state is almost exclusively concerned, the true cause must be sought elsewhere. It lay in the very groundwork of their constitution, and it is only by a full explanation of this—a task beyond our limits—that it can be clearly pointed out.

SWEDEN.

In the four kingdoms which, as long as Poland existed, formed the north of Europe, the political consequences of

the Reformation displayed themselves in a very different manner. The most remote of these, by its situation, its religion, and, more than all, by the barbarous condition in which it was, lay beyond the influence of the storm. Of the other three, one owed its existence and its greatness—although transient—to the Reformation; another, its prosperity and its constitution; the third, dates its downfal from the same source. And thus we see that, in the moral as in the physical world, what is deadly poison to one often proves the means of saving life in another!

At precisely this epoch, while the Reformation was spreading in Germany with a rapidity which nothing could check, the north of Europe had arrived at the political crisis which determined its future fate. The Union of Calmar, the parent of so much discord and warfare, was dissolved; and Gustavus Vasa restored (1521) the throne of Sweden to its former independence. But notwithstanding his courage and the progress which he made, and in spite of the favourable position in which he was placed by the insurrection in Denmark and the expulsion of his rival, king Christian II., he yet found himself in a situation which secured to him rather the name than the power of a king. It cannot be denied, however, that Gustavus Vasa ranks among the greatest princes of all ages. He was not simply acquainted with the common turns of policy by which mere intriguers attain their end; but rising, as great men are wont to do, beyond the age in which he lived, he seems to have embraced ideas of public economy which may well excite our admiration, since, as they were then unknown to the rest of the world, they must have been the product of his own acuteness and ability. Even Gustavus Vasa, however, would scarce have found the resources with which his genius furnished him sufficient, had not the Reformation brought others to his assistance, upon which the foundations of his greatness may, in fact, be said to have rested. What, in truth, could the most talented prince have effected on a throne, the income of which did not supply a third part of its necessary expenditure, and in a country where a powerful nobility stood side by side with a still more powerful body of clergy, whose possessions had swallowed up the lands of the crown, and which was likely to find that a

native sovereign would not prove the best instrument for securing and extending its usurpations? Under such circumstances, a mind of even moderate capacity would have perceived that the Reformation afforded the best means of securing the stability of the government; but the difficulty in this, as in all other cases, lay in the execution; and here it was that the superior genius of Gustavus displayed itself. Too weak in himself, he succeeded in gaining over the nobility by the prospect of large acquisitions from the forfeited estates of the clergy; and with this support he was enabled to meet the decisive crisis which was brought on at the diet of Westerås, (1527,) and which terminated in the submission of the clergy and the resignation of their estates into the hands of the king, to be disposed of as he thought fit. Conspiracies and tumults, set afoot in distant parts of the kingdom, remained the only, and impotent means, by which they sought to avenge themselves.

Thus the Reformation also established a new order of things in Sweden, though without taking from the clergy their rights as an estate of the realm; and exercised a decisive influence upon the fate of this kingdom, and through it upon that of the North, and even for a considerable time upon Europe in general. There now wanted only the hereditary succession of the crown, which Gustavus Vasa likewise introduced, to put means at the disposal of the kings of Sweden, by which they might attain to a *supremacy of the North*, which would in turn affect the rest of Europe. The Reformation, while it made them masters in the North, opened the way to them, as its champions, of acquiring the *supremacy of Europe*. Supported by their own genius, they played this exaggerated part for a longer time than the state of their resources would have led us to expect. The consequences, which resulted from this, will be more fully developed in the part of our work which treats of the influence of the Reformation upon the political balance of Europe.

DENMARK.

THE internal condition of Denmark bore, at this period, a great resemblance to that of Sweden. The nobles and priests were here also the ruling party, and gave to what was then an electoral kingdom, more the appearance of an

aristocracy than of a monarchy. The dissolution of the Union of Calmar, and the restoration of the Swedish throne, although considered as losses by Denmark, were yet, as soon as the possession of Norway was secured to it, perhaps as great advantages to this country as to Sweden itself.

The kings of Denmark had hitherto exhausted themselves in struggles, for the most part fruitless, to secure their dominion over Sweden; and the disadvantages of these wars were naturally, on that account, much greater to Denmark than to Sweden. By the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, the former was restrained within its true sphere; and after a few ineffectual attempts to extend itself beyond this, it was taught to prize that golden mediocrity, the maintenance of which has ever since proved the palladium of Danish prosperity.

The Reformation acquired its political importance in Denmark nearly in the same way as in Sweden. It was introduced very early, and by the confiscation of the estates of the clergy gave the first opportunity of extending the power of the crown. But although Christian III. accomplished this important object, the aristocracy was much less broken down in Denmark by the propagation of the new doctrines than it had been in Sweden, because it was here accomplished without the aid of a revolution. Moreover, the king was not only obliged to divide the estates of the clergy with the nobility, but to share them very unequally. He received for his share only the lesser half, the demesnes of the bishops; and even from this a considerable portion was deducted for the purpose of pious foundations. The project of converting the electoral into an hereditary succession was not in those days to be for a moment entertained; on the contrary, every change of government produced the exaction of harder conditions from the king. Denmark remained, therefore, even by its constitution, much behind Sweden. That which was rapidly effected in Sweden by a revolution, was slowly prepared here by the spirit of the times.

It required the enterprising reign of Christian IV., and the decisive superiority of the middle orders over the nobility, to obtain the adoption of that constitution which Frederic III. (1660) introduced, under a rare combination of fortunate circumstances, and with still rarer success in the result. The only fundamental articles of it, were the here-

ditary succession of the crown, and the maintenance of the Lutheran religion as that of the state.

POLAND.

THE difference between the language of Poland and that of the other countries of western Europe, appeared to offer an obstacle to the progress of the Reformation, which could not easily be overcome. The Latin language, however, then almost universally adopted in writing, assisted the Reformation in this, as it did in many other difficulties; and, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, although somewhat later than in the other countries which we have mentioned, the new doctrines made steady and even bold advances here. Besides the evangelical communion, another, viz. that of the Socinians, was formally established in Poland, which, although it proceeded from the former, was not acknowledged by it, and was not openly tolerated even in Germany. The majority of the nation thus separated itself, under the common title of Dissenters, from the ancient Church, which was not, however, thereby deprived of its political rights, in the undisputed possession and exercise of which it was allowed for a considerable time to remain.

We might perhaps expect to find, that the introduction of this new body of ideas had assisted the march of national improvement, and that the rather, because the difference of opinion between the Socinians and the other Protestants appeared to call for the exercise of faculties, which would naturally tend to the enlargement of the mind. But as the new sects here neither were, nor had, in the beginning, any occasion to become, political parties, they were wanting in that principle of activity which gave them life elsewhere: and the Reformation stood for nothing more in Poland, than a change of some few abstract doctrines, which might be amply debated upon without making the debaters either wiser or more enlightened. There was here therefore a total absence of that wholesome ferment which the Reformation caused in other countries; and which, finally, after the grosser parts had been worked off, produced an aggregate of pure truths and enlarged views. The great body of the people was thus much less enlightened by the Reformation in Poland than elsewhere; and it was on that account a

very dangerous gift. The two parties hated while they tolerated each other; and there only wanted a spark to set men's passion on fire, and kindle such a flame as could be extinguished only under the ruins of the state.

This spark fell amongst them when Charles XII., a monarch of the *Lutheran* persuasion, invaded Poland as a conqueror, and formed a party in the country for the advancement of his own ambitious designs. Although this faction consisted in a small part only of Dissenters, it was sufficient that any of them supported it, to make their opponents consider the name of Dissenter synonymous with that of a partisan of Sweden; and the more confined their views, the more violent became the mutual hatred of the parties, which naturally pressed with greater force upon the supporters of Charles XII., as soon as he became incapable of defending them.

After the diet in the year 1717, when the Dissenters were first subjected to a spoliation of their public rights, the precedent was never left unemployed, even when there could be no longer question of a Swedish party in the state. The oppression of the Dissenters now became a political maxim; and, under the skilful direction of the Jesuits, it was pursued so far as to leave them nothing besides the memory of their former advantages, except fruitless petitions and complaints.

Thus the storm was prepared here only after it had subsided in other quarters; and the consequences were easily to be foreseen. In a country, the constitution and internal feuds of which had for a long time opened the way to foreign interference, these religious contests could not fail to be of fatal effect as soon as any neighbouring power learnt how to employ them. Catharine II. soon perceived the advantages which she might derive from them; and under the pretext of *protecting the Dissenters* laid the foundation (1766) of the Russian power in Poland.

Shall I describe the further series of events, the consecutive scenes of that national tragedy? Shall I recall the madness of the civil war, the insolence of the oppressor, the violation of the rights of the people, the persecutions, such as no nation has endured since the fall of Carthage? The cabinets of Europe have already too sore a testimony against

them, in the cries of the victim which they offered up in Prague as a sacrifice to their unhallowed policy.

The reader will rather turn his eyes in sorrow from that desolating scene, and let them rest upon the cheering prospect which is presented by the restoration, even though partial, of this shattered state, and its establishment under a better constitution.

THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.

THE countries which we have hitherto mentioned complete the sphere over which the revolution of the sixteenth century extended its influence. Bursting forth in Germany, the central point of Europe, it shook all around it with the violence of an earthquake. Still, however, there were countries in this quarter of the world in which its impulse could not be felt; and it is the more interesting to examine these, because the Reformation, if not positively important, was negatively so to several of them.

While Russia, for the reasons which we have stated above, was uninfluenced by it in the east of Europe, Spain and Portugal were equally so in the west, and Italy in the south. The geographical situation of these countries will not afford a sufficient explanation of this phenomenon; mountains and plains are no barriers to the progress of opinion.

It is true, the strict vigilance of the Spanish government made it difficult for the new doctrines to gain admittance there; but in Italy the Inquisition held out no such terrors as in Spain; and who, moreover, will, in these days, doubt that all the bulwarks of spiritual and worldly policy are too feeble to restrain the current of ideas? The causes of it lie deeper, and can only be explained by the individual characters of these nations. The old religion was one evidently designed rather for the feelings than the reason of its followers; the new, while it rested every thing upon a change in doctrinal points, and withdrew all that might affect the senses from its form of worship, appealed for its influence to the understanding, and despoiled both fancy and feeling almost wholly of their idols. It was suited to the North, but not to the South. The calm and investigating spirit of the German nations found in it the nourishment which it required and sought for; and hence the geographical limits

of these, from the coasts of Scotland and Norway to the Helvetian Alps, formed in their chief extent the limits of the Reformation. The more vivid imagination and sensitive feelings of the people of the South, especially of the softer sex, found little to please them in its tenets. Who would seek to deprive the women of Spain and Italy of their Madonna and their saints? The attempt would be a vain one, or, if successful, with these accessories of religion, their consolation and their peace would vanish also:

> Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.[1]

It was not, therefore, owing to the prohibitions of the government, but to the character of the nations themselves, that the Reformation found no support among them. Whether this was their gain or their loss can hardly now be a question. By their almost total exclusion from that great ferment of ideas, which in other countries of civilized Europe gave activity and life to the human intellect, they were thrown behind the general progress of this quarter of the world; and thus, while the example of Poland affords from amidst its ruins a warning, that patriotism and the most heroic spirit are but feeble supports to a nation, unless guided by national improvement, these countries teach the not less important truth, that it may not in the end prove so advantageous to a state to have escaped the storms of a revolution, as those who are the witnesses of it commouly believe.

SECOND PART.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION UPON THE GENERAL POLITICS OF EUROPE.

THE view which we have presented of the influence exercised by the Reformation upon the individual condition and constitution of nearly all the countries of Europe, will assist us in the more general consideration of its effects upon the *politics of Europe as a body*.

[1] (Ein wahn der uns beglückt
Ist eine wahrheit werth, die uns zu boden drückt.)

The interests which it called into life continued for a century and a half to act as the mainspring of European politics; and when, in the age of Lewis XIV., these gave way to others—those of commerce—their impulse was weakened only by degrees, and carried its operations even into the eighteenth century.

I propose to consider this extensive subject, in its main features at least, under three points of view. 1st, As to the organization of society in general. 2ndly, With regard to the political balance or mutual relations of the states. 3rdly, As to commerce and the colonial system.

I. *The effects of the Reformation upon the organization of society.*

It is impossible that an event of such great practical importance as the Reformation, should have taken place without causing considerable changes in the constitution of civil society. The fall of the papal hierarchy was of itself sufficient for this in the countries which adopted the new doctrines. But there were other and more distant consequences, which were at first perhaps beyond the reach of calculation.

The *first* and almost inevitable effect of the Reformation upon civil society in general, was, that *Religion became a part of the constitutional basis of all governments.* In the middle ages the Catholic religion was universally dominant, but the constitution was no where expressly founded upon it; there was no where a direct law that it should be the religion of the state; that its rulers should acknowledge no other. Although Dissenters were not tolerated, and heretics, as they were termed, were persecuted, this was no immediate affair of the state, but of the Church and its superior; if the state concerned itself in it, as in the case of the Waldenses in France, it was only at the desire of the latter. But when by the Reformation the interests of politics and religion became mutually involved, this condition of things was altered.

In the countries which had embraced Protestantism, the new religion was almost universally declared to be that of the state; not only were its professors alone allowed the free exercise of their rites, but many offices unconnected with religion, as well as the right of sitting in the assemblies of the nation, were confined to them; in many it was made a necessary condition of accession to the throne.

The same thing took place in the Catholic states; and wherever the question was doubtful it was formally determined by treaties and articles of peace, which were often dearly purchased.

It is true that the Christian religion is, by its doctrines, totally unconnected with politics. It merely inculcates submission to existing authority, and decides nothing, as to the constitution of states, with preference of any particular form. Nor did any of the parties into which its advocates were separated by the Reformation, introduce the subject into their doctrinal canons; and although the more democratical church government of the Lutherans, and especially of the stricter sects, appeared to be favourable to republicanism, this had no necessary connexion with the affairs of the state, nor could have, except under temporary circumstances.

Experience has, in fact, abundantly shown, that the most absolute monarchy, as well as the freest republic, are alike compatible either with Catholicism or Protestantism. The more unphilosophical, therefore, must that policy appear which required that one or other of these should form the basis of government, and thus breathed a spirit of intolerance into the nations of Europe, for which they have been obliged, even in our days, dearly to atone. Although heretics were no longer brought to the stake, was it not sufficiently degrading to be reduced into an inferior caste by the mere tenure of a few opinions? Was it not in the eye of reason more than strange that a man might or might not hold the lowest constable's office, in this place or that, according as he believed, or disbelieved, the doctrine of transubstantiation? An impartial observer, however, will attach less blame to those who established such institutions, than to those who allowed them to continue without any necessity. It is easy to perceive, that at the time of their origin they were the result of unavoidable circumstances. As soon and as long as religious parties combine a political character with their other and more peculiar one, it is under this character that the state must contemplate them; and the exclusion of religious Dissenters, if not from the state altogether, at least from all active share in its administration, may be a requisite security. But what was absolutely necessary at one time does not continue so for ever; and we might

therefore expect that the severity of these laws should have been gradually diminished, even though there might have been some hesitation in doing them away at once and altogether.

And yet it needed a new revolution to induce the adoption of these views by several of the first nations of Europe, and among them, by our own. And can any one acquainted with the progress of events expect that even now this example will be followed by all; even the *new* constitution of Spain strictly forbids the exercise of every form of worship except the Catholic. There certainly exists no truth more simple, than, that every one is justly entitled to adore his God after his own manner; and, that the state requires a religion, but not that it should be established as that of the state.[1] The simplest truths, however, are those of which men are in general least easily convinced, because they are usually opposed to prejudices, and still more because they clash with interests. But obstinately to refuse conviction even after they have become the prevalent ideas of the day, can be termed nothing else than to begin a contest with the spirit of the age, the issue of which will in all probability be fatal.

A *second* and not less general political consequence of the Reformation was, *The extension and increase of the power of the princes of Europe.*

We include this among the most general consequences, because it displayed itself not only in those countries which adopted, but also in those which rejected, the Protestant doctrines.

In the former this increase of power was derived from several sources. In the first place, the revenues of the princes were undoubtedly augmented by the confiscation of church property. But, with the exception of Sweden, this augmentation could hardly exercise any considerable influence upon the great states of Europe. This was partly owing to the character of the princes themselves; and partly to the absence of all those general ideas on political economy by

[1] It is here that the real question arises—If the state requires a religion, can this be better secured than by an established church? Professor Heeren seems to think that it can, but he has here treated the subject too vaguely to admit of our judging upon what grounds his opinion is formed. Tr.

which it might have been turned to advantage. Henry VIII., who was the chief gainer, dissipated his large revenues without aim or method. In Denmark the kings were obliged to resign the better portion to their nobility; and the majority of the German princes were noble-minded enough to apply the forfeited property of the Church to the foundation of useful establishments, especially of those for public education.

The fall of the hierarchy, however, was of itself sufficient to make way for an increase of power in the princes. From this time forth no exemptions could be claimed, no papal or episcopal jurisdiction exercised within their dominions, unless by their permission. Foreign interference, which had been so especially formidable to the weaker princes, now ceased altogether, and they were left sole masters over their own people. But the chief cause of their increase of power lay still deeper, and was common alike to the Catholic and the Protestant princes. The increased activity which the religious and political interests of the Reformation had called forth, necessarily tended to enlarge their sphere of action, even though there was no express provision to that effect introduced into the constitution. The influence of the Reformation in this respect upon the German princes, and upon the empire, has been noticed above. No previous sovereign of England had possessed such absolute power as Elizabeth; we have seen that the autocracy of the French monarchs was grounded upon the fall of the Hugonots; while the national freedom of Spain may be fairly said to have owed its ruin to the continual wars in which its kings were engaged, as defenders of the ancient faith, and to the *royal* Inquisition which they established.

In this way the Reformation created a new order of things in Europe. Its princes, by becoming masters of their own dominions, through the cessation of the feuds in which they had previously been engaged, found themselves in a situation to extend their views to other countries, and upon this foundation the subsequent structure of European politics was raised.

A *third* change, of great importance to the condition of civil society, was brought about, in the Protestant states at least, by the *altered position of the clergy.* It is true, that

even in these countries they had by no means wholly lost their political influence. The Reformation being in its fundamental character a *doctrinal* revolution, and the first question, in the half political, half theological, disputes to which it gave rise, being as to the admission or rejection of particular articles of belief, the divines became indispensable to the princes, and were frequently adopted as their counsellors, and even ministers, although with no direct title as such. It requires but a slight acquaintance with the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to be aware of the pernicious consequences which resulted, in many instances, from the blind enthusiasm of these zealots, who were too frequently wont to consult their passions in the counsels which they gave. Still, however, an impartial judge will not deny that, on the whole, the clergy were brought nearer to their proper character of teachers of the people, by the Reformation; and even in Catholic states it can hardly now be doubted, that by the expulsion of the spiritual orders, especially of that of the mendicant-friars, a very considerable evil was removed.

It is true that another order took the place of these immediately on their destruction, which, like the growth of the ivy upon the oak, gradually wound itself round almost every branch of the European system, and was even powerful enough to bend many of them to its purpose; the society of the *Jesuits*, however, although it might not have arisen had the Reformation not taken place, yet owed its first progress to the missions in which it was concerned. Any attempt to point out the advantage which it afterwards derived from these, would be as vain as the expectation of those who believe that with the restoration of the order its former influence would be restored. The great law of the material world—that "bodies once moved do not return to the same place under the same conditions"—is equally binding upon the political. But, besides these, there were other effects of the Reformation upon society, which although more distant were also far more important; their visible connexion with religion being, however, slight, it must be judged of only by the results.

As it was the Reformation which first breathed a spirit of activity into men's minds, it was natural that this should

be directed to subjects in immediate connexion with it, and religion thus became the favourite topic of debate. But as with activity a feeling of independence and a fondness for inquiry were also produced, the powers which had been called into existence were soon engaged upon other pursuits; the horizon had been expanded in every direction; and amidst the freedom of opinion thus created, whatever bore upon civil society, its constitution, and perfection, became the subject of universal attention. In this, Protestantism was undeniably far advanced beyond Catholicism.

The great question, as to the relations in which the government and the people should stand to each other, received its first practical answer in the Protestant countries of Europe; and amidst all the modifications which the forms of their constitutions assumed, it was in them for the first time plainly perceived that the interests of the rulers and the subjects are one and the same. Up to the Reformation these had been formally distinct in all the great states of Europe; the people appeared to exist only that they might furnish taxes; the government, that it might indulge its caprices; even the internal policy of Lewis XII., although justly appreciated, was directed rather by his heart than his head, and remained in those times without imitators. But the Reformation, by restoring the freedom of men's minds, imparted to them a loftier character; and laid the foundations of that nobler political freedom, which may be as perfectly coexistent with the most absolute monarchy as with a republic; because it depends not upon the form of the constitution, but upon the spirit of the government and of the nation. The rejection of the maxim, that the people were to be considered merely as instruments, and the open acknowledgment on the part of the chief Protestant princes, that they enjoyed their dignity solely for the advantage of the people, gave rise to that more perfect system of political economy, by which, as a general feature, the majority of the Protestant states have been distinguished above the Catholic.

However absurd it would be to attempt to point out in the Protestant religion, the causes of the erection of such governments as those of Great Britian and of Prussia, it is equally certain that, without Protestantism, such constitutions and such modes of administration could never have been

formed. To it, in fact, belongs the first vigorous exertions of which the human intellect became capable, when it had shaken off the fetters which had so long crippled and restrained it. It is true, that these examples were not lost upon several of the Catholic states; but we may fairly say, that, when they discovered the need they had of such institutions, they resorted to their Protestant neighbours as possessing the models which they should imitate. Did not the immortal Colbert form his views upon the policy which he saw pursued in the Netherlands? Did not Joseph II. aim at rivalling the example set before him by Frederic the Great? Was not the progress of civil society among the small states of Protestant Germany far beyond that of Catholic Italy? Was there, before the time of Leopold II.,—who, by his institutions in Tuscany, opened a path which the character of the nation has prevented it from pursuing,—was there, I say, a single state in Italy of which it could be said, that its mode of government had become sensibly improved? It is in vain to seek an explanation of these phenomena in chance, or in the character of the princes. The means of acquiring knowledge and experience were too ample, the succession of princes too long, to allow of such solutions of the problem.

It was Protestantism which, although slowly, yet surely, shed these blessings over the human race. And if Great Britian has prevented the love of constitutional liberty from becoming wholly extinct; and, by its victory over the adverse elements of society, has become the model upon which, with certain varieties, the states of the continent are at this moment forming their governments, has not all this been produced by the same cause? Would Spain, even that Spain which most rigidly excludes Protestantism, ever have received her new constitution without it? And would not this very constitution have been, in all human probability, more usefully and excellently framed, had the light of Protestantism shone down undimmed upon her people?

II. *Effects of the Reformation upon the mutual relations of the states of Europe.*

All other changes which the Reformation may have produced in the social condition of the nations of Europe, have reference to the extension of their ideas, and are, therefore,

beyond the limits of this treatise. We proceed, then, to the examination of our second question: viz. In what manner did it acquire an influence upon the mutual relations of the states of Europe; or, in other words, upon the system of a political balance of power?

As this influence, however, was not always of the same importance, nor of the same kind, it is requisite to a clear view of the subject, that we should divide it into several periods. And we shall hereafter see, that, in almost every case, the middle and the end of the century afford data for our division; not merely in point of time, but according to distinctions in the subject itself. We shall thus have *five* periods, of which the first will embrace the times of Charles V. and Francis I., or the first half of the sixteenth century; the second, those of Philip II. and Elizabeth, or the latter half of the same century;—the third, those of Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus, being that of the thirty years' war, or the first half of the seventeenth;—the fourth, those of Lewis XIV. and William III., or the second half of that century;—while the last, in which there is no need of accurate division, will take in the eighteenth century generally.

FIRST PERIOD, 1517—1556.

After the commencement of the sixteenth century, the states of Europe, by interweaving their interests, and by the alliances and counter-alliances which were thus caused, formed a *political system* in a much higher sense of the word than had been the case during the middle ages. The increase of civilization, by creating so many new sources of excitement, necessarily causes a greater complication of relations among the states which it affects, and is of itself sufficient to produce that character of unity, which gives an interest to the history of modern Europe. In an aggregate of states, too, such as the European, the *principle of a balance of power* became the more speedily developed, on account of the great differences of strength which existed amongst them. It was the immediate interest of all to prevent any single state from acquiring such a pre-eminence as would enable it to prescribe laws to the rest; and in such a case, the more unequal the power of the individual members, the more frequent are the alliances; and, consequently,

the more complicated and firmer the mutual connexion of the states. In a system of this kind, the most powerful is taught, that the oppression or annihilation of a weaker state, but one which it finds a useful ally, is far from being a matter of indifference; and thus states of the second, or even of the third order, become elevated to a degree of political importance which they could not otherwise attain; and which is the security upon which their very existence depends. Mere selfishness must thus yield to policy; and since the most gifted men of our own times have recognised the necessity of restoring, as far as possible, the shattered edifice which the storms of the revolution shook to the earth, the author who treats of it can hardly venture to doubt that it is the only one worthy of an enlightened age.

The Reformation, for a considerable time, exercised the principal influence upon the workings of this system, although it cannot be said to have been the original cause of its existence. The idea of a balance of power was spread over Europe, with other political notions, by the Italians, among whose states—perfectly independent as they were up to the end of the fifteenth century—it had been planted, watched over, and brought to maturity, and then again suffered to decay and become useless; but the almost incredible vacillation, which the general policy of the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century shows to have prevailed, is an evidence that the science was as yet without sure foundations, and that the main principles of the practical politics of Europe were still undermined. The history of no other era presents such a web of projects and counter-projects, of alliances and counter-alliances; but it is not improbable that this very abundance was a token that the want of more secure principles was felt, while these were the only remedies which could be applied; and thus the political system of that day may be likened to an unwieldy mass, whose centre of gravity has not yet been ascertained. The sudden rise of the house of Hapsburg, by the union of the imperial throne and the most important Austrian possessions with the Spanish monarchy, put an end to this vacillation. The character which France was destined to support in the general scheme of European politics, was now at once determined; the rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V. laid the

foundation-stone of the system of the balance of power; while the policy of Henry VIII., whose vanity was busied with the idea that he should be able to decide the strife between the rivals, and the much more permanently important alliance made by Francis I., as early as 1530, with the Porte, gave it an extent which embraced Europe from one end to the other. Thus the emulation of the two chief powers of the continent lent the first impulse to general politics, and has continued to influence them, although with occasional interruptions of its force.

Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Reformation cannot be said to have interfered materially in determining the relative position of these great powers, or in advancing the political system of which we speak. The ineffectual efforts of Francis I. to draw the members of the league of Smalcald over to his interest, hardly deserve to be noticed. But still, as even during that period the Reformation, in a certain degree, founded two new powers—Sweden and Prussia—which were destined afterwards to rank among the most important members of the European body of states, it thus prepared the way for a future development of the system. The new life which it breathed into the German empire was of much more immediate importance: for as the Protestant princes were obliged to unite in opposition to the emperor and his supporters, a political balance was established, which, as we have before said, remained for a long time the principle of life upon which that body depended, while it exercised a most decisive influence upon the political system of Europe in general. Statesmen of enlightened views soon came to the conclusion, that the disturbance of the balance of power in Germany, by the suppression of the Protestant party, would afford the house of Austria an opportunity of acquiring the supremacy in that country, and thus entail the disturbance of the political balance of Europe itself; this is amply proved by the share taken by Sweden and France in the thirty years' war, and, at a still earlier period, by the alliance between Henry II. and Maurice of Saxony.

The reason why the Reformation did not, and could not, acquire any immediate influence over the politics of Europe was evidently this, that neither of the great powers before

mentioned espoused its cause. Had Francis I. allowed it a free entrance into France, had the Protestant doctrines become prevalent in that kingdom, then the limits of the religious differences throughout Europe would have decided those of the political. But as this was not the case, the rivalry between France and the house of Hapsburg afforded the Reformation no opportunity of acquiring influence from the struggle. In order to make it the mainspring of European politics other circumstances were necessary; and these the latter half of the sixteenth century produced. These may be easily seen in the *Revolution of the Netherlands*, and the *Introduction of a new Rule of Faith into England*. Both of these, however, as well in point of time as of their reaction upon the rest of Europe, are so closely connected that they do not admit of a separate consideration.

SECOND PERIOD, 1556—1603.

No other event of this period acquired so rapid, so great, and at the same time so durable, an influence upon the general politics of Europe, as the Revolution of the United Netherlands.

Its origin may be reckoned among the consequences of the Reformation.

The limited abilities of Philip II. would not allow of his raising himself above the prejudices of his education and his age; his pride and tyranny would not be satisfied with the use of any but violent means; while his unwearied activity served only to fan the flame which it sought to extinguish.

Thus he was himself the founder of the new republic, and here, as elsewhere, freedom was the child of despotism.

From the very first this revolution acquired, not merely a political tendency, but one which was directed towards the general politics of Europe. The insurgents had to sustain a contest with one of the first powers of Europe; and although an impartial historian cannot deny them the credit of having made good their own cause by their own strength, yet they were themselves very far from being convinced of the possibility of so doing, and believed themselves obliged to look around for assistance from without. By their dealings with France and England—and in neither case were these dealings without results, (though more effectual in the latter than in the former)—the interests of the scarce-formed republic became interwoven with those of the chief powers of Europe; and born, like Minerva, with arms in its hand, like Minerva, too, it at once took its seat in the council of the gods.

By the intervention of foreign powers in the Netherlands, a new political system was formed in the west of Europe. Had not France been occupied by its religious wars at home, which made it impossible for her kings, of themselves too weak, to take an effectual share in the disputes of other states, she would have found no difficulty in uniting the new republic with herself by secure ties; as this, however, was not done, Elizabeth reaped the advantage of the situation in which her neighbours were placed.

As she had herself restored the Protestant religion in England, and had founded her power upon its maintenance, her interests accorded with those of the Netherlands on this important point; and an alliance between the two states might, under these circumstances, be naturally expected. But however much we may admire the prudence and moderation which Elizabeth displayed in this most brilliant portion of her reign, it was yet impossible for her fully to determine the ultimate consequences of her acts. As the most powerful of the Protestant princes of Europe, she was universally considered the champion of that religion; while Philip II. was, on the other hand, acknowledged as the defender of the Catholic faith. Thus religion and politics became more closely united, and the doctrine, that Catholicism was a support of absolute power, while Protestantism favoured the freedom of the people, although but partially true and not formally acknowledged, became gradually developed, and was adopted as the favourite maxim of more than one cabinet; nay, finally, cost the Stuarts their throne. The former of the two propositions it would be difficult to prove, while the latter is true only inasmuch as a Protestant party under a Catholic government might, by oppression, be rendered rebellious, and thus become dangerous to it.

Thus, in the last half of the sixteenth century, the political system of Europe assumed a different form from that which distinguished it in the first. France and Austria were then the chief states of Europe, and the balance of power

depended upon their emulation; but as France was now occupied with its own internal dissensions, and Austria, its strength much diminished by the separation from Spain, was kept inactive by the incapacity of Rudolf II., Spain and England stepped forward in their stead. In the rivalry between the two former powers, religion had little to do; in that of the latter, religion and politics were inseparably united. In the one case, every thing depended upon the forces by land; in the other, the navy was of great importance, the army of hardly any: while from the defeat of the invincible armada, Europe dates the use of the term "Naval Powers," which, till then, the science of politics either did not admit at all, or understood but partially.

Such were the elements of the new system of which the republic of the Netherlands became every year a more distinguished constituent. It soon attained to a separation from Spain, though such an act was far from its original design; and quickly reached a degree of importance which rendered the assistance of any foreign power superfluous. But the path of fame upon which it entered was new to the ambition of Europe, whose nations gazed in wonder upon the goal to which it led. Even while its existence as a state was yet uncertain, this upstart power grasped the whole commerce of the world as its portion, and thus supplied itself with resources for a struggle which was longer and more desperate than that of Greece with Persia.

Thus, in the midst of the monarchies of Europe, arose a republic which first presented this quarter of the globe with the example of a commercial state supported by naval power; and if, as we have shown, its rise may be attributed to the Reformation, to the Reformation also belongs the principle of life which commerce served to breathe into politics, after the direct influence of religion had expired.

THIRD PERIOD, 1603—1648.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the system of a balance of power in Europe was both altered and extended; the influence of the Reformation, however, far from being diminished during that period, showed itself in its greatest force. The death of Philip II., (1598,) and of Elizabeth, (1603,) put an end to the rivalry of Spain and England,

which had, in fact, been mainly founded upon the personal dislike which these crowned heads entertained towards each other; and England, falling into the indolent hands of James I., was soon in a situation which precluded any effectual participation in the affairs of other countries; while amidst the troubles which attended the reign of his unfortunate son, it was totally shut out from them.

On the other hand, France had recovered her internal security since the accession of the Bourbons; and the judicious government of Henry IV. and Sully, had in a wonderfully short time healed up the wounds inflicted by the civil war. France then resumed her proper station in the political system of Europe; her old jealousy of the Spanish-Austrian house revived of itself; but in the schemes of Henry IV. it was considered only as the means to an end, only as the foundation of a new system by which Europe was to be remodelled.

It is needless to dwell upon the celebrated project of a European republic; the prosecution of which would either have wholly spared this quarter of the world a war of thirty years, or, which is more probable, have accelerated its commencement. With the death of its author (1610) not only did this scheme pass away, but instead of rivalry with Spain a friendly connexion was established; and France, falling a prey to the petty factions of the court, sank back into a state of weakness and vacillation, which ended only when Richelieu (1624) laid his firm grasp upon the helm of state.

But though the murder of Henry IV. prevented France from taking the first part in the great tragedy of which Europe was to be the stage, it yet delayed, although it could not wholly avert, the tragedy itself. The scene of it was already chosen, and as Germany during the *thirty years' war* obtained this melancholy preference, its fate became connected with the destinies of Europe.

The general point of view from which the origin of this war must be considered, has been given above. After the religious peace of Augsburg—a peace *far too easily* obtained—the maintenance of a balance between the two parties had become the constant object of German politics. But, if we throw a glance over the internal affairs of the empire, from the date of that peace till the commencement of

the great war, (1556—1618,) we shall see, at once, how feebly order was maintained. Among the articles of the peace itself, the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*,[1] which the Protestants did not acknowledge, had laid a train to light up future wars. But, besides this, there were ample opportunities for mutual complaint; the old party could, with difficulty, bring itself to consider the new as possessed of equal rights with its own; and, without tracing the proofs of it historically, we may feel morally convinced that the Protestants were usually wrong. Hence religious grievances formed a standing article of discussion in the diets of the time; and, had not the Turkish war occasionally compelled a temporary union, and directed public attention to other matters, peace could hardly have been so long maintained. The personal qualities of Ferdinand I., and still more of his worthy successor, Maximilian II., were of great effect in preserving quiet for a time; but under the protracted and sluggish reign of Rudolph II., the materials of discontent accumulated so rapidly that the two parties stood, even then, in arms against each other. In 1608 the *Protestant union* was formed, which caused, in turn, the organization of the *Catholic league*.

In the mean time, however, the Protestant party was so unfortunate as to be divided against itself. The religious separation of the Lutherans from the Calvinists had had its political influence in Germany as elsewhere; and the jealousy, which existed between the electoral houses of Saxony and the Palatinate, especially after the latter had put itself at the head of the union, estranged the former from the common cause. If any balance of power, therefore, had before existed between the two parties, it was now at an end. But the greatest evil by which the Protestants were oppressed, was the want of a leader of sufficient power and ability to give firmness to their confederation; for without this the first active measures of a party lead to its own dissolution.

After the death of Maurice of Saxony, the Protestants were not fortunate enough to reckon among their princes—

[1] The reservatum ecclesiasticum respected the question, Whether the future freedom of religion should be extended only to the secular orders, or also to the ecclesiastical.—v. Heeren's Manual, p. 47.

certainly not among those who formed the union—a single man who joined the requisite talents with the requisite influence, even in a moderate degree; while the league was admirably provided with a leader in Prince Maximilian of Bavaria.

Thus the elements of disorder were scattered, not only throughout Germany, but in other countries, and especially in the chief of those which constituted the Austrian monarchy; and when Ferdinand II. was named as successor to the throne, (1617,) it became evident from his known impatience of temper, that the crisis would be immediately brought on. No one could determine, however, where the first blow would be struck;—as it chanced, this was in Bohemia—but the war would probably have been the same in all material points had it occurred elsewhere. The fire of dissension now spread with fearful rapidity, and wrapped half Europe in its flames, which, after raging thirty years, were only partially got under; their total extinction being delayed till eleven years later (1659).

Although any thing like detail relative to this war is wholly beyond our present limits, we must yet trace out the chief epochs in it, that we may thus show the extensive changes in the political system of Europe, of which, by means of it, the Reformation became the cause.

We are by no means to imagine that the thirty years' war was, from beginning to end, conducted upon one plan, or even directed to one object. No one, in fact, could at its commencement have anticipated either its duration or extent. The saying of Cato the elder, that, "war feeds itself," proved here, as elsewhere, unfortunately, too true. From time to time, and just as the flames appeared on the point of being extinguished, some new interest would be called into action and revive them with fresh fuel. Nevertheless, amidst all changes of affairs, and intermixture of political interests, religion formed the groundwork of the whole; and the thirty years' war must, therefore, in a general view, be considered as an effect of the Reformation.

In its origin, it was merely a civil war, confined to the Austrian monarchy, and having for its object the subjection of the Bohemian insurgents. This object was fully attained by the battle of Prague; the war therefore might have ap-

peared to be at an end. But the ease with which success had been obtained, led to new projects.

The conquered party in Bohemia was in connexion with the Protestants of the empire, and had chosen a king in the person of the unfortunate Frederic of the Palatinate, who was chief of the Protestant union. This prince, deprived of his hereditary possessions, and under the ban of the empire, was now wandering as an exile, attended by two adventurers, and a handful of troops. His territory lay open for attack, and seemed to promise a secure booty. Not only his own incapacity, but also that of the other members of the union, had been so clearly proved, that it did not seem to require even another battle such as that of Prague, to annihilate the Protestant party—especially as it had already been weak enough to allow itself to be disarmed without opposition.

It is probable, however, that the latter object may not have entered directly into the views of the emperor at that time; but the more it could be brought forward the greater was his temptation: and the more speedily he was opposed, the more confident became the opinion that the supremacy of Germany was at stake.

But about this time (1621) war broke out again in another country. After a twelve years' truce between Spain and the Netherlands, Philip IV., although but lately come to the throne, began the contest afresh. And this new war almost necessarily fed, as it was in turn fed by, the troubles in Germany.

In this case, as in the other, religion was the cause of difference; while the houses of Spain and Austria, which had long been estranged, had at the accession of Ferdinand II. become again so closely united that the interests of the two were now the same. The war, then, was carried on here and in Germany at the same time: but with its change of object it had acquired a higher degree of importance—the subjection of Bohemia was a matter which touched Austria alone; that of Germany and the Netherlands was a subject of interest to all Europe.

The interference of foreign powers in the German war, was naturally to be expected under these circumstances; and France, above all, must have found in its ancient rivalry with Austria abundant reasons for preventing the superiority, which the conquest of Germany would have given to that power. But then, France, until the ministry of Richelieu, (1624,) was under a divided government, and guided by no steady system of policy; and even he was at first too much occupied with the internal affairs of the kingdom to take an active part. Still, however, he intrigued in the north of Europe: and it was he who animated Gustavus Adolphus to come forth as the avenger of the Protestant cause, after the battle of Lutter (1626) had checked the attempt of Christian IV. of Denmark to interfere in the affairs of Germany.

This first participation of the north of Europe in the interests of the south and west, formed an entirely new feature in the European system, and was as important in its consequences as it was new. Up to this time the northern powers had formed a system of their own, which, partly owing to the Polish and Swedish wars—these being also caused by religious interests, which had become mixed with family feuds—had for forty years been firmly kept together; between it and the rest of Europe, however, there had as yet been no permanent causes of contact.

These the Reformation produced; and *by its means was Europe for the first time framed into one political system.* At a time when it was deeply felt that the maintenance of the balance in Germany was extremely uncertain, the want of a northern power sufficiently formidable to oppose Austria became evident. This part Sweden undertook, and thus arose a new order of things in European politics.

There can be no doubt that Sweden was the state best qualified by its superior organization, and especially by its possession of such valuable lands, as it in those days held, upon the Baltic or gulf of Finland, for the task which it undertook; nor is this less certain because the sequel showed that the extraordinary abilities of its king were of more consequence than its internal resources. The splendid career of Gustavus Adolphus ended early by his death at Lutzen; and yet late enough to secure to Sweden its influence in the affairs of Germany, and at the same time in those of Europe. Even the changes caused by the fortune of war, had little effect upon the position thus gained; especially when even Richelieu, after the defeat at Nordlingen,

(1634,) ceased to be a mere spectator. From this time Sweden ranked among the first powers of Europe, and the famous treaty of Westphalia appeared to secure it in this place, by the important possessions in Germany which were by it assigned to the Swedes.

It has been often questioned whether Gustavus Adolphus, had he lived, would not have been fully as dangerous an enemy to the freedom of Germany as Austria was. The answer to this will be easy, if we suppose—what, in the case of such a prince, we surely may—viz. that he would have obeyed the dictates of sound policy. There was only one character by adhering to which Sweden could maintain itself in the superiority which it had attained—that of the head of the Protestant party in Germany. As head of this party, it had obtained the most decided influence over the affairs of Germany. As such it still stood forth as the state which opposed Austria. As such it was the natural ally of France; and, as such—a consequence of all these advantages—it maintained its rank among the first powers of Europe. If such a supremacy as this—which might doubtless be oppressive to more than one state of the German empire, since every thing depended upon the mode in which it was exercised—if this, I say, is to be termed the annihilation of the freedom of Germany, it *must necessarily* have been included in the scheme of Gustavus Adolphus. But if he aimed at more than this, he himself marred the glorious character he had undertaken, and sought that which he could not long have held. The dominion of the weaker over the stronger, which temporary causes produce, may last for a while, but it is against nature that it should be of long duration. It was impossible that Germany should have been reduced into a province by Sweden.

The peace of Westphalia put an end to both the German war and that in the Netherlands. This peace was prized more than any ever was before, and that often beyond its deserts. It caused, undoubtedly, *three* important results; since, in the first place, it secured the constitution of Germany, and with it the existence and the rights of both parties. In the second, it produced a recognition of the independence of the republic of the United Netherlands. And in the third, it determined the relation in which Sweden

and France should severally stand to Germany. Nevertheless, however important these points may be, and with however much justice we may consider this treaty as the basis of the German constitution, such as it was up to the revolutions of our own day; too much is undoubtedly ascribed to it, when, as often is the case, it is also considered as the origin of the balance of power in Europe. It never occurred to the negotiators of the peace to regulate the general principles of European policy, nor indeed could it, since they had no commission so to do. The most important and intricate relations existing between the chief powers of Europe were, therefore, naturally left unexamined, nay, in part wholly unmentioned. The war between Spain and France lasted full ten years more, down to the Pyrenean peace; the question whether Portugal should maintain its independence of Spain, was still longer doubtful. Not a thought even was bestowed upon the continental relations of England, because in those days such relations were not in existence; while those of the east of Europe remained undetermined in their main features till the peace of Oliva, which was twelve years later (1660). Although, therefore, we find the Westphalian peace treated in historical works as the origin of the balance of power in Europe, this is only one of the many instances which occur, of historians dealing with that as a general principle, which can be truly affirmed only in a narrower sense.

The first half, therefore, of the seventeenth century was the period during which the political influence of the Reformation upon almost every part of the European political system was at its height, especially since England was also involved, at this very time, in civil wars, caused by religious sects, and leading to the establishment of a national church; and the party of the Hugonots was forcibly disarmed in France.

But the springs of action in morals and in politics gradually lose their strength, like those in material mechanism: and this was the case with the Reformation. The proof of it we shall presently find in the history of the second part of the seventeenth century.

FOURTH PERIOD, 1648—1702.

The government of France is entitled to the credit of having been the first to raise itself above the narrow views

to which the bigotry of the other powers confined them. Richelieu, by leaguing himself with Gustavus Adolphus—a cardinal with a Protestant king—was the means of pointing out to Europe that political and religious interests might be separately considered.

The age of Lewis XIV. caused the gradual spread of this opinion. His political schemes had little to do with religion, and the latter interest would at that time have wholly lost its influence upon the political progress of Europe, had not one of its chief states, viz. England, been still powerfully affected by it. The conflict of factions, in whose causes of strife religion mingled with politics, had been too fierce in that country to allow the ferment to be stilled at once, even by the Restoration (1660); and the mad policy of the last Stuarts gave it too good cause for continuance. For whilst the introduction of Catholicism appeared to them to promise that of absolute power, and was on that account their object, the nation, on the other hand, came to the firm conviction that the national freedom depended upon the maintenance of the Protestant faith. The state of constant alliance in which Lewis XIV. stood with both Charles II. and James II., gave this maxim a practical influence over the rest of Europe; and thus Lewis XIV. was forced, wholly against his will, to assist in raising William III., his most zealous opponent, to the throne of England, upon the fall of the Stuarts.

If this occurrence may be considered as a consequence of the Reformation, it must also, to a certain degree, be considered the last by which it exercised a *general* influence upon the politics of Europe. This important change laid the foundation of the antipathy which has since existed between England and France. But, although the Pretender was occasionally used as a bugbear to England, it was fed by means very different from those supplied by religion, whose place was now occupied by commerce. And as the republic of the United Netherlands has ever since attached itself to England, the naval powers formed, in the scales of Europe, the principal counter-balance to the great influence of France.

Even in the German empire, where the influence of religion upon politics might have been chiefly expected to

remain in force, it now died away; and a very different result was in preparation, from what the most prescient soothsayer could have foretold at the time of the Westphalian peace. The schemes of conquest nourished by Lewis XIV., and the renewed aggression of the Turks, (who, fortunately, had been engaged against the Persians in Asia during the thirty years' war,) put Germany in such a position as to oblige the two religious parties to lay aside their quarrel, although they retained their hatred to each other. Thus the pressure of circumstances caused alliances in which religion had no share; and some of the most powerful Protestant princes might be seen uniting their arms with those of the emperor, in order to oppose themselves, at one time, in the west, at another, in the east, to the enemy who pressed in upon them. The just apprehensions which had been caused by the superiority of Sweden, began to fade away of themselves, after the battle of Fehrbellin (1675). The profusion of Christina, and the wild projects of her successors, had exhausted the kingdom; and although the wonderful abilities and extraordinary undertakings of Charles XII. enabled him, for a season, to raise the spirit of the nation even above its natural pitch, and to fit it for unheard-of exertions, yet, even at that time, it was sufficiently evident that a country so little favoured by nature, must needs be left behind amidst the growing prosperity of the rest of Europe. But though Sweden was thus on the decline, there was another state in the north of Germany which was destined to supply, ay, and more than supply, its place in the politics of Europe.

It has been pointed out above in what degree the *Prussian monarchy* owed its origin to the Reformation; but, though this power may in a certain sense be said to have succeeded to the influence of Sweden, yet there was a marked difference in the mode in which this influence was exercised upon the political system of Europe. While the latter kingdom, owing to its unfavourable geographical position, and the scantiness of its resources, could not possess any great influence over that system, except under a confluence of fortunate circumstances, the influence of Prussia, as soon as the kingdom attained a certain degree of strength, necessarily became far more firm and lasting.

Up to this time, there had been wanting in the machinery of Europe, a state which might keep the North and South securely together. This was supplied by Sweden for a time, but owing to the causes above remarked, it could not long maintain such a position. Prussia, since its accession to the first rank of European powers, has been enabled, by its situation as a country, extending alike to the east and the west, to supply this want. And the spread of its dominions in both those quarters makes it probable that it will continue to do so.

FIFTH PERIOD, 1800.

The causes, owing to which the Reformation had begun, even in the last century, to lose its political influence, are evident from what we have already said; and the same causes, joined to others still more powerful, operated in a still stronger degree during the period which we are now to consider. As we are taught, generally, by the nature of things, that springs of moral action retain their vigour for a certain time, and then begin to relax, so we learn from history that, once lost, such energies can never be restored. They operate by means of the immediate relation in which they stand to the prevalent opinions of the day; and as these, according to the laws of our nature, are subject to constant although gradual changes, the energies dependent upon them must be so likewise.

The age of Lewis XIV., especially the first half of it, down to the peace of Nimeguen, had so much to attract the eye, that amidst the crowd of new and important occurrences, which presented itself to the attention and the admiration of the French, the views of that nation could not but be greatly extended. And although the estimation in which matters of religion were held cannot, on the whole, be said to have decreased, yet, as art and literature became more flourishing, their productions divided public attention.

What occurred in France, occurred gradually in the rest of civilized Europe; and it became every day better understood that there were other objects, besides those of religious controversy, upon which men's minds might be engaged. We must be careful, however, not to push this assertion too far. The spirit of intolerance had, owing to the causes above explained, become too deeply impressed upon the

minds of the European nations; and, for a long time to come, not only maintained its influence upon private life, but showed itself without disguise in the administration of their internal affairs. The revocation of the edict of Nantes (by which Lewis XIV., in spreading the industry and skill of French artisans over the rest of Europe, unintentionally repaid it, in some degree, for the evils which his wars had caused) gave proof of what we say, in France; while by the famous clause which was added to the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, Lewis XIV. also provided a new cause of dissension between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany, the operation of which was for a long time perceptible. But, powerful as might still be the influence of this destructive spirit, in the manner which we have now described, it as undoubtedly ceased to interfere with the mutual relations of the different states, and the higher system of politics upon which these depend. It was from the higher regions that the clouds of prejudice first disappeared, but a long interval elapsed before the sun of knowledge was strong enough to drive them out from those beneath. In the mean time it was chiefly from individual circumstances, as they arose, that politics received their direction.

While the enterprises of Lewis XIV., and the wealth amassed by the successful trade and manufactures of the Dutch, had, during the last period, assigned different spheres to religion and to politics, the *vacant succession to the throne of Spain* gave rise, at the close of the century, to a new source of interest; and one so great and important, that the whole of Western Europe was occupied by it for nearly fifteen years. During the same, and even a longer period, a war of equal fury was carried on in the East, by which that quarter of Europe was subjected to a complete revolution of affairs. A power of the first rank was forming itself here, which could have nothing to do with either the Catholic or the Protestant interest, since it belonged to neither of the two parties—and the glorious career of Eugene and Marlborough, of Charles and Peter, presented a scene so different from any that Europe had hitherto beheld—the duration of it was so long, and the impression which remained from it so deep, that it was impossible to return to the opinions by which politics had previously been governed. The position

of almost all the powers of Europe was thereby wholly altered; and this change, joined to the mediocrity of talent displayed by most of the regents and ministers who immediately succeeded, caused an uncertainty in general politics which, from 1720 to 1740, was not unlike that which characterized the first sixteen years of the sixteenth century. There was the same abundance, and the same change of alliances and counter-alliances—France united itself with England, and Austria made the recognition of the Pragmatic sanction the chief object of her policy! But in all this religion had no share; the hereditary enmity of France and England seemed to be lost in their alliance; and a trading company to the East Indies was considered of far higher importance than any theological dispute. To put an end to these continual changes in the politics of Europe there was wanted the genius of some great man, who should possess sufficient independence to act for himself, and sufficient strength to make his plans effective. This want was supplied by Frederic II. The treaty of Breslau (1742) laid the foundation of a new system for the maintenance of the balance of political power in Europe, of which Prussia and Austria were the chief members, while France, by siding first with the one and then with the other, degraded herself to the rank of a second-rate power.

The difference in religion between the two monarchies had, however, no influence in this; even in the German empire, where the irritation of the two parties was most likely to continue, it gradually disappeared; and every thing went to prove that religion had lost its power as a spring of action in politics, and could be misapplied for the purposes of faction at utmost only in a nation which, like that of the Poles, had taken no real share in the beneficial progress of political knowledge.

It thus became possible that Europe should be shaken by a new and mighty revolution, in which religion had no further share than that the necessity of its existence in the different states became the more evident, the greater the efforts which were made to destroy it. And finally, that very country, among the foremost of whose ancient constitutional principles was that of the greatest possible maintenance of religious equality among its classes, when it was lately engaged in changing its form of government, seems to have thought that an incidental notice at the close of the discussion was sufficient for matters the consideration of which would formerly have been its first care; nay, it is possible that they might not have been alluded to at all, had they not been connected with other questions which still retained their importance.

III. *Effects of the Reformation upon Commerce and the Colonial System.*

The third point of view in which we have to consider the political effects of the Reformation, is that which regards the influence exercised by it upon trade and the colonies. Perhaps, at first sight, this influence may appear so distant, as hardly to be considered within the circle of our inquiry; but we shall easily succeed in showing how imperfect it would be should we pay no attention to this subject.

The Reformation created the republic of the United Netherlands, and, *through it*, the trade of Europe with the whole world. But, however clear this truth is, it may perhaps be objected to it, that commerce would have spread without the assistance of the Reformation, since the passage to both Indies had been previously discovered, and both Spain and Portugal had already set the example. But, putting aside the fact, that what *might perhaps* have happened cannot enter into our estimate, thus much still appears certain, viz. that without the Reformation trade would have made much slower progress, and might perhaps never have been brought to that height which it has really attained. It needed that bold and enterprising nation which sprang from the necessity of the circumstances in which it was placed, and which, regarding commerce only as the source of its freedom and its existence, devoted itself to the pursuit with all the energy which it could command.

After the year 1595 the Dutch speedily, and in all quarters, surpassed those who till now had governed the Indies. The prosperity of Portugal was already checked by its unfortunate union with Spain (1580—1640); and the narrow policy upon which the colonial trade of Spain itself was conducted, rendered it impossible that any general system of commerce should spring from it. On the other hand, how rapid was the progress of this trade in the hands of the

Dutch; and how much more rapid even might it have been had it been freed at the right moment from the fetters of monopoly! May not this, however, which must be allowed as regards the Dutch, be also fairly alleged, although in a less degree, of the English? Was it not during the reign of Elizabeth that the Drakes and Howards of England unfurled her flag upon the most distant seas? Was it not the spirit of Protestantism which gave them the victory over the invincible armada, and thus enabled them to lay the foundations of that dominion of the seas, and that system of universal commerce, to which no previous ages ever offered a parallel? Finally, was it not this spirit which animated the free maritime towns of Germany, and raised them to an eminence, which even in the times of general revolution secured to them the respect of the first powers of Europe? We may reason, therefore, as we choose upon the progress which commerce would have made *without* the Reformation, but this much must always be admitted, viz. that to the Reformation it owes the *speed* of its growth, and the *form* which it subsequently assumed.

The *Colonies* are so closely connected with commerce—having been founded with a view to its convenience—that they appear hardly to require any separate mention. If we have shown that without the Reformation there would have been no Dutch East India trade, there would without it have been no colony at the Cape or at Batavia. I am the more willing, however, to leave all further prosecution of this inquiry to the writers of commercial history, because it might easily lead me to the consideration of questions foreign to my present purpose, and even expose me to the imputation of wishing to attribute to the Reformation consequences too remote to be traced. Nevertheless, the Reformation had so immediate an influence, in another way, and in another quarter of the globe, upon the origin and progress of a colonial state, now flourishing and mighty, and which appears destined in future centuries to guide the commerce of the world, that I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence. Who were those exiles who set themselves down upon the coasts of a new world, in the forests of North America, because in that older land from which they came they were not suffered to worship their God after *their own* fashion?

Were they not, to the amount perhaps of four-fifths of their number, men banished across the ocean by the disturbances caused by the Reformation in England? It is true that these plantations were founded during the reign of Elizabeth, but it is a notorious fact in history that the stormy period of the Stuarts was also the period of their first prosperity.

But with their religious freedom the colonists brought also the seeds of their political independence, which, once planted in the soil of America, must have sprung up, and sooner or later borne fruit—and this, perhaps, even without such advantages as were thus afforded it. It is of the nature of colonies—and in this consists their immense importance to mankind—to set in motion a new mass of political ideas. In a new country, beyond the sea, all cannot be as it was in the old. In the case of America, therefore, even had its connexion with the mother country been more close than it was, the ultimate result would probably have been the same—we know, however, that its dependence upon England did not long continue firm; we know that each of the provinces had already formed its internal constitution upon principles so purely republican, that when they threw off their common allegiance, they possessed the inestimable advantage of having no further revolution to undergo, and scarce any, except the central government, to form.

Thus the political consequences of the Reformation spread themselves even beyond the ocean: and thus it is an undoubted truth, that without the Reformation there would have been no free states of North America! Reader, look beyond the Atlantic, to that new world where Europe is represented in its young and vigorous offspring! then look back to Luther and Tetzel—and then attempt, if thou darest, to foretell the effect of revolutions!

A SKETCH OF

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION AS IT AFFECTED PHILOSOPHY.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE JUBILEE OF THE REFORMATION.

[The following lecture was delivered in Latin by the author, when acting as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy,

at the Jubilee of the Reformation, on the second of November, 1817. At the desire of his friends, however, it was translated by himself and published in the "Reformations Almanac" of 1819. The place and occasion of its delivery prevented a fuller development of the subject; it is, therefore, given only as a supplement to the above treatise.]

If it should appear strange or incongruous to any present, that the Faculty of Philosophy should not only claim a solemn interest in the celebration of this day—a day consecrated to the recollection of that reformation of our faith which was begun three hundred years ago—but should further demonstrate it by a public act; they will cease from their astonishment when they more fully consider the many and great benefits which are owed to it, not only by theology, but by all those sciences which tend to develope the faculties of mankind. For the principle which we are accustomed to admit as true, in all great revolutions, whether of our own or of earlier times, viz. "that their progress and operations have proved much more extensive than the originators of them proposed, and that they could by no means be confined within the limits which these prescribed to them," —this principle may with equal certainty be applied to the Reformation.—It is true, indeed, that, even with regard to single events, it is often difficult for the historian to ascertain the causes from which they proceed: but now, after the lapse of three centuries, our position has become such, that we may, with confidence, give judgment upon those general consequences which have resulted from so great a change. These, however, have been so well explained by several distinguished writers that it would be thought superfluous to trace them out anew; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a slight consideration of that part of its influence which was exercised upon philosophy.

It cannot be supposed that it would enter into the plan of the Reformers—men occupied more with things appertaining to God than to man—to found new systems of philosophy. Still, however, they perceived that philosophy stood in no less need than theology of being purified from the subtleties of the schoolmen; and the man most impressed with this, was one whose memory is immortal, and whom we

justly place next after Luther—Melancthon. "I desire," says he in his discourses, "a sound philosophy; not those empty words to which nothing real corresponds. For only one system of philosophy can be allowed, and that must be the least sophistic, and must pursue the true method." These are, in truth, golden words of thine, Melancthon, and of which one might well say, that they had been written for our times! But the papal authority once shattered and broken, the tie once dissolved which had bound philosophy so closely to the doctrines of the church—how could it be otherwise than that its progress, like that of religion, should be more free and unconstrained? To endeavour fully to trace this out would require too much digression and be alien to this place and occasion; but we may be allowed to point out that which the annals of philosophy most clearly show, viz. that it has shed a new light upon those countries alone, in which religion was cleared of its errors by the Reformers. Among the Spaniards, and in other nations to whom these were denied all access, the doctors of the schools still reign triumphant; and we in vain look among them for a Leibnitz, a Hume, a Locke, or Kant, and others, who like these opened out the fountains of a purer philosophy. Can this be a mere accident? Or must we not rather admit that it resulted from the nature of the Reformation? Lest, however, any one should still doubt, we will endeavour in a few words to show more plainly the advantages which philosophy owes to the Reformation.

We may fairly begin by laying it down that the Reformers caused it to be thought allowable to speculate freely as to *God, and what appertains to Him.* We are willing to admit that questions touching the Divine nature and substance (as the phrase ran) were frequently proposed by the schoolmen, and answered in a variety of ways; but whoever reads their works must allow, that they sought much more frequently to exercise their ingenuity in subtle and often impertinent questions, than to propose any thing worthy of the majesty of the Godhead. For as they were obliged to keep themselves within the limits prescribed by the Church, in order to avoid the charge of heresy, what else could be expected than that they should lose themselves in curious and idle investigations? On the other hand, the propagators of

the Reformed faith, although they took, and rightly took, the Holy Scriptures as the foundation of theology, yet by no means required that philosophy should rest upon the same grounds. A wide field was, therefore, opened to its inquiries; and thus it became possible for that system of knowledge to be founded and to be developed by the genius of great men, to which we rightly give the first place among philosophical systems—viz. that of *natural theology*, which, setting out from the idea of a Supreme Being, undertakes to prove that there is a God: that he exists independently of the world: and that he is the cause of the existence of the world. How excellently Melancthon has treated this subject will be acknowledged by those who consult his work on physics, in which the proofs of God's being and of his government of the world, (which have been more fully illustrated by philosophers of later days,) are to be found clearly and evidently set forth. And though amongst more modern inquirers there may be some, who have not only used, but abused the freedom procured them by the heroes of the Reformation, and thus either lost themselves in atheism or advanced far towards it, yet it is an acknowledged truth, that the abuse should not vitiate the use; while the writings of those men, to whom not only their own but subsequent times have assigned the first rank among philosophers, afford proofs that their speculations upon the nature of the Godhead were pursued in a modest and reverent spirit.

In the company, or at least in the train, of this better method of thinking and speaking of God and religion, came that improved philosophy of *human life*, which forms the subject of our *second* assertion. That the schools of the sophists of those days should, by their undivided attention to logic, have wholly excluded practical philosophy, was naturally to be expected. This practical philosophy rests upon inquiries into the nature of man; it must be shown what the disposition of our nature and its powers are: what suits, what is repugnant to it, and consequently, what is to be desired, and what shunned. It must be inquired what seeds of virtue or vice are implanted in us; what is the nature of our passions, what the method of controlling them? Finally, in what consists true happiness, what the object of our life should be, and how we may best attain it? Now,

although the princes of Greek philosophy had reasoned admirably upon all these topics, although they had been treated of by Aristotle, whose name was for ever in their mouths, yet the schoolmen cared little for them, and sought their reputation only in useless disputes.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that it was not till the light of the Reformation had arisen, that a system of practical philosophy, really deserving of the name, could be formed; especially as regards that branch of it, which is rightly considered the most important—the philosophy of moral conduct. Here, too, Melancthon first broke the ground in his "Elements of Ethics," which appeared at Wittenberg in the year 1550; and in which he forsakes his usual adherence to Aristotle, and after refuting the doctrines of Epicurus and the Stoics, defines virtue to be the obedience of the will to such rules of action as are in practical accordance with the commands of God. It is hardly necessary to remark, that no other branch of philosophy has been cultivated with greater diligence or success among the more enlightened nations—the Germans, the French, and the English; a point upon which we may justly pride ourselves, since none is more adapted to the nature and wants of men. Time and place forbid the enumeration of the writings of those immortal authors, especially those of Great Britain, who have treated of it; of whom we may say, as the Greeks did of Socrates, that by their means philosophy has been called down from heaven to walk upon the earth.

The Reformation may, therefore, justly claim the credit of having applied philosophy to the improvement of morality; and, generally, of having brought it back to the common purposes of life. It was no longer wasted upon the solution of problems, which required acuteness perhaps, but which, to use Melancthon's expression, had no correspondent realities. It did not, however, confine itself within the limits of private life, but having once emerged from the gloom of the schools into the light of day, undertook the *improvement of public life*. The example was set in Great Britain, and speedily followed elsewhere, of discussing those most important questions which relate to the constitutions of states, their administration and government; and out of this we have seen a new and improved order of things proceed, not only

in Europe, as in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and elsewhere, but even beyond the ocean, in America, where the seeds of new constitutions were sown, and are now in the perfection of their growth. To trace this out, however, is the province of history; for my part, I conceive that I have sufficiently proved the proposition from which I set out, and to which I return: viz. That by those who follow the banners of philosophy, the day, which we are now celebrating, must be accounted a festival—a festival dedicated to events which have procured us that without which there can be no philosophy, and no true enjoyment of life—"*The right of thinking as we will, and of speaking as we think.*"

ON THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL THEORIES,

AND ON THE

PRESERVATION OF MONARCHICAL PRINCIPLES IN MODERN EUROPE.

If we except the last ten years of the past century from our review, we shall find that the states which composed the political system of modern Europe, were constituted without any reference to general theory; they arose for the most part out of the feudal system, and gradually accommodated themselves to the circumstances which new times and new events produced. It would therefore be idle to expect that any, even the most perfect of them, should correspond with an abstract theory of government. The spread of intellectual acquirements, however, produced in several of these states an attention to political reasonings, and these in turn led to speculative systems, and schemes of new constitutions. The influence of the latter began, long before the disturbances of our own day, to exercise a political influence, and this at last became so great that it has been customary to

attribute those violent revolutions which caused the ruin of more than one existing government, to these very speculations.

The questions which I propose to examine are, "How the spirit of inquiry with regard to distinctions in the forms of government first arose in modern Europe?" "How this became the source of political reasoning?" "How this again formed the base of abstract theories?" "What practical influence the latter exerted generally; and what in particular upon the late revolutions?" With these another, and that of the highest practical importance, becomes naturally associated, viz. "What is requisite for the maintenance of the monarchical principle in constitutional governments?" In this case the inquiry will be directed only to the "constitution," not to the administration, of "power in the different states"—no thinking man, however, can regard this subject with indifference: I only hope that the mode in which it is treated may be equal to its importance!

It might at first sight appear as though a reference to actual history would be a superfluous labour; speculation, it may be urged, arose of itself, and was independent of reality. Why then turn to it for assistance? We shall soon, however, perceive that this was not the case; and that, if the spirit of political speculation *did* rise above the politics of the day, it was from the latter that it derived its origin, and that it never became wholly independent of them. These questions, therefore, will admit of no other solution than what may be obtained by connecting them with history, and drawing our answers, in part at least, from it.

In order to create a spirit of political speculation it is necessary that there should be some outward stimulant, as well as a considerable degree of philosophical education in the people among whom it is to arise.

The external causes which induce thought and argument on these subjects, are struggles, when such take place, with regard to the forms of the constitution. The neighbourhood of various states governed in various manners, with the relations and contrasts between them—and above all, the formation of new states by colonization.

If to these qualifications, habits of philosophical inquiry

of a higher order be added, should men have taught themselves to rise from the particular to the general, from facts to principles, the path is opened for political speculation.

It was thus that it arose and perfected itself among the Greeks, where external causes were so many and so various. —And in support of this view its opposite was sufficiently proved during the middle ages, throughout which it was impossible that any traces of such speculations should appear.—The feudal systems, strictly so called, admitted of no free citizenships, and allowed no varieties of government.— That which was dignified by the name of freedom, was in general nothing but a contest of the nobility against their princes, which if it failed, begot a despotism; if it succeeded, was the signal of club-law and anarchy.

Amid such scenes as these, there was little room for political speculation, even if the total absence of philosophical ideas had not rendered it impossible.

Among those countries in which it might have been expected to give the earliest signs of life, Italy was undoubtedly the first; all the ordinary causes appear to have united here—a number of small states arose near each other—republican constitutions were established—political parties were every where at work and at variance; and with all this, the arts and sciences were in the full splendour of their revival.

The appearance of Italy in the fifteenth century recalls most fully the picture of ancient Greece. And yet in Italy political theories were as few, as in Greece they had been many! a result both unexpected and difficult to explain.

Still, however, I think that this phenomenon may be in a great part accounted for, if we remember that there never was a philosophical system of character or influence which prospered under the sky of Italy. No nation of civilized Europe has given birth to so few theories as the Italian— none has had less genius for such pursuits.—The history of the Roman philosophy, a mere echo of the Grecian, proves this of its earlier ages, nor was it otherwise in its later.

At the revival of science Plato and Aristotle were the chief and only guides, and even when the trammels of this superstition had been broken through, Italy produced no original minds whose life and works formed an era in philosophy.—If, then, speculative science in general made no great advance here, we cannot reasonably expect that that part of it which has reference to politics should have made any, since, from its very nature, it must be one of the last branches which are put forth from that stock.

This incapacity for theory, however, had the effect of directing the Italians more immediately to practice, and they were considered the deepest and most accomplished politicians of Europe.—But as they held diplomacy to be an empty name, unless it included cunning and intrigue, they by this view offered another impediment to a right cultivation of the subject.

Their highest principles of policy were nothing better than a collection of maxims, and these never ripened, nor could ripen, into a science. The only writer of that period who need be mentioned here, is Machiavel; and his works afford the strongest confirmation of what we advance.—His "Principe," and his "Discorsi sopra Livio,"[1] are full of reasoning such as we have described, the result partly of his historical studies, partly of his own experience; and they contain sufficient evidence that a practical attention to history was in force at this period, and that the Italians were likely enough to prove good historians, but not great theorists.

The first quarter of the sixteenth century witnessed the breaking out of the Reformation. I have endeavoured in a former treatise to prove the fact, and point out the manner of its acquiring a political tendency; I have also followed up its practical results. That, by its influence on Germany, on the Netherlands, on England, and for a considerable period on France, it became the origin of political freedom in Europe, can be a matter of doubt only to those who "having eyes, see not;" and this once admitted, it will not be difficult to show that the same causes led to its being the origin of political speculation also.

Meantime, however, we must remember, that the very essence of the Reformation, and the first direction of its power, rendered it impossible that this should be the case,

[1] [This critique appears to have escaped M. Artaud in his laborious treatise on the life and works of the Florentine secretary. But to judge from the manner in which he has met some similar observations of Raumer, it is one to which Machiavel's most ardent admirers can hardly object. See Machiavel, son Genie et ses Erreurs, par M. Artaud, vol. ii. p. 490. Tr.]

either immediately, or even mediately, without some interval of time—the activity to which it aroused the human intellect was exerted then, and long after, upon subjects wholly unconnected with political speculation. It is not necessary to dwell upon this point here, for who can be ignorant, that for a considerable time religious controversies, and those alone, were capable of exciting general interest? Still, however, all this being admitted, it cannot but seem strange, that the great practical influence which the Reformation exercised upon the constitution of the various states, should have been so partially and so slowly followed by any attempt at theory on the principles of their formation.

I do not speak of Germany—here the point in dispute was the relation which should exist between the states and the emperor, and, as immediately connected with it, that between the Protestant and the Catholic parties—and this the sword decided.

But the state in which such views might have been first expected, was the republic of the United Netherlands.—The Reformation called that state into existence—the banner of liberty was there formally displayed—republican maxims were those chiefly adopted and cherished—the state itself became deeply involved in the general politics of the day, and knowledge was at the same time busy among its members; and yet the speculative part of government was left almost wholly untouched!

The causes of this, however, will soon become evident if we look to the main object of the revolution by whose means that state was formed: innovations in the constitution were the last things it had in view—it struggled rather to maintain and assert the old rights and privileges of the states; necessity alone induced the Netherlands to shake off their allegiance to the king of Spain; that accomplished, they turned to seek other masters, and the states finally became republican, merely because they could find none. Was it likely, then, that political theories should spring up here, where no new schemes of government called for their interference?

In the mean time, however, the republic had a long struggle for independence to maintain.—It came in various contact with foreign powers, and was more or less connected with the great wars of the time.

Though no questions, therefore, were raised as to the different forms of the constitution, yet it was impossible but that some should arise as to the mutual rights and relations of states.

This subject received the attention of one of the republic's greatest citizens, and produced the famous work of Hugo Grotius "De Jure Belli et Pacis."

It is true that this treatise led its author into some researches, respecting the natural rights of man, and the principles on which they are founded, without which he thought he could not attain to a just view of his subject. But the theory of civil government could gain little from a work devoted to another and separate inquiry; while the manner in which this inquiry itself is conducted, is by no means attractive to readers of our own time.

Grotius was more a man of learning than a philosopher, and he has encumbered his work with a mass of historical and philological research, which could not possibly turn to its advantage.—Still, however, it must rank among the highest efforts, not only of his own, but of all subsequent times; for it was no mean advantage to point out that there is, or at least that there ought to be, a law of nations. Moreover, the great name which Grotius had acquired, and which associated him, not only with the most distinguished men of learning, but, as a statesman, with the princes and courts of his day, secured his principles an admittance into the circle in which they were most likely to obtain a ready practical influence.[1]

[1] [The following defence of Grotius is interesting, as coming from the pen of the late Sir James Mackintosh: and it will be the more appreciated as the pamphlet from which it is taken is now rarely to be met with.

"Few works were more celebrated than that of Grotius in his own days, and the age which succeeded. It has, however, been the fashion of the last half century to depreciate his work as a shapeless compilation, in which reason lies buried under a mass of authorities and quotations. This fashion originated among French wits and declaimers, and it has been, I know not for what reason, adopted, though with far greater moderation and decency, by some respectable writers among ourselves. As to those who first used this language, the most candid supposition that we can make with respect to them, is, that they never read the work; for if they had not been deterred from the perusal of it by such a formidable display of Greek characters, they must soon have discovered that Grotius never quotes on any subject till he has first appealed to some principles; and often, in my humble opinion, though not always, to the soundest and most rational principles.

But another sort of answer is due to some of those who* have criticized

* PALEY, pref. to *Moral and Political Philosophy* (to whom we may add Prof. HEEREN, in the passage of the text).

The treatise "De Jure Belli et Pacis" may, on the whole, be considered as a fair earnest of what the spreading intelligence of the day might eventually produce.

The religious disturbances and wars of the Hugonots in France took place at the same time as the establishment of the republic of the Netherlands, and appear to have been much more calculated to excite a spirit of political speculation.

It was question here not only of preserving what was old, but of forming what was new. The Hugonot party, if it never actually established a republic, was yet much more inclined to republicanism than the insurgents of the Netherlands.—But then the times of civil war are not the times of quiet contemplation, and of theory; and as the tumult became more wild, the pursuits of literature gave way wholly to violence and bloodshed, or, if they still attracted attention, it was only for purposes of theological debate.

Still, amidst these disturbances, one writer made his appearance, who attracted too much notice to be lightly passed over.—This was John Bodin,[1] the author of a work "De Republicâ;" he was not only a man of learning, but took a share in the transactions of the time, and spoke in favour of the Hugonots, whose religion he had from the first embraced, at the diet of Blois.—This did not, however, prevent him

Grotius, and that answer might be given in the words of Grotius himself. He was not of such a stupid and servile cast of mind, as to quote the opinions of poets or orators, of historians and philosophers, as those of judges from whose decision there was no appeal. He quotes them, as he tells us himself, as witnesses, whose conspiring testimony, mightily strengthened by their discordance on almost every other subject, is a conclusive proof of the unanimity of the whole human race on the great rules of duty, and the fundamental principles of morals. On such matters poets and orators are the most unexceptionable of all witnesses; for they address themselves to the general feeling and sympathies of mankind; they are neither warped by system, nor perverted by sophistry; they can attain none of their objects; they can neither please nor persuade if they dwell on moral sentiments not in unison with those of their reader: no system of moral philosophy can surely disregard the general feelings of human nature, and the according judgments of all ages and nations. But where are those feelings and that judgment recorded and observed? In those very writings which Grotius is gravely blamed for having quoted. The usages and laws of nations, the events of history, the opinions of philosophers, the sentiments of orators and poets, as well as the observation of common life, are, in truth, the materials out of which the science of morality is formed; and those who neglect them are justly chargeable with a vain attempt to philosophize, without regard to fact and experience, the sole foundations of all true philosophy."—*A Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations, etc.*, p. 17. TR.]

[1] JOHANNIS BODINI, *De Rep.* lib. vi., first published in French, 1576, but revised, enlarged, and translated into Latin by himself, 1584. Bodin was born 1529, and died 1596.

from being much esteemed by Henry III., with whose brother, Francis of Alençon, he was still more intimately connected.

As a political writer he claims a distinguished place; indeed, few have surpassed him in philosophical distinctness of ideas, or in a general, and at the same time accurate, acquaintance with the constitutions both of ancient and modern times. The whole course of his inquiry bears a certain resemblance to that pursued by Aristotle, but he is far from being a servile imitator, and it is undeniable that he materially advanced the science of government.

Some of its most important principles he was the first to embrace and define. He begins from a conception of the state as "a number of families, whose common concerns are directed by a supreme power, justly exercised." The supreme power consists in "the right of making laws, and seeing that these are executed."[1] We here find the germ of that principle of the distinction between the two powers (the legislative and the executive) which owes its full and careful development to later writers. He was the first who asserted the "Indivisibility[2] of the supreme power or sovereignty," (Majestas,) from which he argued that the common opinions with respect to mixed governments, rested upon entirely false grounds, since these are impossible without a separation of the sovereignty. He has defined more accurately the limits of what we term "absolute monarchy, (regia potestas,)" of "despotism," and of "tyranny," than any[3] subsequent writers. He has the great merit of having put in a clear light one of the most important truths of government, and one to which he was himself much attached, (viz.) "That the form of the constitution will not afford any direct argument as to the spirit in which a state is governed, and that the latter may be very republican in a state which is properly monarchical,[4] as well as despotic under the forms of a republic." Finally, he was the FIRST who, carefully avoiding to set up any perfect ideal constitution, which he would every where apply, gave a full explanation of all the circumstances of climate and of national peculiarities, whether mental or bodily, which ought to be considered in framing the constitution of a state.[5] [6]

[1] *De Republicâ*, lib. ii. p. 275. [2] Ib. lib. ii. p. 275. [3] Ib. lib. ii. p. 313, sq.
[4] Ib. lib. ii. p. 305, sq. [5] Ib. lib. v. p. 767, sq.
[6] [Although Bodin may be deservedly praised for the *adoption* of the two

This division of his work would do no discredit to Montesquieu himself, whose precursor, and that no unworthy one, he was.

Notwithstanding these and other undeniable merits, and in spite of the approbation which it drew from the best of his contemporaries,[1] Bodin's work did not attain to that practical influence which it deserved.

The seed which he scattered fell upon a soil as yet too little prepared to receive it, and the observation before made, that political speculation can never support itself except in connexion with philosophy, is here remarkably established. The nation was not yet ripe.

The state of France, during the seventeenth century, was not such as to lead us to expect the requisite maturity. As soon as the Hugonots were suppressed, or at least disarmed, Richelieu laid the foundation of the absolute power of the crown, and Lewis XIV. confirmed it without any further resistance from the people. Even if a spirit of political inquiry had by chance arisen among individuals, where was it to find means of increase? Surely not among a people who not only submitted without a murmur to the fetters which were imposed upon them, but who went so far in their greediness for fame rather than freedom, as to be proud of the chains they wore.

We must, therefore, turn to another land, to one in which, by the concurrence of more fortunate circumstances, the theory of civil government became fully developed, and acquired a great practical influence—an influence moreover exerted rather to preserve than to destroy—I mean, to England.

It might be mentioned here almost without a rival, were it not that Geneva, the smallest state in Europe, makes its pre-eminence in this respect somewhat doubtful.

The progress which the theory of government made in England is mainly attributable to the circumstances of that

last points, and for the expansion of the former of them, he is indebted to ARISTOTLE's *Politics* for the sound philosophy by which they are distinguished. Aristotle, it is true, has drawn a picture of the government under which he imagines the greatest happiness may be obtained, but he has expressly stated what previous conditions are necessary to its formation, and how unfit it would be for a society in which these were wanting. TR.]

[1] [The testimony of De Thou and others may be found under the article Bodin, in Bayle. TR.]

country, and to understand these we must give a cursory glance at the history of its constitution. This was at first a branch of the great feudal system, which was the origin of most of the European governments, and which had been introduced in its full rigour by William the Conqueror in 1066, when he took possession of England. The feudal customs fell into disuse here, as elsewhere, for the vassals were not slow in taking advantage of the circumstances of the times, and even under the immediate successors of the Conqueror obtained considerable privileges, which, by degrees, ripened into a formal warrant of their liberties, and were embodied in Magna Charta (1215).

It was not, however, the armed opposition which the nobles offered to their sovereign, for this was of much more frequent occurrence in other countries: nor was it the growth of a middle order: nor yet the representation of this order in parliament, which gave to the British constitution its peculiar character; for all these phenomena are to be found alike in the French and Spanish histories. The causes of it lay *in the different shape which rank assumed in England, compared with other countries, in the variety of relations which existed between the nobles and commons, and by means of which it became possible to constitute the Lower House in such a form as it afterwards assumed.*

We might expect that a subject, which has received so much attention from the best writers, should be clearly understood, but it neither is, nor indeed ever will be.

The early history of the British parliament, especially during the thirteenth century, when its limits were first defined, is more scantily supplied from original documents than can well be believed. And yet this ought not to astonish us if we remember that in England, as in other countries of Europe, during the middle ages, no institution of any note arose at once and from a preconcerted scheme, but that they were all of gradual formation, and dependent on the changes of men's wants and circumstances. Thus many things which afterwards became of the highest importance were very far from being, or, at least, from appearing so, at first: and it was consequently impossible for the chroniclers of the day to perceive the advantage of recording them. We must be content, therefore, to receive such accounts of

the British parliament as we have of the other institutions of the middle ages.

The separation of the higher from the lower nobility took place in other countries of Europe as well as in England, but in no other country did the latter so entirely unite with the middle orders, as to rank with them in one house, and become thus wholly distinct from the peers. But if the question be proposed, as to How the separation of the upper and lower nobles actually took place? if it be asked How it happened that the inferior nobles sent deputies chosen from the counties instead of appearing in person? When this first became customary? When the towns first returned members? (not when they are first noticed by the chroniclers as having done so.)—And, lastly, When and how the deputies from the counties became united in one body with those from the towns?—We can only say that the most careful inquirers into British history can give nothing but probable surmises on the subject, and are totally unable to support their opinions by any historical references. This general uncertainty will be at once evident to any one who will examine the various and very different accounts which are given by English historians of the origin of their constitution. Some, and those of the first rank, have not scrupled seriously to assert, that the early Britons brought their liberties with them from the forests in which they dwelt!

Without going more deeply into these questions, which would be here misplaced, it is sufficient to remark, that the British constitution had received the impress of its most important characters long before England could boast of any degree of political liberty superior to that enjoyed by other states. It had its Upper House composed of the lords spiritual and temporal, and its Lower House composed of members for the towns and counties; but what was this great parliament, not only before the time of the Tudors, but even under their dominion, except an instrument of command, which Henry VII. and VIII., and their successor Elizabeth, knew most excellently how to apply to the furtherance of their own designs?

Here, again, we have a palpable example how little we may argue from the form to the spirit of a government; meantime, however, this form was more perfect than could

be found elsewhere, and it needed only a confluence of fortunate events to give it life, and breathe sentiments of freedom into the people.

This the Reformation effected.—Not only by it was the religion of the land altered, but its political greatness, under the reign and guidance of Elizabeth, securely founded. By this *greatness*[1] the spirit of the people became awakened; but as it did not proceed immediately from the constitution, it was necessary that the latter should receive a shock, nay, for a time, a total overthrow, before it could be fully appreciated, and by being restored, and at the same time indissolubly connected with religion, could be looked up to as the palladium of British freedom.

The history of the troubles which produced the civil war, which overturned the throne, and which terminated with the restoration, are sufficiently known, and require barely to be alluded to. The only question in connexion with which they have any interest here, refers to the probable causes of their having been more favourable to the development of political speculation than the disturbances of any other country, and that in such a degree as to have produced and matured some of its noblest fruits.

The obvious reason of this, in my opinion, is, that the troubles and wars in England were not brought about, as in other countries, merely by practical grievances, *but that they depended, from the first, upon theoretical points of dispute*, which necessarily led to more extended inquiries.

Thus, when the Stuarts mounted the British throne, (1603,) they brought with them a maxim which was preserved and passed from father to son as an heirloom, and which James I. was imprudent enough to assert upon every occasion, even in open parliament, viz. "That the kingly power emanated for God—that it was therefore absolute, or if not actually so, that it ought of right to be so—that what were termed the "rights" of the people and the parliament, were not properly so called, but merely grants and privileges, which had been allowed to them by the crown, and which the crown might therefore resume as easily as it had bestowed them." These principles, however, were in direct opposition to the ideas which the Reformation had rendered current, and

[1] See the treatise *On the Political Consequences of the Reformation.*

which had more particularly obtained with the Presbyterian and Puritanic parties, then rapidly spreading in England, and which from the form of their religious government were inclined to carry republican, and even democratic, principles into the government of the state. Elizabeth had entertained no less exalted an idea of her power than the two first Stuarts, in fact she had exercised it with more freedom than they: but then she had avoided what the pedantic folly of James I. led him to indulge in, and had not brought her maxims before the public, and thus made a common talk of matters, which the interest of princes should teach them to conceal as the mysteries of their craft, the "Arcana dominationis."

These principles, and the collisions between the king and the parliament, which resulted from them, formed the train which lighted up England with the flames of civil war. They brought Charles to the scaffold, and overturned the throne. But even when the restoration had caused a seeming tranquillity, the fire still smouldered in its ashes. The restoration was rather the work of party spirit, and of a passing change in public opinion, effected by the experience of anarchy and the despotism of the sword, than of calm and well-exercised reason.

The opportunity which then presented itself of amending the defects of the constitution passed by unemployed. And Charles II. received the crown on the same doubtful understanding of its authority, as that on which it had been held by his ancestors. Would that he had been as worthy of it even as his unfortunate father! As it was, he adopted the very principles which cost the latter his life, while he enhanced their tendency to despotism by his own disposition to enforce them. The attempt of his brother to introduce tyranny and priestcraft, and the consequences of his folly, need hardly be alluded to.

Every circumstance of the time—the continued disturbances—the party distinction of Whigs and Tories in which they ended—the rapid growth of literature under Charles II., all conspired to advance political speculations to the utmost. —But as these speculations proceeded immediately from the practical affairs of life, it was unavoidable that they should carry some traces of their origin along with them. The

questions chiefly debated were those to which the transactions of the day naturally led, and the decision of which was invested with a direct practical importance. All these questions may be reduced under one head, viz. Whether the kingly power should be absolute or not? or, what was considered equivalent, Whether the sovereignty belonged to the king or to the people? On such a subject as this, no one, who bore the least affection to his country, could remain wholly without interest: we must not therefore be astonished at the earnestness with which the dispute was carried on.

It would appear almost incredible to any one unversed in the writings of the time, to what an extent the assessors of the kingly power proceeded, and on what grounds they sought to rest their claim. One of these must be here mentioned, who, it is true, has long sunk into the oblivion which he deserved, but who must not be passed over in this place, as his treatise entitled "Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings,"[1] served as a whetstone on which the great writers of the opposite side sharpened and improved their wits. It was to the extravagant, and in some degree ludicrous tenets of Filmer and his school, that the cause which they advocated chiefly owed its fall. For, as they derived the kingly power immediately from God, they were forced into historical deductions for their proof. They had recourse, therefore, to the sacred annals: but as, unfortunately, the kingly power does not there date beyond a particular era, they fell back upon the patriarchs, and asserted boldly that Abraham and Noah, and lastly, that Adam himself had been kings. In order to make this good they endeavoured to show that the kingly power proceeded from the paternal, and that, accordingly, kings, being the fathers of their people, might exercise as unrestricted an authority over them as fathers over their children. But as all children, by the very fact of their birth, become subjected to the government of their father, it follows of course that no man can be born free: and again, as the paternal authority has been transferred to the kings of the earth, all men come by their birth under this absolute power, and are in fact born as a sort of property and appendage to it. By these steps Filmer arrived

[1] It forms part of *The Political Discourses* of ROBERT FILMER, Bart. London, 1682.

at the conclusion that the most absolute despotism is fairly founded, and as such he defended it, asserting that both the persons and goods of the subjects are nothing more than the property of the prince, with which he may do as he pleases; that on this account every opposition of the subjects is open rebellion, and that in no possible case can a king be deposed from his authority.

The absurdity of these propositions, which became inevitable as soon as the attempt was made to deduce the kingly power historically from God, would probably have decided the fate of the theories to which they belonged, even without any attack from without. But amongst the supporters of absolute power, another writer appeared, who may claim his rank with the first thinkers of all ages, and who defended his opinion with very different weapons from those of Filmer—that writer was Thomas Hobbes. Of his philosophical works those which are here referred to are his treatise "De Cive" and his "Leviathan."[1]

External causes may, to a certain degree, have induced Hobbes to come forward as the champion of absolute power. He not only belonged to the royal party, but was tutor to Charles II. when an exile in France. Nevertheless, this influence most assuredly did not extend further than to give his mind a turn of thought natural to the events of the time, and to his own peculiar circumstances. We should do him great injustice, were we to suspect him of fawning or hypocrisy. His character is much more that of a logical and consistent reasoner of the highest order, who never advanced a proposition which he for a moment doubted that he could establish in its fullest sense.

Hobbes is remarkable for having been the first who sought to ground the theory of government upon natural right, and what is termed "the state of nature." This notion of a "state of nature," from which men are supposed to have advanced into civil society, (however differently it may have been entertained,) has formed the basis of all subsequent

[1] The "*De Cive*" forms the third division of his *Elementa Philos.* The "*Leviathan*," sive de materia formâ et potestate civitatis, is only a further development of it.

Hobbes was born 1588, and died 1679. His *Elementa* appeared first in 1650, and the *Leviathan* 1651, in the time of Cromwell. His works were first published in 1668 in a perfect form.

speculations, down to the time of Rousseau; and from the indefiniteness of the idea which it introduced, has contributed not a little to perplex the theory of government.

If by "the state of nature"[1] we are to understand the condition of men who are not formed into one community, and who do not acknowledge the relations of civil life, it cannot be denied that nations have existed, and still exist, in this condition. But in order to determine the limits between the state of nature here understood, and the civil community to which it is opposed, we must have a clear idea of what that civil community implies.

Now, theorists usually define the latter as constituted by the possession of sovereignty, whether exercised by the whole body, or by a few, or by one of its members. This definition, however, is of little practical use in the study of history, for there are many nations to which it would apply, and yet of whom it would be hard to say that they form a state, and live in civil society. All the great pastoral tribes are, or at least were, in possession of sovereignty as independent nations; and this sovereignty was exercised by the heads of particular families among themselves; and yet no one would argue that the Calmucs, or the Kirgisian and Arabian Bedouins, form what is properly termed a state (*Civitas*). This, in fact, if we use the word in its common historical sense, can only be constituted by a people, whether great or small, *which possesses and permanently inhabits one particular country;* or in other words, *fixed places of abode and possessions in land* form the second *necessary* qualification of every state, in the practical sense of the word. The reason of this is, that the whole institution, or assembly of institutions, which we term a state, attains its development and application only by property in land. The first, though not the only object of a state, is the *security of property:* now, although moveables are just as much property as land, yet it is only where the latter has been appropriated that the right of property attains to its full importance: and not only this, but the necessity of de-

[1] [For a further examination of this juggling phrase I cannot do better than refer the reader to Mr. Lewis's *Remarks on the Use and Abuse of some Political Terms.* London, 1832. Doctor Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, contains many beautiful and just observations on the true meaning of the words. Tr.]

fining its different forms by laws is then for the first time perceived, because land is, from its nature, the only permanent object of this right.[1]

Although a state, then, may be conceived in theory to exist without property in land, yet in reality the one can never exist without the other; and it is the neglect with which this fact has been passed over, that has mainly contributed to give to political systems that character of visionary speculation, which must in all theories attend the omission of such points as are necessary to their practical application.

A sufficient proof of this is furnished by the notion of a "state of nature," and the uses to which it has been put.

For if this imaginary condition be opposed to civil society, and the latter can only exist where there are fixed abodes and landed property, we must conclude that all nations unprovided with these are living in a state of nature. From this it follows, that "the state of nature" embraces under it all those conditions which may be imagined to exist before the institution of civil society. But as among these there are marked gradations, gradations which cannot escape the merest tyro in history, the only conception of "the state of nature" at which we arrive, is negative; that is, it excludes what does not belong to it, without defining what does: it excludes "civil society," but it does not define the positive condition which the term "state of nature" is intended to denote.

This consideration, however, did not once enter the minds of our theorists. Each contemplated *his own* state of nature as something positive, and gave such a description of it as best pleased himself. No wonder, then, that there should be a little variety in the picture!—Hobbes conceived the first design.

[1] [Thus, in early times, the law of England seems to have taken no cognizance of moveable property, but to have confined itself to "things that are in their nature more permanent and immoveable, as lands and houses, and the profits issuing thereout." And although commerce, by the vast increase of moveable property which it has caused, has naturally induced great changes in the legal contemplation of it, yet the distinction even in name between "real" and "personal" property, the different laws of descent which they follow, and the greater solemnities requisite to the transfer and devise of the former, compared to what are imposed by law upon the latter, show the secondary place which moveables still occupy. See BLACKSTONE, *Com.* B. II. c. xxiv. TR.]

According to him, men in the state of nature live in continued hostility to each other. When in this condition, they are all equal, since they have a mutual right to make war upon, and even to kill each other. They all have the will to commit injuries, and therefore scruple not to do so—a war thus arises of all against all, and the danger becomes universal, as the weaker must ever yield to the stronger.—It is natural, meantime, that some protection should be sought against these dangers; nay, it is evident that neither individuals, nor even the whole race of man, could suffice to keep up a war at once universal, and in all probability eternal—men perceived this, and on this account forsook the state of nature, and formed themselves into civil society, which is therefore the offspring of fear.

On this hypothesis, the instability of which is apparent from what we have before said, Hobbes constructed his political theory. The second step he took led him into a new hypothesis.—Out of this state of nature it would have been impossible to advance without some specific agreement: and hence arose the principle, since considered so important, that "*the state is founded upon a compact.*"[1]

This compact consisted in a general agreement of all[2] to submit their private will to the will of one—it matters not whether this be one individual, or one assemblage of persons—whose will should thus become the will of all. Whoever procures his will to be thus respected, possesses the sovereign power and majesty: he is the prince, the others are his subjects.—As soon, therefore, as the sove-

[1] [The idea that the state is founded upon a compact, cannot be said to have been originated by Hobbes, although he was perhaps the first who in modern times made this the only and necessary commencement of society. Hooker, who died half a century before the *Leviathan* was published, (but whose *Eccl. Polity*, although constantly referred to by Locke, appears to have escaped the notice of Prof. Heeren,)holds very express language to that effect. "So that in a word, all public regiment, of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have arisen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature, considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment." *Eccl. Polit.* i. He also speaks of "times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment." *Ib.* It is also distinctly laid down in the *Parliamentary Declaration* of 1648: "They (the parliament) suppose it will not be denied that the first institution of the office of a king in this nation was by agreement of the people, who chose one to that office for the protection and good of them who chose him, and for their better government, according to such laws as they did consent unto." TR.]

[2] *De Cive*, v. 6. Submissio voluntatum omnium unius voluntati.

reignty is thus intrusted to the ruler, all private will is at once submitted to him.—He is in no wise bound by the laws which the others may prescribe—he unites in himself the supreme executive and legislative authority,[1] and is therefore in every way absolute, inviolable, and irresponsible. —Moreover, the power which has been granted to him cannot ever be revoked, for as the nation has transferred this, it no longer constitutes what, morally speaking, may be termed one person, but exists only as an aggregate of individuals.

It is true that the original act may have settled the sovereignty either upon one man, or upon a certain number, or even on the greater part of the people. And thus Hobbes would not by his theory exclude either an aristocracy or a democracy, provided either of these forms were pure and absolute. But then he wished also to prove that a monarchy is far preferable to the other two, and thus he became its advocate, not only generally, but in its most unlimited character of despotism. Mixed constitutions he held to be *ipso facto* absurd, since they imply the division of the sovereignty, which, according to him, is a contradiction of terms.

These are the principal opinions of Hobbes, who may without doubt claim to be considered as the founder of political speculation in modern times—none of his predecessors had treated the subject with so much acuteness and power of reasoning. He rose above common experience, and having once established his theory of a state, he guarded it well about. His system rested upon these three positions: 1st, The supreme power is indivisible: 2nd, The supreme power may be transferred: 3rd, When transferred its unity must be maintained.

The converse of the second of these (viz.) that the supreme power is intransferable, was at a later period advanced by Rousseau, who was thus unavoidably led to consider a democracy as the only just form of government. Hobbes, on the other hand, attained by his view to the most unlimited monarchy and aristocracy, without, as we have said, wholly excluding democracy. The only condition on which he insisted, was that the form, whatever that might be, should be simple and unrestricted.

[1] Imperium absolutum, *De Cive*, vi. 13. Hobbes has no general term for the executive power, he characterizes it according to particular acts of the government.

The high character which belongs to Hobbes among the political writers of his day, might lead us to expect that he should have acquired great practical influence. This, however, was not the case; and it may partly be accounted for by the fact, that the constitution of his own country was formed upon wholly different principles from those which he advocated. But even among the supporters of absolute kingly power, he was not usually appealed to as their best defence. Filmer, whom we have before spoken of, although immeasurably inferior to Hobbes, yet attained to much greater authority; in fact, he was singled out by the best champions of the opposite party as the worthier enemy of the two. The reason of this appears to be, that Filmer's work was in much better accordance with the prevailing spirit of the time than that of Hobbes. The latter so far excelled his age in method and power of abstract reasoning, as to stand alone and unappreciated. Again, Filmer had interwoven religion with his politics, and quoted the Bible for examples and authority; and as this was then the prevalent tone, we can understand how his solemn trifling came to attract more attention than the philosophical arguments of Hobbes.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon other and less known writers, who came forward in support of absolute power, as the theory of politics was very little advanced by them; and it is far from my intention to give a literary history of the science. I prefer passing at once to the *advocates of free constitutions* who appeared at this time in England; and among these more especially to Algernon Sidney, and John Locke. Both had for their immediate object a reply to Filmer, but neither was content with his discomfiture. Algernon Sidney[1] was one of those characters which the disturbances of a revolution are so apt to produce. From his earliest youth he was an enthusiastic adorer of republican freedom; and the circumstances amidst which he lived, served amply to encourage a spirit which

[1] He was born 1622, and beheaded 1683, on a charge of high treason, which could not be substantiated. Under William III. this judgment was reversed, and his innocence solemnly acknowledged.

persecution only confirmed. For many years he wandered in exile, and when at length he returned to his native country, it was to be condemned without cause, and die upon the scaffold. His own often rehearsed motto,

> Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
> Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem ;

gives a truer history of his opinions and character than any longer story could tell.

Sidney wrote his famous "Discourses on Government" in answer to Filmer, and this polemical design teaches us at once that we are not to expect from them a regular system of politics. Moreover, he had no natural turn for speculative pursuits; and his philosophy of government consisted in a few favourite maxims, which he sought to prove alternately by abstract reasoning and reference to history. The first position of Filmer's which he attacked, was that in which he deduced the kingly power from God. He argued that so far from this, God had committed the choice of their government entirely to mankind. It is, therefore, in strict accordance with nature, that nations should rule themselves, or at least choose their own rulers.

All "magistratical power" then, if rightly derived, must be derived from the people; and the government must be instituted with a view to the advantage of the governed, and not of the governors. The amount of power which is intrusted to the magistracy, depends upon the people who make that trust: and as every nation has a right to establish its own form of government, so every nation has a right to alter or do it away at will. It is clear that these principles would admit of a monarchy as well as of a constitution; but although their author does not wholly reject the monarchical form, he takes no trouble to conceal his preference of republicanism, the advantages of which he endeavours, often feebly enough, to prove. It is evident from this short abstract, that the theory of government gained very little at the hands of Sidney. He ranks, however, among the most spirited defenders of liberty, and his unjust fate has rendered his memory sacred. With regard to his work, which could only be published after his death, in the reign of William III., we may fairly say that his name has done more for it than it has done for his name; it never has been forgotten, but

it has never taken a place among the classics of his country. This, indeed, the form of it would not permit, for while its polemical interest necessarily expired with the short-lived reputation of Filmer, there was nothing in the vagueness and unphilosophical arrangement of its parts which could supply the deficiency.

If Algernon Sidney then *did* contribute, and assuredly he did, to awaken a spirit of freedom among his countrymen, it was rather by his life and death than by any thing that ever came from his pen.

John Locke,[1] of whom we have now to speak, requires a very different notice. He is to be reckoned among those who have acquired, and still continue to exercise, a great national influence; for whatever opinion we may entertain of his powers of thought, it is undeniable that to him England chiefly owes the direction of its philosophical pursuits.

Those of his writings with which we have here to do, are his two treatises of government.[2] The first of these, as its title denotes, was in answer to Filmer; but the second goes further, and being an attempt to establish the general theory of government, bears more directly upon our subject.

In it Locke proceeds, as Hobbes had done, from "the state of nature;" but the vagueness which we before attributed to the idea of such a state, is at once shown by the very different picture which he gives of it from that sketched by Hobbes. The latter had asserted that, in "the state of nature" every man was in continual warfare with his neighbour. Locke, on the other hand, imposes upon men in this state a natural law, by which they are bound alike to provide for their own safety, and to abstain from injuring that of others. By the same law, persons who may have suffered injury are permitted to exert themselves in self-defence, and to retaliate so far as at once to procure reparation to themselves, and to prevent the aggressors from any renewal of their attacks. In spite, therefore, of his own doctrine, with which he combats Filmer and Hobbes, that all men in the

[1] He was born 1632, spent a portion of his life abroad, especially in France, and died 1704.

[2] The two treatises of government. In the former, the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, Bart., and his followers, are detected and overthrown. The latter is an essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government.

state of nature are free and equal, he allots to every one a degree of power over his neighbour sufficient to punish the transgressors of the natural law, and thus to maintain its authority.

This view of the state of nature reduces it to a condition in which men are under no government but that of reason. Such a condition may certainly be *imagined*, but until men learn to shake off the passions, which at present hold a divided sway with reason, and become wholly devoted to the latter, it can never be realized. While if it were, we may ask what necessity there would then be for any government at all? That it would be necessary, however, Locke declares, and that because where every man is judge in his own cause, it is impossible that he should act without being prejudiced by his own interest.

The most important advantage which resulted from the inquiries of Locke, was the assertion of universal freedom and equality as the birthright of mankind, in opposition to the tenets of Filmer and his followers with respect to the dependence, and even slavery, which they held to emanate from the paternal authority. Locke therefore was the first who advanced the doctrine of the natural rights of man, in as far as these are maintained by personal freedom, and the security of property, which he was at much more pains to define and establish than any of his predecessors had been.

As Locke made the state of civil society to proceed from that of nature, by the act of surrender, according to which every man resigned his individual right of punishing the violators of the natural law into the hands of a public and acknowledged officer; it follows, of course, that the constituents of a state should be all free men, and that personal freedom should be an essential condition of the union. Locke, however, was not content with this, for the whole tenor of his work is directed to show that the British constitution is strictly in conformity with the general principles of government, and therefore a just and reasonable form. He thus introduces, beyond the personal freedom on which he openly insists, the condition of political freedom, or participation in the legislature. The origin of a state presupposes the voluntary agreement of all those who are to become members of it; these, by uniting themselves, form a

political body; and this body must be directed by the will of the majority, or else remain inefficient. As each individual, therefore, must submit his own opinion to that of the majority, which thus becomes the *legislative power*, this power is supreme, whether the constitution be of one kind or another, whether the power be transferred into the hands of many or of a few. It must, however, be distinguished from the *executive*, which is subordinate to the other, and has for its object the observance and fulfilment of the laws.

In pursuing this scheme Locke was led to inquire more particularly into the distinction between the legislative and executive powers, and the principles which he thus established form another and essential cause of gratitude to him as a political theorist. No writer before him had so distinctly separated these elements of a constitution from each other, or ascertained so closely both their several characters and mutual relation. But whilst he was busied in claiming a superiority for the legislative over the executive, and in securing the exercise of it either wholly, or in part at least, to the people or their representatives, he was thus gradually preparing his way to the maxim, that *no constitution is to be considered a right one in which the legislative and the executive powers are not lodged in different hands.* In an unlimited monarchy, therefore, where the two powers are united in the ruler without control, the proper relations cannot be established, and the prince is to be regarded as occupying the same position towards his subjects as that which every man held towards his neighbour in the state of nature.

This development of the doctrine of a distinction of powers in the state, was absolutely necessary to complete the theory of government, and Locke cannot be denied great merit for accomplishing it, as well as for pointing out the advantages of a free constitution. He thus prepared the ground which subsequent writers, however little they otherwise agreed with him in principle, yet made use of to establish their own. But then, on the other hand, he did not foresee the consequences to which his doctrines might lead; for although there can be no doubt that the legislative and executive powers ought to be *considered as separate in theory*, yet how far they ought to be *separated in practice*, is a wholly different question.

An entire separation of the two in practical politics can never be accomplished—nor indeed did Locke ever intend it—he assigned the prince a share in the legislative, and thus differed from Hobbes by admitting a mixed constitution, while the latter rejected all division of the sovereignty, and admitted only the pure forms. Notwithstanding this, however, the theoretical distinction of these elements led to the maxim that they ought to be separated as *much as possible* in practice; and thus the way was opened to most serious errors. Subsequent experience has unfortunately shown that anxiety on this point is any thing but unfounded, and if we examine the evils which have resulted from it, we shall be obliged to confess, that no theory ever produced so much mischief by being misunderstood as this.

As far as England was concerned, however, the principles of Locke needed no qualification, and we can easily understand how they should become the text book of the nation. That separation of the executive and legislative powers which he required, was here in force, for although the king had a share of the latter, it was yet essentially in the hands of the parliament. Those maxims which were considered by the people as most sacred and most important, viz. that no taxes should be imposed except with the consent of their representatives, that all men's rights were equal in the eye of the law, and the like, were definitely expressed by Locke; and thus his theory corresponded in all its essential points with what actually existed. This accordance alone would have secured Locke a very great authority; but besides this, he was acknowledged as the first philosopher, and one of the most classical writers which the nation possessed; and his work thus became current, if not among the mass of the people, at least among the well-informed and educated part of it. There were other circumstances also which tended to spread his influence, and especially the fact that several of the most eminent *practical statesman* of Great Britain, we need only mention Chatham as one—recognised his principles upon every occasion in parliament; and thus added to his character for abstract philosophy that of the surest practical discernment.

The general consent of a great and intelligent nation, which has produced so many of the most profound philosophers and ablest statesmen, is always entitled to our attention; nor have we the remotest wish to take from the undoubted merits of Locke: but we may observe, that the almost blind respect which was paid to him, has been one of the causes of that abatement in the study of political science, which to a certain degree still continues.—To argue against Locke has been considered as an infallible proof of disaffection to the constitution.

Nevertheless, England has since his time had many political writers, and those of the first order, but their pursuits have received a different direction, and have been changed from inquiries as to the rights and forms of government, into questions of political economy.—Men's opinions on constitutional points, as far as these are practically concerned, have become settled, partly by the constitution under which they live, and partly by the writings of Locke. On the other hand, the more evident relations of government and the new wants which have been continually arising, were calculated to draw general attention to political economy. And as under the Stuarts the theory of government owed its rise to the revolutionary times immediately preceding, so the circumstances of later days naturally led to the theories of political economy. It does not belong to our plan to mention the great writers who have appeared in this department. From them Europe has gained its whole knowledge of the science, and their influence, far from diminishing, must continue to increase.

However highly we may estimate the services which Locke rendered to the science of civil government, it was unavoidable that a theory which had reference only to one particular state, should be partial and incomplete. This will be at once evident if we apply his principles to other countries, which we are, to a certain degree, accustomed to consider among the best governed of Europe.

According to him, none of those states in which the power of the prince is unlimited, i. e. in which the legislative and executive powers are united in his person—admit of any approach to civil society, properly so called—in fact, they present nothing but slavery. These expressions must of course be taken with some degree of latitude, but the theory which seeks to confine the idea of a state within such narrow limits, cannot be reconciled with actual history.

If states, such as Denmark and Prussia, are not even to deserve the name of states, if their constitutions are not for a moment to be considered rightful constitutions, we must be allowed to suspect, that the fault lies rather in the theorists than in the states themselves. And so in truth it does; Locke, like all his predecessors, and his successors down to Kant, adopted for his foundation the division into monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. But as long as this division prevails, no theory which is founded upon it can be secure. And one of the chief reasons of this is, that the important distinction between unlimited monarchy, as far as this results from the union of the two powers, or, as it is better termed, autocracy, and despotism, cannot be drawn. Hence these two forms, although essentially different, are continually mistaken for each other.[1]

While outward circumstances were thus advancing the theory of politics in England, Geneva presented a similar, and yet a very different appearance. This small state deserves to be reckoned among the most remarkable in Europe, and from its immense influence upon the practice of politics attracts the attention of the historian more than many other states which far exceed it in size. From a curious assemblage of circumstances, speculation on the science of government attained to a degree of vigour here, which was not equalled in any other part of Europe, and which at once produced its consequences—some cheering and beneficial; others, alas! dangerous and destructive.

The names of Calvin, and Servetus, of Voltaire, of Rousseau, and Necker, bring a throng of recollections to the mind; but in order to obtain a full view of the subject with which they are connected, we must bestow a passing glance upon the position and history of Geneva itself.

The geographical situation of this town undoubtedly contributed to produce a collision of ideas, such as could not easily take place elsewhere. Placed upon the borders of France, Italy, and Switzerland, it enjoyed a degree of intellectual prosperity to which each of the neighbouring states contributed its share. Still, however, the peculiar character of Geneva was determined by the development of its inter-

[1] In order to avoid repetition I must refer my reader to what I have said on this subject, in my Historical Researches, *African Nations*, vol. ii. App. IV. p. 413, of the English translation.

nal relations. To this the Reformation mainly contributed —for on their conversion to its principles, the Genevese (1533) expelled the bishops, who had till then been, in a certain degree, their rulers; although, as in other places, a municipal constitution had gradually been formed to restrain them. From that time Geneva maintained its independence, notwithstanding the attempts of the princes of Savoy: and the goods of the clergy, which had been confiscated, were applied to the foundation of that university, which has since reckoned so many distinguished men among its members. In the mean time, it was reserved for John Calvin, who established himself here as a Reformer, to enable Geneva, by his single efforts, to turn the Reformation to such account, as regarded its political importance, as could never have been hoped for without his assistance.

This extraordinary personage, a Frenchman by birth, and as much endowed with vigour and activity as he was furnished with learning, was chosen to fill the professor's chair; and not only acquired great political importance by the influence which the rigid church discipline, established by him at the Reformation, secured to himself and to the clergy, but became, as a *general* reformer, the head of that party which took its name from him.

Of this party Geneva naturally became the chief resort, and from it they spread themselves in all directions, and especially towards France, where, under the name of Hugonots, they caused disturbances from which the most sanguinary civil wars took their rise. But, besides the presence of Calvin, there was another reason for the religious importance of Geneva, and one of a more enduring character.

The new doctrines were no where else taught in the French tongue; and thus Geneva necessarily became the school of the French reformed clergy, and, by extending its sphere, involved itself more deeply in general politics.

To these circumstances Geneva was considerably indebted for the features which so peculiarly distinguished it—but not to these alone.—The manner in which its internal relations were established was of no less influence. In the same year as that in which Calvin settled at Geneva, (1536,) a change was wrought in the constitution of this state upon which its future character depended. The municipal con-

stitution, as far as it had been formed under the bishops, was purely democratical. The citizens' assembly, (Conseil general,) which included every householder who enjoyed the rights of citizenship, deliberated upon all important matters, and elected annually, from its own members, four chief officers, or syndics, who were obliged to give an account of their proceedings to the assembly. To those syndics it had, for a considerable time, become customary to join assessors, whose number had gradually been increased to twenty-five, and the body thus formed was called the smaller council (Petit conseil). Causes which will not admit of being historically proved had induced the addition of other assessors to the smaller council. The number of these was (in 1526) fixed at two hundred, but afterwards amounted to two hundred and fifty; and thus the great council (Grand[1] conseil) was formed, in which the smaller council had seats and voices, and of which it formed the select committee.

It was naturally to be expected, that when the bishops were expelled, and the state thus became wholly free, these institutions should not only be preserved, but should acquire a much greater importance than before. Up to that time, however, the members of both councils, as well as the syndics, were annually chosen by the citizens' assembly, and could, therefore, be only considered as delegates of the latter.

But in the year 1536, at a moment when general attention was fully occupied by matters of religion, it was carried, *that the two councils, the great and the small, should re-elect themselves annually*, subject, however, to an inquiry into the conduct of their members.

It was very difficult at that time for the citizens to perceive the consequences of such changes: they could not, however, but show themselves. In the midst of a democracy the seeds of an aristocracy had been sown, the growth and prosperity of which there was scarce any thing left to control.

The two councils had a common interest; they naturally became permanent bodies—naturally I say, for what could be more natural than that the annual election should, when it was thus left to themselves, become an empty form? A slight acquaintance with the course of affairs in small states

[1] We must not confound the great council (Grand conseil) with the Conseil general, or citizens' assembly.

will tell us, moreover, that this aristocracy could not avoid becoming an aristocracy of particular families. Meanwhile, however, it lasted for a considerable time without becoming a cause of dissension; and for that reason was able to establish itself the more firmly. The continued attempts of the dukes of Savoy to subdue Geneva also contributed to divert the attention of the citizens, and at the same time to create a spirit of unity, which the last ineffectual effort in 1602, the well-known *escalade*, served greatly to confirm.

While there was yet no great disparity of possessions, while strangers were freely admitted to the full rights of citizenship, and while those connexions were kept up between the upper and lower classes which were established by sponsorship, (a tie which may not unaptly be compared to the *patronage* of the Romans,) disturbances were not much to be feared. But all this became changed, when at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, (1685,) a host of Hugonots fled from France to Geneva. From that time the rights of citizenship began to be more sparingly imparted, and the Genevese formed themselves into distinct classes by the separation, among the citizens themselves, of the "*Citoyens*," or elder citizens, (whose family had possessed that right for four generations,) from the new citizens, or "*Bourgeois*," and among the mere inhabitants, of the "*Habitans*" from the after settlers or "*Natifs*:" and with this distinction of classes arose also a distinction of rights. The new trades which the refugees imported with them, produced a great increase of wealth; and men's minds became more at leisure for the consideration of political questions. In 1707 the contest between the aristocracy and the democracy fairly commenced, and was from time to time renewed in a manner which furnishes the most instructive commentary on the struggles of the patricians and plebeians in Rome, with which it agreed as well in other points, as in the fate of its martyrs—its Fatio, Micheli, and others. The historical details of these events do not belong to our plan, but it is well worthy of attention that they frequently arose upon questions closely connected with the theory of politics, which was then assuming a new form.

In none of the other and larger states of Europe were those difficult points, regarding the sovereignty of the

people, the limits between the legislative and the executive, and so forth, discussed so practically as in Geneva.—It presented the curious spectacle of a small, almost the smallest free state of Europe, preserving in the midst of the great monarchies by which it was surrounded, so striking a resemblance to the republics of antiquity, as to furnish a commentary on them, such as the whole continent besides could not supply. But there is another point on account of which it is still more remarkable, viz. the interference of several of the greater states, especially of France, with its internal affairs, and the manner in which that interference was conducted. Almost all the ministers who had charge of the foreign affairs of France—Fleury and Choiseul under Lewis XV.—Vergennes and Necker under Lewis XVI.—took a very great and active interest in the politics of Geneva; but notwithstanding the immense disparity of strength, their interference was always cautious and respectful, to a degree which could have been *necessary* only towards a much more important state. And even when, in extreme cases, it became unavoidable for the support of one or other of the parties, that troops should be advanced upon Geneva, still its independence was never violated. Indeed the eighteenth century may claim as a phenomenon peculiarly its own, the instance of an army furnished by three powers, France, Sardinia, and Switzerland, and assembled before the gates of a town, not for the purposes of conquest, but solely with a view of restoring by its presence the tranquillity of the town itself. No political system which has not for its foundation a sacred respect for property and a desire to maintain the balance of power can present such scenes!

Whilst these repeated disturbances, and the cautious interference of the great powers which they produced, gave to Geneva an importance in the eyes of Europe which no other state of the same rank could boast, they were also the cause of its becoming the central point of speculations on the theory of government. It affords a striking example of the power which the freedom of a republican constitution possesses to awaken a spirit of general inquiry, while it at the same time shows that the spirit thus roused will naturally attach itself to the subject of politics, should these lie more immediately within its reach.

But besides its form of government, Geneva had another advantage in the identity of its language with that of France. By this means it derived full benefit from every step which the latter made: all the new ideas which arose in France obtained immediate circulation there. And thus, before we come to "the citizen of Geneva," whose influence on the theory of politics was so extensive, we must first cast a glance upon the progress which speculations of this nature had made in France.

The age of Lewis XIV. had not been by any means favourable to them, but under his successors they had fairer scope. The spirit of the nation received a sudden impulse from the hand of one, who in respect of the attention which he excited, became to the French what Locke was to the English. He and Locke, however, held such different views with regard to the existing constitutions of their own countries that this is the only point on which a comparison will hold.

Before Montesquieu, the French nation possessed no writer on political subjects whom they esteemed sufficiently to consider an authority; but no sooner had the "Esprit des Loix"[1] appeared, than it obtained so great an influence as to render all attacks upon it ineffectual, except in furthering its success. In these days, however, we may ask what the real worth of this book is, and what has been effected by it?

The whole of Montesquieu's work *emanated from the study of history*. It is true that he does not deserve the praise of having earned by these studies the name of a general historian: they were too confined for that. He had studied the history of Rome deeply, that of Greece with much less attention; of that of the other nations of antiquity he knew hardly any thing. His acquaintance with the East, a quarter full of importance to his inquiries, was confined to what a few books of travels could supply. Of the histories of the middle and modern ages, those of France had interested him most, those of Germany and England next. The limits of his historical studies were therefore extremely narrow; but yet they embraced that diversity which was requisite for his purpose; and, moreover, he had pursued these studies in a spirit such as none of his predecessors could

[1] It was first published in 1748.

boast, not even Machiavel, who, as the founder of *practical* history among the moderns, might otherwise claim a place beside him.

The object of Montesquieu was to attain by the study of history to a knowledge of the very essence of states and political constitutions—to distinguish the peculiarities of each form; and thus to deduce maxims for the administration of the different branches of legislature under different constitutions.

His field was therefore of boundless extent and proportionate abundance; but then the subjects which it embraced possessed of themselves the highest practical interest, and had they been treated with only moderate ability, the first attempt on so large a scale could not have failed to attract the reader. How much more, then, when they were in the hands of a man so gifted as Montesquieu! Indeed, interesting as we have declared the subjects to be of which he treats, it was not to them, but to his *manner of treating of them*, that his work owes the great and permanent sensation which it produced. The method which he adopted of giving no finished descriptions, but of only hinting as it were by outline; of never exhausting his subject, and yet of saying so much on it in so few words; of busying not only the reason, by philosophical argument and definition, but the imagination, by the pictures which he often substituted in their room—above all, those lightning flashes of genius which, perhaps, blind as often as they illustrate—all this was admirably calculated to secure him assent and admiration among a people such as his own.

His work contained inexhaustible *matter of thought* for those who wished to think; whilst those who were too indolent for such exertions might console themselves with the belief that they had gathered from it an abundance of *ready-made thoughts*, and these of the brightest description.

This exuberance of genius, however, was unaccompanied by a *true philosophical spirit*. The mind of Montesquieu was well adapted for deriving shrewd remarks from experience; but for all matters of speculation, as far as that consists in the definition and distinction of abstract ideas, he was almost totally unfit—nay, he does not even seem to have once felt the want of it! The very first pages of his work show,

what has before been justly objected to him, that the author of the Spirit of the Laws was incapable of defining rightly what laws are; and it is evident throughout that he had not a clear notion of the first principles of the science of government. If any one should think these expressions unjust, he had better attempt to derive from Montesquieu's own words an idea of the essential character of the different kinds of government, of despotism, aristocracy, democracy, etc. This formed the very foundation of his scheme, and yet if we examine it, we shall not wonder at any uncertainty or weakness which we meet with in the superstructure.[1]

But although the general theory of government gained so little from Montesquieu, although his whole work could pretend to be nothing more than an *assemblage of maxims*, the justness and applicability of which it was left to the reader

[1] It was not without due consideration that I first published my opinion of a writer of such high authority, and one whose real merits I fully acknowledge. I repeat it now with greater confidence, as his last French Reviewer has fully confirmed it, in his admirable work, *Commentaire Critique sur l'Esprit de Loix, par* Le Comte Destuth De Tracy, 1812; translated, with notes, by Professor Morstadt, *Heidelberg*, 1820.

The French translator of this treatise, in my *Melanges Historiques*, Paris, 1820, has endeavoured to soften down this criticism, by stating in his note, what I am most ready to admit, viz. That I have only considered the state of science, and not the circumstances of the time. These, however, do not appear to me to have much to do with an opinion as to the progress of the theory.

[The following passage is the first sentence in Montesquieu's 'Spirit of Laws:'—"Les loix dans la signification la plus étendue, sont les rapports nécessaires qui dérivent de la nature des choses: et dans ce sens tous les êtres ont leur loix; la Divinité a ses loix, le monde matériel a ses loix, les intelligences supérieures à l'homme ont leurs loix, les bêtes ont leur loix, l'homme a ses loix." Now, objects widely different, though bearing a common name, are here blended and confounded. Of the laws which govern the conduct of intelligent and rational animals, some are laws imperative and proper, and others are closely analogous to laws of that description. But the so called laws which govern the material world, with the so called laws which govern the lower animals, are merely laws by a metaphor. And the so called laws which govern or determine the Deity, are clearly in the same predicament. If his notions were governed and determined by laws imperative and proper, he would be in a state of dependence on another and superior being. When we say that the actions of the Deity are governed or determined by laws, we mean that they conform to intentions which the Deity himself has conceived, and which he pursues or observes with inflexible steadiness or constancy. To mix these figurative laws with laws imperative and proper, is to obscure, and not to elucidate, the nature or essence of the latter. The beginning of the passage is worthy of the sequel. We are told that laws are the necessary relations which flow from the nature of things. But what, I would crave, are relations? What, I would also crave, is the nature of things? And how do the necessary relations which flow from the nature of things differ from those relations which originate in other sources? The terms of the definition are incomparably more obscure than the term which it affects to expound." Austin, *on Jurisprudence*, p. 191. Tr.]

to determine, it did not on that account work less effectually. It contained, in the first place, an inexhaustible treasure for the practical study of history; and although there are many single opinions and assertions in which we may not agree with Montesquieu, yet his labours served sufficiently to point out the advantages which might be derived from the study of history, as well as the manner in which these pursuits should be directed in order to attain them. Besides this, it derived great influence upon the spirit and way of thinking of the people of France, from the occurrences of the time at which it appeared. During the regency of the Duke of Orleans, as well as after the succession of Lewis XV., the most shameless corruption pervaded the whole government; the main cause of this was usually held to be the systematic suppression of the national freedom, the remains of which were occasionally perceptible in the struggles with the parliament; while it ought, with much more truth, to have been attributed to the state of morality, especially among the higher orders, to which no constitutional forms could have offered an impediment. The favourite maxims of Montesquieu were thus readily appreciated by the spirit of the day—his unrestrained attachment to mixed constitutions, especially that of Great Britain, could not fail to procure him a host of supporters. He met public opinion half way—was it astonishing then that he should be received with so much applause?

The spirit of political discussion was fairly awakened by him among his countrymen, never again to be lulled to rest, and from that time forth legislation, and the best modes of adapting it to the end proposed, became one of the subjects to which thinking men chiefly turned their attention. Montesquieu, therefore, contributed largely towards including it in the subject-matter of philosophy, although his own inquiries proceeded from the study of history, and not from the philosophy of the day.

In fact, of all those men who were at first distinguished, as they are now branded, with the name of philosophers, not one had attained to any eminence in France till long after Montesquieu had began to busy himself on his 'Spirit of Laws.'[1]

With all the imperfections and deficiencies of his work,

[1] According to his own account, Montesquieu was occupied for twenty years on that work. See the end of his preface.

Montesquieu has the merit then of having directed men's inquiries into *the paths of experience*. From the diffusion of his principles reform indeed might have been expected, but not revolution; for although he was the enlightened supporter of a limited monarchical constitution, he had not on that account endeavoured—even in France—to shake the foundation upon which the existing order of things had for so long rested. He was far from desiring general political equality; on the contrary, he maintained that under a monarchy, the leading principle of which ought, according to him, to be *honour*, the existence of a nobility is requisite, to prevent despotism on the one hand, and the tyranny of the people on the other; nor did he ever reject the clergy as an estate of the realm, although he wished some restriction of their privileges, especially with regard to their *jurisdiction*.[1] If, therefore, the idea of *a monarchy limited by representation of the people*, became cherished by the greater part of the people of France, as the result of the first national assembly proved to be the case, this must be mainly attributed, next to the example supplied by England, to the work of Montesquieu. That this very national assembly, however, far outwent the intentions of Montesquieu, by laying down the principle of universal political equality, need not, after what we have said, be any further insisted upon.

And this brings us back to the point from whence we started, viz. a review of the theorists of Geneva, and especially of him whose work became the text book of revolution. How far it was adapted to this purpose, how far the principles practically applied were really contained in it, is a point well worth our determining. But in order to gain a just view of the "Contrat Social," we must first bestow a glance upon its origin.

The "Contrat Social" originated in a manner directly contrary to the "Esprit des Loix"—the latter was the result of experience, supplied by the study of history; the former was the product of *pure speculation*, which Rousseau had been led to apply to politics from his earlier inquiries as to the *origin of a disparity* among mankind. Nevertheless, however abstract the studies of Rousseau may have been, it is very certain that the theory of government which he en-

[1] *Esprit des Loix*, ii. cap. 4.

tertained, could have been entertained by none but "the *citizen of Geneva;*" not that the principles which he advocated were those which obtained a practical influence in Geneva, but if any speculative thinker had set himself to mould the opinions favoured by the democratical and opposition party into a political system, and to establish them upon philosophical grounds, such a work as the "Contrat Social" must inevitably have been the result. It requires a very slight acquaintance with this treatise to perceive that Rousseau had continually before his eyes a small and free state, as being, in fact, the only one in which his principles could, to their full extent, become applicable. We may therefore justly say, that had it not been for the political progress of Geneva, the "Contrat Social" would never have been written. While, on the other hand, the already great, although indirect, influence of this little republic upon the practical politics of Europe, became by it immense.

It was not Rousseau's design, as it was Montesquieu's, to produce a rich collection of political rules and maxims, scientifically arranged—he sought rather to *establish the general principles of government upon a philosophical foundation.* In accordance with the object of our present work, it must be shown how he accomplished this, and more especially, how, in so doing, he diverged from the paths of his predecessors, and was thus led off to a different conclusion.

Rousseau, although he differs from both Hobbes and Locke in his description of it, proceeds, like them, from a "state of nature," out of which he supposes men to have advanced into civil society by a *voluntary contract.* This contract, however, is not concluded between the people and their rulers, but between the different members of the community itself, and must, as no man has a natural right over his fellow, be the result of unanimous agreement. This "pacte social" has no other object than to procure social institutions, under which the power of *all* may be exercised for the protection of the persons and property of *each.* *Each* individual, while he thus associates himself with *all*, being yet under the authority of none but himself, and thus as free as before. All the articles of the contract may be reduced to this one: that every man resigns himself and his rights, without reserve, to the society; or, in other words, that he puts himself and his person under the direction of the *will of the community.* In this manner the society forms itself into a *moral personage*, or a body which, as such, is intrusted with sovereignty, and becomes the sovereign. This sovereignty, however, is nothing but the exercise of the will of the community, and, as such, is not only intransferable, but also, as a natural consequence, indivisible.

But as the exercise of the will of the community is effected by legislation, *the legislative power* must of necessity be lodged with the people—*the people, then, is sovereign;* and, as its sovereignty is intransferable, can never cease to be so. This power cannot be exercised in any other way than by assemblies of the people, in which every man gives his vote, and the vote of every man is as good as that of his fellows. The idea of popular representatives, as exercising the sovereignty of the people, is an absurdity, since that sovereignty cannot be transferred. Representatives, so called, can be nothing more than agents, whose resolutions must be submitted to the people for ratification. When this social contract was established, all who took a part in it were free, and of equal rights. And the maintenance of this freedom, and this equality, is necessarily the object of all legislation, as without it society could not exist.

The equality here meant, however, does not require that all power, and all property, should be absolutely equal; but only that the power of no man shall be sufficient to commit violence; and that the wealth of none shall be so great as to enable them to buy others; the poverty of none such as to induce them to submit to being bought.

But as the state, in its corporate capacity, not only wills, but acts, there must be an *executive* as well as a *legislative* power. This requires *a government*, i. e. a body interposed between the sovereign and the subject.[1] This government, however, is nothing more than a *committee appointed by the sovereign people*, the establishment of which does not require, or even admit of, a mutual contract, inasmuch as it is in perpetual dependence on the sovereign power. As regards its constitution, it may consist of one, or more, or all;

[1] That is, the people may be considered both as sovereign (inasmuch as they make laws), and as subject (inasmuch as they obey them). Sovereign and subject here apply to the same persons in two different relations.

from which variety the three forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy have arisen[1]—although the last of these, considered as an *executive* government, is an absurdity. On the whole, it appears to be best that this power should be lodged in the hands of one; but then it is impossible that great monarchies should be well governed—and besides, an hereditary monarchy has very great disadvantages.

These are, according to Rousseau, the general grounds of all government. We shall now find little difficulty in remarking the points on which he differed from his predecessors, Hobbes and Locke.

With Hobbes, Rousseau agreed in founding political society upon a contract; but then Hobbes supposed this contract to be between the community and its own constituted authorities, and that it was a contract of *absolute submission*, by which it transferred the sovereignty without reserve. The original contract of Rousseau, on the other hand, was only between the individuals who by that act established civil society; between these, again, and the government there was not, nor could there be, any agreement, as it consists only of commissioners, deputed by the sovereign people. Thus the several routes of Hobbes and Rousseau separated at the first step, and that with no prospect of reuniting, as they were directed towards two opposite marks; that of Hobbes to unlimited monarchy, that of Rousseau to the absolute power of the people. The two are alike only in this point, that both tended to despotism, although Rousseau has the advantage in phrase, for the despotism of a mob, blinded by its own passions, may still retain the honourable title of liberty, while it is denied to the single tyranny advocated by Hobbes. It would be useless to pursue further our comparison between them, as their points of difference are sufficiently perceptible.

With Locke, Rousseau proceeded a few steps further before he separated from him. He asserted with him the original freedom and equality which the defenders of unlimited monarchy denied. And consequently he agreed with him also in making the social state to proceed from a contract among freemen.

[1] Rousseau was, as far as I know, the first writer who felt, although he did not fully explain, the double meaning of the word democracy; viz. as signifying either *a form of constitution*, or *a form of government*.

I must refer, on this subject, to my treatise already mentioned. See above, p. 336, note [1].

As a *form of government* Rousseau considered, and rightly, that a democracy is absurd.

As a *form of constitution* it was precisely what he sought to establish.

Security of person and property was held by both to be the chief object of civil union. And they both agreed in considering the legislative power as peculiarly belonging to sovereignty—that sovereignty being by either ascribed to the people, or bulk of the society. But then, according to Locke, the sovereignty might be *transferred*—according to Rousseau it is *wholly intransferable:* according to Locke it might be *divided* among different parties—according to Rousseau it must remain *undivided* in the hands of the people. At this point, then, the two paths separate, and it is easy to see the conclusion to which that of either necessarily led—Locke arrived at the *Representative System* and a *limited Monarchy*, by the union of which the legislative power, although partially shared by the prince, is mainly in the hands of the representatives of the people: Rousseau could not, according to his principles, admit any form but *pure Democracy*, as far as that consists in the legislative functions being exercised by the whole body of the people without any transfer to representatives, or any participation of other powers in the government.

I trust that these observations will suffice to explain the chief points which characterize the several political systems which we have examined, and to distinguish them from each other. All that can be accomplished by pure speculation towards laying the foundations of civil society, and determining the best methods for its constitution, appears to have been achieved by these three authors. Hobbes and Rousseau take their place at either extreme—the one in support of the total transfer of the sovereignty into the hands of the regent—the other to assert that the sovereignty is wholly intransferable by the people whose right it is; whilst Locke holds a middle course between the two.

It remains that we should consider these systems, especially that of Rousseau, with regard to their *practical application.*

They all three proceed from a *contract*, which, as founded on the supposition that it was framed by a people who never,

till then, had constituted a state, neither has, nor ever could have taken place. All the three, then, thus at once forsook reality, and struck into paths which threatened new dangers at every step which carried them away from it. The political principles of Hobbes were, however, less exposed than those of the other two, because the absolute power which he sought to establish upon rightful grounds, cares little for such support, and can maintain itself without it. Moreover, the course of events in his own country deprived them alike of authority and of practical adoption there.

The doctrines of Locke, on the contrary, had for the most part been already applied in England, and only had the effect of supplying other countries with philosophical reasons for that attachment to the British constitution which had become almost universal throughout Europe previous to the late revolutions. As a contrast to this, the system of Rousseau floated like Aristophanes' City of the Birds, free and without support in the air. For while Rousseau asserts that the *will of the community* is always just, and has for its object the general good of the community, he is undoubtedly right that the common will, as far as it is the result of pure reason, will be directed towards that which is best for the community. But then, this *common will* must remain to all practical purposes an empty vision, unless it has some *organ* by which it may be clearly and surely expressed. This Rousseau would have done by the voice of the assembled people itself, but he neither can, nor does deny that this method is often fallacious, or, to use his own words, that the will of *all* does not always express the common will. The people may be often deceived and led astray, and Rousseau knows no expedient against it, except—that we ought to be on our guard.[1]

None, then, of these metaphysical speculations on government can be said to have done much for the practical application of the science. But even if we were disposed to agree with Rousseau as to the organ by which the *common will* is to be expressed, no great harm would be done, for his system could not possibly take effect in a state of any considerable size. By denying all transfer of the sovereign will to representatives, he requires, at the outset, that there should

[1] This important chapter is to be found in the *Contrat Social*, ii. 3.

be general assemblies of the people which must be convened upon every occasion; and it is easy to see that, however readily this might be accomplished in small towns and their adjacent territory, it would be wholly out of the question in larger states—nay, Rousseau himself declares that these can only be formed by federations of the smaller. If, therefore, that party in France, which looked upon his writings as their standard, had wished to act consistently, there can be no doubt of what his fate would have been had he been then alive. As an opponent of the representative system, which they established to its full extent, and as a supporter of federative republics, which according to their principles was a capital crime, he would have been doubly destined to the guillotine!

Nevertheless, Rousseau's influence upon the revolution was incalculably great; not in the sense of his being the originator of it, for that would be a short-sighted view, but inasmuch as the *direction* which the revolution took was in a great measure determined by him. Some great name, some high authority was required; several of his ideas were, therefore, taken up—that of the sovereignty of the people—of general freedom and equality—and that of the greatest possible separation of the legislative and executive powers—and were made the foundations of the new system. It was no doubt Rousseau, who first expanded and perfected these notions, although he did not originally propose them; but even if he had desired the total overthrow of existing things in order to establish his own system, (and there is no reason to accuse him of such a wish,) he would never have tolerated a *partial* application of it. This was to *abuse*, not to *use*, and it would be unjust therefore to make him answerable for it.

Nevertheless, however willing we may be to acquit Rousseau of any design of causing revolutions, yet it cannot be denied that not only those which Europe has experienced since his time, but those which threaten it still, may be traced to the principal maxim upon which his system rests.

This maxim is the sovereignty of the people. The danger with which it threatened the practice of politics did not, however, consist in the maxim itself, for the *sovereignty may doubtless be in the hands of the people.* It was rather

in Rousseau's belief that this *sovereignty may be associated with monarchy*. The boundary line between monarchy and republicanism was thus wholly effaced, and the way prepared to errors for which Europe has already in part atoned, and still atones most dearly. It might surely have been thought, that after the science of government had been treated of for centuries, after it had been laid down upon every occasion, that monarchy and republicanism are forms of government in direct opposition to each other, it might have been thought, I say, that the peculiar character of each would have been fully understood, and their limits distinctly marked: but when a philosopher, such as Rousseau, either does not know, or pays no attention to this; when the practical policy of whole nations, and of their representatives, is carried on without any respect to it,—we have a right to conclude that either these lines have never been clearly drawn, or (which amounts to the same thing in practice) that they have in time become forgotten. And yet there could not be a moment at which such an error would be more fatal than the present. We have no longer to consider mere speculation and theory, the question which concerns us is one of fearful practical importance.

Europe, after having apparently escaped from the dangers of democracy, is on the verge of seeing either monarchical republics, or republics under the name of monarchies, occupying the chief places among her states. I hold these to be more formidable dangers even than those from which she has escaped. Of the comparative advantages of monarchies and republics nothing general can be asserted. It is possible to live happily or unhappily in either, according to the turn which events may take. But we may be sure that a nation (with individuals we have nothing to do) can never be happy in a pseudo-monarchy or a pseudo-republic, because such a form of government is contradictory to itself.—The history of Poland, as it was, affords at once a warning and an example!

We wish, therefore, either for *actual* monarchies, or *actual* republics. Now the European political system has been for centuries monarchical. All the chief states received the name of monarchies, and were so in reality.

The free states belonging to it were of the second or third

rank. Nothing, therefore, short of the most violent revolutions could be supposed capable of changing this character into its opposite.

What, then, is the boundary between the two? We know only one, and that must be determined by *the possession of the sovereignty or chief power*. The essential distinction of monarchy consists in this being held by the prince—that of a republic in its being possessed by the people, or a certain portion of them. A republic, as well as a monarchy, has but one chief officer, but then the relation in which this officer stands to the people is very different in the two—in a monarchy he is *above*, in a republic he is *below*, the people. In the former he is[1] prince, or sovereign (whatever title he may bear); in the latter he is magistrate. Common parlance, which is generally the echo of sound reason, has long drawn this distinction; it is only by the sophisms of theorists that it became confused. The kings of France and England have the name of sovereigns, and are so. The President of America and the Landammann of Switzerland neither receive the title, nor are they sovereigns.

But this "*holding of power over the people*," *this sovereignty of monarchs*, what does it, and what does it not, essentially imply? For it is only by an accurate answer to this question that we can determine what is essentially necessary to the support of the monarchical principle in existing states.

It implies, in the first place, that the prince should possess his dignity independently of the people: in other words, that the crown should be *hereditary* and *inviolable*. Elective kingdoms, where the election is only in favour of the individual, and not of his heirs, are not true monarchies. Whoever is chosen merely as regards his own person, is by the very act of his election subjected to the people, what-

[1] It would appear, however, that we have authority against us on this point in Frederick the Great, who called himself "a Servant of the State, who had his duty to perform like others."—Nevertheless, Frederick was undoubtedly master in his dominion, and it is impossible to be at once master and servant. Had he chosen to follow out this idea, the truth, and the falsehood contained in it, would have been easily shown.

He was no doubt a servant in a moral sense of the word, since, as a man, he was subject to the law of conscience, which obliges alike princes and servants to do their duty; but in a political sense he was not so, as he did not serve the state but rule it. For the rest, Frederick knew very well the distinction between himself as king, and Washington as President.

ever prerogatives may be formally assigned to him.—Whoever is chosen merely as regards his own person, may also be deposed by his electors, however differently it may stand upon paper.

It is otherwise with those who are elected to an hereditary crown.

Such cases may occur by the actual extinction of the reigning house, by abdication, and so forth, where there is no one who has an hereditary claim. There are accidents which no human power or wisdom can prevent, and on the occurrence of which, the best means which present themselves must be adopted, and thus election is often the only, or at least the most reasonable, expedient. But then, if the power bestowed by election be made hereditary, the person who receives it is at once raised above the people or the electors, as the possession of the throne is then no longer a prerogative of the person but of the dynasty. The name of elective monarchies has therefore been very justly restricted to those in which every vacancy of the throne is filled up by election. That such states are the most unhappily constituted, both as regards themselves and the other states with which they unite in forming a political system, the history of all times will show. Fortunately for Europe, elective monarchies have—with the exception of the papal government, the mode of election to which hardly entitles it to the name—entirely disappeared from its system; and with them the danger of those general wars with which the vacancy of the kingly throne of Poland, or the imperial one of Germany, was wont to threaten the continent.

The inviolability of the sovereign, i. e. the principle that he is not in person accountable, and cannot, therefore, be brought to punishment, is implied, as a matter of course, in true monarchies: for who in such monarchies *is able* to call him to account? But if this should be included as an article in any of our new constitutions, it would be either superfluous or absurd; superfluous in a true monarchy—absurd in a fictitious one, where the sovereignty is reserved to the people, for it would be a contradiction to exempt a delegate from being accountable to his superiors. Nor is it any secret that, notwithstanding all written declarations and assurances, there is always in such states a way open for the deposition, imprisonment, and even execution of the prince.

The idea of sovereignty further implies, and that necessarily, *That in all affairs of the state, nothing shall be done either without or contrary to the will of the sovereign.* Where this is not the case, he ceases to be sovereign (supremus).

By this essential condition, which, indeed, results from the nature of the thing, we ascertain the relation in which, under constitutional monarchies, the sovereign must stand towards the people or their representatives; and we are enabled to draw the line of demarcation which must not be passed if the sovereign is to remain such.

Constitutional monarchies are those in which there is a *popular power*, generally called *the Chambers*, which represent the interests of the people in the councils of the prince, without, however, opposing his interests, as it is too customary to imagine they do—the interests of both being the same—viz. the prosperity of the state.

This power not only advises, but joins with the prince in deciding; still, however, it must be in some manner dependent upon him if he is to remain sovereign, and be a prince not in name only but in reality. Upon the relation, then, in which the prince stands to the chambers, the maintenance of the monarchical principle chiefly depends, and we must, therefore, consider what rights ought in this respect to be secured to him.

In speaking of the *Chambers* we here understand that both, or at least one of them, is to consist of deputies chosen by the people. It is doubtless more in favour of the throne that the assembly should consist of *two* chambers, one of which should be composed of members not chosen by the people, but possessing their seats either by right of birth or by appointment of the sovereign; but it cannot be shown that this is generally necessary. Sometimes, indeed, chambers of peers are neither necessary to the throne, nor any support to it; nay, France has lately shown by example that a powerful opposition may be formed in them.

The division into two chambers affords greater security, however, against party decisions, and makes it more difficult for factions to be formed, and their interests preferred to those of the state. It is necessary, however, that the two chambers should not have two interests, and that the mem-

bers of the one should not possess any privileges which are burdensome to the other, for without this, unanimity cannot be expected between them.

The rights of the prince in his relation with the chambers, as far as these proceed from the definition of sovereignty, may be reduced into three classes, viz. Those which have reference to outward form—those which have reference to the subject matter on which his power is to be exerted—and those which regard the share which the prince is to take in the councils of the nation, and the influence which he is to exercise over them.

As regards the *outward forms*, the idea of sovereignty requires that the chambers should be in strict subjection to the prince. These *outward forms* are the barriers which are to protect the crown from the inroads of the chambers. They should be determined by the charter of the constitution, and it should be incumbent on the prince to maintain them in full force.

The chambers are not to assemble without, or in opposition to, the will of the sovereign. They are to be opened by him, to be prorogued, and to be closed by him; and he must at all times possess the right of dissolving the existing chamber, and of calling for a new election of its members. When chambers assemble, prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve of their own authority, the assembly takes place at once *without* the will of the prince, and will very soon be held in *opposition* to it. Again, a chamber which cannot be dissolved by the prince is independent, and superior to him. He has no means of escaping from its tyranny if it should form itself into a faction, and no opportunity of discovering whether it represents the wishes of its constituents, or stands in direct opposition to them. It is only by a new election that this can be certainly determined. It is requisite, therefore, not only for the interests of the prince, but for those of the people also, that he should have the power of dissolving the chamber of representatives.

In regard to the *subjects which are to be discussed by the chambers*, we may remark at once that all the foreign affairs of the state are to be beyond their jurisdiction, and appropriated to the prince. In treating with other states the prince must be considered as the representative of his

own, otherwise they cannot deal with him with any safety; should it be done only "sub spe rati," they will no longer consider him as sovereign, but as the delegate of a superior power. The maintenance of the monarchical principle requires, therefore, according to our views, that not only all treaties of commerce and alliance, but that all declarations of war and conclusions of peace, should be absolutely in the hands of the prince. This, however, does not by any means exclude the chambers from debating upon foreign policy, and from giving their opinion either in praise or blame of the measures which the government may have adopted.

How far such proceedings may be advisable is a question with which we have nothing to do, as it does not bear upon the maintenance of the monarchical principle.

The sphere of the chambers, then, as a body, sharing the power of ultimate decision with the prince, is confined to the *internal affairs of legislation and taxation*. In these there is no third party concerned: but in the dealings between the two the monarchical principle is sustained by the *veto*, which must be allowed unconditionally to the prince. In compliance with the favourite notion of the sovereignty of the people, frequent attempts have of late been made to restrict the *veto*, by determining that the prince may refuse his approval once, or even twice, but that after this the law shall be valid without it.

It is evident that this arrangement is wholly incompatible with the principle of monarchy, and, moreover, absurd in itself. It is incompatible with monarchy, because it assumes that a law may pass without the will of the sovereign. It is absurd, because there can be no reason why the monarchical principle should not rather be done away with at once, than after the lapse of two or three years.

There is no doubt that the use of the *veto* is an evil in each case to which it is applied, because it presumes that there is a difference between the prince and the chambers: but even though it should become, as in England, a mere form, it is yet important that the prince should possess the *right*, since circumstances may render it valuable.

It remains that we should consider the relations in which the prince stands to the chambers with respect to the *influence which he should exercise over them*. The monarch-

ical principle requires that the prince should have the right of introducing measures into the chambers; he is to possess, in technical language, the right of the *initiative*. But the question which arises is, whether this right is to be confined to him alone, whether he is to be the only source of legislation, or whether the members of the chambers are to be allowed a share in it?

Under the stipulation that the prince is to retain the power of approval or rejection, it does not appear necessary that the *initiative* should be wholly reserved to him; while to refuse it to the chambers would entail the contradiction of denying the representatives of the people all opportunity of expressing its wants. This object, however, may be obtained by requiring that the chambers should be obliged to sue the government under certain forms, for permission to introduce a measure, so that the latter only would retain the formal right. And this institution would possess the further advantage of throwing great obstacles in the way, if not of wholly preventing, all dissensions between the prince and the chambers. It is not, however, the object of this inquiry to ascertain what may best suit the peculiar circumstances of different nations.

If the monarchical principle requires that the prince should have the power of introducing measures into the chambers, it follows of course that he must also possess the means of convincing the chambers of the expediency and necessity of his proposals, and of inducing the adoption of them. He must, therefore, possess an influence in the chambers, since motions must be made in favour of these measures, and they must be supported in debate. This cannot be better done than by the ministers who are the natural organ of the prince. The ministers, therefore, must have seats and voices in the chambers, whether as ministers or as elected members does not matter. Nothing is more mistaken than the restriction of the ministers in the chambers, or their exclusion from them, in order, as it is said, to prevent the government influence from becoming too great. It is only from a false belief that the government and the chambers are in natural hostility to each other, that such regulations could proceed: but if the prince and the chambers are to communicate with each other, through whom can

it be better effected than the ministers who originate the proposals, and must, therefore, best understand their intention?

We need hardly mention that the monarchical principle requires that the prince should have the power which every private person has, of choosing his own servants and advisers, and of dismissing them at will. It appears, in fact, almost incredible that this right should ever have been disputed. Chambers which claim the dictation of the servants and counsellors of a prince, not only invade the province of government, but by that act declare their prince for ever incapable, and range themselves in a faction, whose object is to silence every voice but their own.

We have thus, according to our plan, traced out the relations which should exist between princes and their chambers, if the monarchical principle is to be maintained. The further development of them we leave to politicians. But if any one should think that too much is here allowed to the sovereign, I would refer him to Great Britain,[1] as a proof that all these conditions may be fulfilled, and the rights of the prince maintained, without infringing the liberties of the nation.[2] This will be an answer, at least to those who desire a true monarchy and not a republic. In that state a fortunate concurrence of circumstances has for ages been at work in forming the constitution. It is not, therefore, in the situation of the continental states, which have to provide themselves with a constitution for the first time, and the question can-

[1] [How far recent events may have changed the constitution of Great Britain, and made it inconsistent with the conditions prescribed by Professor Heeren, the reader may himself determine. One point appears to be generally admitted, if not so generally lamented, viz. that by the destruction of the government boroughs, the crown must henceforth be limited in its choice of ministers to such men as the constituent bodies of the country may, for the moment, be willing to return to parliament. And yet perfect freedom in this respect is, by Professor Heeren, considered so essential to the idea of monarchy, as scarcely to call for remark. See above. Tr.]

[2] The author trusts that he will not, on this account, be supposed to wish for the introduction of the entire British constitution into the states of the continent. He is well aware of the impossibility of this. And even if it were possible, he is by no means inclined to think it desirable. A diversity and multiplicity of constitutions is the inseparable condition of our political, and with it of our general, improvement. But this should not prevent us from deriving some practical hints from so great and prominent an example; due regard being of course had to the situation in which we are placed. To deny that any thing from thence is applicable here, would be as absurd as to assert that every thing is so.

not be there asked which has been asked here, viz. *From whom is this constitution to come?* The answer to the question itself is simple. From the sovereign power. In monarchies, therefore, from the princes. In republics, from the people or their representatives. The only difficulty which attends it has arisen from an attempt to apply the notions which the writers above-named entertained on the origin of states, to the present time. An application of which they will by no means admit. All those writers suppose a "state of nature," out of which men advanced into civil society; but in none of the countries which desire the establishment of a constitution, does such a state exist. In every one of them there is an existent sovereign: from whom but him ought these new institutions to proceed? It is only by assuming, with Rousseau, that even in monarchies there is a dormant sovereignty of the people, which may upon any occasion be awakened and become active, that this right can be denied.

But although, according to our views, both expediency and justice require that these new institutions should proceed from the existing authority, yet this by no means implies that the prince may not be assisted in planning them by a body of advisers, even though that body should be popularly constituted. This much, however, I believe to be necessary for the maintenance of the monarchical principle, viz. that such a body should have the power of advising, and that only.

Experience of recent date has shown the consequences of greater concessions; the universal acceptance of a constitution by the voice of the people can never be any thing but an empty form, and the regular establishment of it by the states may be easily shown to bring greater dangers than a concession of it by the sovereign.

Were it possible, within the German confederation alone, to come to an agreement on the boundary line which should be drawn, under the new constitutions, between the rights of the prince and of the states, were the points which we have stipulated for above assumed as matters of course, the rest would consist chiefly of local modifications, which could easily be determined by common consent.[1]

[1] [At the congress of Vienna it was provided that representative constitutions should be adopted by the federate states of Germany. But the article (the 13th of the Act of Confederation) was so vaguely worded as to admit of almost any latitude of meaning; and accordingly different expositions of it were made and supported by different princes; many of which, as may be believed, tended to the continuance of their own authority. See Russel's *Germany*, i. 106. The list, however, of those states whose rulers have either adopted or had thrust upon them the liberal meaning of the article, is now pretty large, and embraces Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hanover, Baden, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, Mecklenburg, Saxe Weimar, etc. Of these, Saxe Weimar was the first to receive the boon, although from Russel's amusing description its value does not appear to have been very fully appreciated by the people.

All these constitutions, (to quote the words of Heeren himself, in the new edition of his Manual,) "Notwithstanding many modifications, in respect both of the organization and the greater or less publicity of their transactions, have hitherto coincided in the following points: 1st, The monarchical principle has every where been upheld, in the mode of conferring constitutions by the rulers, and by a just determination of their rights in relation to the states. 2ndly, The assembly of the states consists of two chambers. 3rdly, To these is allotted their proper part in the legislation, especially with regard to taxation."

The 13th article, therefore, does not appear to have been wholly inoperative; but it must be remembered that the act which contains it, also contains provisions for the Diet of Frankfort. Tr.]

The voice of those who demand constitutional governments is become too loud to be silenced without danger. But at the same time there is no doubt but that expectations are entertained which no change in the forms of the states themselves can satisfy.

Those who have speculated upon the forms of constitutional government, and set up new maxims of their own, ought at the same time to have learnt to estimate those forms at their true value. They should have shown what they admit of being, and of producing. But in rejecting this course, in giving themselves up without reserve to their metaphysical speculations, they have originated and constantly kept up the error, that every thing depends upon these forms; and that from them, and not from the spirit of the government and of the administration, the welfare or ruin of states must proceed. And thus it has become more and more customary to consider the state as a machine; and whilst men speak of *the machine of state*, they have fallen into the dangerous mistake of supposing that this *machine* may, like any other, be taken to pieces and put together again at will.

They forget that not only mechanical but *moral* powers are at work in it! What are state forms themselves beyond any other empty forms? What more are they—if I may be

allowed a simile, not perhaps sufficiently exalted, but yet most applicable—than the track in which the chariot wheels are to run? It certainly is not a matter of indifference how this track is formed, for if it be even and easy, the motion will be so also—if it be uneven and rough, the checks will be more frequent, and some improvements will be required. If it be wholly useless, it must be given up; but be it ever so good, are we thereby assured that the chariot will continue in the track? Will the track alone be sufficient to restrain it? This depends rather upon the steeds who draw, and the charioteer who guides.

But to drop all metaphor—no forms will benefit a state, unless the government and people be moral and enlightened. And as to devising any which shall contain the warrant of its own stability, this would be even more absurd than to endeavour the discovery of a perpetuum mobile which should maintain its own impulse for ever.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF

THE RISE AND GROWTH

OF THE

CONTINENTAL INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The political system of Europe is greatly and beneficially modified by containing within it an insular state, which by its extent, and the use to which it applies its domestic resources, maintains its rank among the leading powers. However great the resemblance which may exist amongst the cultivated nations of Europe in points of civilization, religion, and language, the insular character of such a state necessarily gives rise to certain peculiarities, which cannot be effaced. The barriers which nature has interposed between it and the rest of the world, almost certainly produce a feeling of independence among its inhabitants, which may

not only be in the highest degree useful to themselves, but may also serve as an example to others; and that in our quarter of the world it has done so, is sufficiently proved by the history of modern Europe. Moreover, the existence of such a power gives greater security to the political system to which it belongs, against the occurrence of a revolution, which would at one blow annihilate the whole: since the situation of such a state will either altogether exempt it, or at least enable it more easily to escape the shock. But the peculiar importance of such a state to the whole system, consists in the necessity which its own maintenance imposes, of becoming a naval power; and thus rendering it impossible that land forces alone should decide the supremacy. In every system of states, the pre-eminence of one over the rest must eventually ensue, (especially when there is a considerable difference of power among the members,) if the preponderance depend upon land forces alone. Even the expedient of the balance of power, however carefully planned, will prove but a weak security against the occurrence of some favourable opportunity by which the state whose resources, or the talent of its leaders, or both, have rendered it the strongest, may be enabled to take that power into its own hands which in the common course of affairs will at some time or other lead to oppression and tyranny, although it may not at first assume so decisive a character. The rise, therefore, of one or more naval powers, by providing that in the political balance no single interest shall have the preponderance, is of itself most beneficial to the whole; and the more so, because from the very nature of such a power it cannot itself become dangerous to the independence of the rest. But to the reflecting observer, the existence of naval powers acquires its chief interest from the consideration that they can only result from an advanced state of civilization. Barbarians, it is true, will fit out ships for piracy; or if they are sufficiently powerful, for the purpose of conveying their armies into foreign countries and subduing them; but a naval power, in the true sense of the word, arises only from a participation in the commerce of the world, and has for its proper object the protection of its shipping and its colonies in distant seas. This presupposes, therefore, that both shipping and colonies are already in existence; and as they cannot exist except under a high

state of civilization, it follows that without such there cannot be a naval power. The history of modern Europe affords an indisputable proof of this; for it demonstrates clearly and decidedly that the advance of political civilization, and the decrease of ambitious dreams and plans of universal monarchy, correspond with the gradual formation of naval powers, and the growth of their influence upon the political balance.

The policy of a naval power as such, must necessarily have some peculiarities; but much more so, when this power occupies, like England, an insular position. We should undoubtedly be taking a very partial view, were we to found upon this peculiarity in its geographical situation a system of politics, the rules of which such a state should be supposed invariably to follow; for as long as it stands in various relations to other states—as long as their fortunes are an object of interest to it, and more especially as long as it is a member of a political system, it will be compelled, according to the variation in these circumstances, to vary its own maxims of policy. But the relations in which an insular state stands to those of the continent, may nevertheless be reduced to certain general classes, which have reference to as many distinct interests; and this arrangement seems here to be the more important, since in an historical development of the British continental interests, each of these classes comes, at certain periods, under consideration.

We may distinguish four distinct interests by which, notwithstanding its geographical separation, an insular state may become politically bound, as it were, to the continent. 1st, The interest of independence and security. 2nd, The interest of trade and commerce. 3rd, The interest of aggrandizement, by conquest on the continent. 4th, The personal and family interest of the rulers.

With regard to the two last of these classes, I have nothing general to say; for they are in themselves sufficiently intelligible; and in the case of England, the former does not exist; while as to the latter, no one doubts that the agreement or disagreement of the family with the national interest, is the only rule by which its value can be determined. But the two first classes require a more minute examination, not only separately, but also in their mutual relation to each other.

It is most ungrounded to suppose that because an insular state is supported by a navy, it is therefore to take no share in the political transactions of other states. It is certainly by its navy rendered more secure, but by no means perfectly so. Even with numerous fleets it is not always possible to cover widely-extended coasts; and when it is besides necessary for such a power to defend many and distant possessions, on the preservation of which its existence, or at least its wealth, depends, the difficulty is greatly increased. It is true, an insular power has not much to fear from the growth of one which is powerful only by land; but on the other hand, the danger is doubly increased when this power is also a naval power, and as such copes with it. In this relation stood France and England to each other. The proximity of their situations, the contiguity of their foreign possessions, the national hatred which for centuries had received constant nourishment, necessarily produced a rivalry such as does not and could not exist elsewhere.

But when such an insular power is at the same time a commercial state, there becomes connected with the political interest a commercial one, which will not permit continental relations to be neglected. This commercial interest can have no other object than keeping open, and as much as possible enlarging, the market for the disposal of its merchandise; and from this necessarily follows a closer alliance with those nations who will encourage or promote such disposal. Prudence forbids indifference to the fortunes of these allies; and thus arises of itself the connexion between political and commercial interests. But notwithstanding the truth of this, it cannot be denied that this connexion has in modern politics been frequently considered as more binding than it really is. It is sufficiently proved by experience, that the progress of commerce depends immediately on the wants of the buyer and the interest of the seller. Political relations may impede or promote, but they can neither create or destroy it. In countries where the means of communication are, as in Europe, so various and so easy, commerce will find a channel even in the hottest wars, and under the severest restrictions. Where demand exists on one side, and the love of gain on the other, they easily overcome or evade the impediments thrown in their way by go-

vernments. The experience of modern times has thrown much light upon the connexion of political and mercantile interests; it has shown, that if they cannot be wholly separated, neither are they so closely related as they were held to be in times when it was thought that the course which commerce should take, might be prescribed by mercantile treaties, or mercantile interdictions.

Independently of these causes, there is yet another ground which renders it impossible for an insular power, which occupies a prominent place in a political system, to be indifferent to the proceedings of other states; a ground which, in the eyes of a practical politician, is certainly far from unimportant—the maintenance of its station and dignity as a member of that system. In a political body like that of modern Europe, where such unwearied activity prevails, where so many energies are constantly at work, any seclusion from the common affairs, even when of no immediate importance to it, would, to a powerful and leading state, be the unavoidable commencement of its decline. In proportion as such a state contracts its sphere, that of its rival must necessarily expand; while the one loses, the other gains; and how desirable soever the maintenance of peace may be, the remark is not without its value, that power increases only through a struggle, and that a long peace purchased by such politics as these, often proves a very dangerous blessing.

The history of Europe has furnished many useful examples in this respect; but none more so than that of the United Netherlands. Its active interference in the politics of Europe cost this state many heavy sacrifices, and even reduced it to the brink of destruction. After the peace of Utrecht, it embraced the opposite principle, and has maintained it as steadily as it has been able. But from that period began its decline, and the internal causes of its fall worked thenceforth with a certainty proportionate to their undisturbed development. An absolute monarchy, which chiefly depends upon the genius of the ruler, is much more calculated to outlast a long period of peace; although even here symptoms of decline are usually visible. But in a state with a republican constitution, whether combined with monarchy or not, other causes step in, which, under such circumstances, must almost necessarily prove detrimental. The times of peace

are here generally the times of factions; which, although they may not directly bring on a civil war, do not the less gnaw at the very heart of the state. An active participation in foreign affairs, on the other hand, is well calculated to avert the internal fermentation; it affords a subject of common interest to all; whereas men's political opinions invariably become divided when they turn only upon their domestic relations.

This, however, will not, it is hoped, be understood as a defence of rash and general interference in foreign politics and wars. Between such thoughtless interference and indolent apathy, there is a medium which is fixed by the interest and the strength of the power concerned; and it is of the observance of this medium that we are now speaking. In order not to exceed it, the statesman must have not only clear and fixed notions respecting the real interests, but also respecting the extent of influence which the state possesses, of which he guides the helm; and the latter of these seems no less difficult to attain to than the former; for the delusions of pride and self-conceit are to the full as dangerous as those of ambition and self-interest.

These considerations may serve as an introduction to the following inquiry, which has for its aim, an historical development of the continental interests of Great Britain, during the last three centuries. The task which I propose to myself, is to give, in chronological arrangement, a review of the links by which the political and mercantile interests of England were bound up with those of the continent; and to examine how they became united, and how loosened. Unconnected and transient relations, such as sometimes arose in the course of great wars, do not come under our consideration; those only which were lasting deserve our attention. The history of the continental interests of Britain can be clearly viewed only, by considering it according to the periods in which it was subject to its principal changes. We must therefore take the following:—1. The period from Henry VII. to Elizabeth. 2. That of Elizabeth. 3. That of the Stewarts, down to William III. 4. That of William III. and Anne. 5. That of the house of Hanover, down to the commencement of the French Revolution. 6. The period from this, down to the restoration of the political system of Europe, which the revolution had destroyed.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM HENRY VII. TO ELIZABETH, 1484—1558.

Even during the middle ages, England had taken a very active part in the affairs of the continent, by her wars with France, and her endeavours to conquer that kingdom. The marriage of Isabella, daughter of Philip the Handsome, with Edward II.,—a marriage in so many respects unfortunate,—had laid the foundation of these contests, since Edward III., the offspring of this union, grounded his claims to the French throne, in opposition to those of the house of Valois, upon his maternal descent. A series of wars ensued, which for a long time were as fortunate for England, as their consequences in the middle of the 15th century were fatal. The political interest which connected England with the continent, was therefore at this period only one of conquest. In times when the principles by which politics were directed were as yet coarse and unrefined, and when the love of conquest was the sole spring of action, such plans were possible, although even then there were evident indications, that a lasting subjection of France to England was nothing but a dream. Since the year 1450, the English had been excluded from France, but the bare title of king of France was not all which England retained. Political ideas, so deeply rooted as these were, are not easily got rid of; and the result shows, that they were active in England throughout the whole of this period, since every opportunity was eagerly seized, which held out the least chance of carrying them into execution. Brittany was at that time under the rule of its own dukes, in whom, as they were almost constantly embroiled with the kings of France, England found allies within France itself; and had not this position of affairs been altered, by the extinction of the male line (1488) and the subsequent union of the heiress Anna with Charles VIII., the consequences of it would probably have been long felt. Besides, whilst Calais remained in the hands of the English, it was imagined that they possessed as it were the gate of France, by which they might enter as often as they thought fit.

But even in the reign of Henry VII., England obtained by family connexion an interest in the continent. Arthur, son of Henry VII., married Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic; and upon his death, while still a youth, she became the wife of his brother, afterwards Henry VIII.

During the reign of Henry VII., these relations could not have any important consequences, because he purposely avoided, as much as possible, all interference in foreign transactions, in order to secure his own throne. Once only he crossed over to Calais with an army, to please Maximilian I., when he was deprived of his betrothed bride, Anna, the heiress of Brittany, by Charles VIII., who thus laid the foundation for this important acquisition; but although the English interest was, by this circumstance, exposed to imminent danger, it was more a financial than a military expedition. For 600,000 crowns Charles VIII. purchased the treaty of Estaples (1492); in a few weeks Henry returned home, and the alliance between England and Brittany was for ever dissolved.

But during the reign of his son and successor, Henry VIII., (1509—1547,) the consequences became, on this account, the more striking. When he ascended the throne, Italy had, by the league of Cambray, become the centre of European politics. England, from her position and other circumstances, could derive no benefit whatever from taking a share in the proceedings in Italy; nay, her neutrality must have given her the advantage over France, while this state was fruitlessly expending its strength in attempts at conquests. But the family connexion with Spain was now employed by his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, for the purpose of involving Henry in these transactions.

When the league of Cambray fell to pieces, and out of it arose the holy league against France, Ferdinand joined himself to it, in order to find an opportunity of seizing Navarre. He fully estimated the advantages which would probably result to him from the interference of Henry, whom he flattered with the hope of being able to enforce his old claims to Guienne. He obtained his object; Henry VIII. quarrelled with France, and when he had done so, his father-in-law and his other allies forsook him, and after a fruitless invasion of Picardy, he put an end to this war, which had exhausted the crown treasures left him by his father, by a peace (1514) intended to be confirmed by the marriage of his sister to Lewis XII.

An interest so entirely misunderstood as this had been, and only raised by the craftiness of a false friend, could not be otherwise than transient. But the times soon changed; and when Lewis XII. and Ferdinand (1516) left the stage, at nearly the same time, and Francis I. and Charles V. stepped into their places, new relations arose, which became, or at least seemed to become, much more important to the continental interests of Great Britain. The new rivalry between the French and Austrian-Spanish houses, first laid the foundation of the system of a balance of power, and four bloody wars between Charles and Francis were the result.

Under these circumstances, it was very natural that the idea should arise in England, that she was able to turn the scale in these wars. And what can we conceive so well calculated to flatter the vanity of Henry VIII., as to consider himself the umpire of Europe? And indeed he seemed to have many means in his power for accomplishing this object. If he embraced the side of Charles, he could easily injure France, since the possession of Calais made it easy for him to land troops on the French coast; and if he joined the party of Francis, he could, in the same manner, make an incursion into the Flemish possessions of Charles V. We cannot, therefore, be surprised, that he really assumed this character; but he acted it so badly, that it led to no results; and by casting a single glance into history, we shall easily discover why it did not. When the contest between Francis I. and Charles V. first began, in the year 1521, and both monarchs strove for the friendship of Henry, it was for a time uncertain which side he would join, until at length Charles succeeded in winning over Cardinal Wolsey, by promises and flattery. Through him the king was also gained. But still the war in Picardy was only a subordinate transaction, and its results could be of no great importance. The melancholy fate of Francis I. at Pavia (1525) brought Henry to his senses. He now began to fear that his ally might become too strong; he therefore forsook him, and after the peace of Madrid, by which Francis bought his freedom at the expense of conditions which he had no intention of fulfilling, (1527,) he even went so far as to unite himself with his former enemy. But at the commencement of the second war, he voluntarily disabled himself; since he was

induced, by commercial considerations, to concede to the emperor the neutrality of the Netherlands, the only point in which he was capable of doing him any injury. The consequence was, that he gave his ally no assistance, and as his attention was engaged during the war, by religious matters, and the question of his own marriage, he appeared wholly to have forgotten the important part which he was to play, and took no share in the third war between those two monarchs, which was concluded by the ten years' armistice of Nice (1538). But when the fourth broke out, (1541,) he formed a close alliance with Charles, not because he then feared the power of France, but because he wished to gratify his own capricious humours. The compact which he concluded with Charles V., is a striking example of the politics of that time; the conditions show that there was no intention they should be observed, because their observance was impossible. Henry VIII. desired nothing less than the French crown, and, in order to conquer the whole of France, he went to Calais with an insignificant force, while Charles invaded Champagne. But the allies fell out amongst themselves; Charles concluded a separate treaty at Cressy, (1544,) and left his ally to get out of his difficulties as he best could; Henry was content with the promise of an annual payment, which, on the other side, there was no intention of discharging, although Boulogne,[1] which he had taken, was left in his hands as a pledge for eight years.

From all this it is clear, that the pretended maintenance of the balance between the two great powers of the continent, in these times, existed only in name. A monarch, who was ever the slave of his inclination, and the tool of those by whom he was surrounded, was incapable of adhering to a firm line of politics; and this remark applies with equal truth to his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who was not less guided by his passions than his master. It might have been expected, that the new interest created under Henry VIII. by the Reformation, might have caused a connexion between England and the continent; but the conduct of Henry rendered this impossible, notwithstanding the share which he took in these transactions. As long as he claimed

[1] This, during the reign of his son, was recovered by France, on the payment of a much smaller sum than had been originally stipulated.

the supremacy, and only exchanged the power of the pope in England for his own, without tolerating the Protestant doctrine, the adherents of which he persecuted, there could be no union between him and the Protestant princes of Germany; and the attempts which he made to attain this object were necessarily fruitless.

Under the government of his son and successor, Edward VI., the political connexion with the continent was not in any way strengthened; it was, on the contrary, made apparent, that the ties by which, under Henry VIII., England had been united to the continent, had arisen, not from any national interest, but from the caprices of that king. Although, during this reign, the Reformation was introduced into England, that country was not involved in the great crisis, by which the condition of the Protestants of Germany was determined, although so fair an opportunity of its becoming so was offered by the alliance of Henry II. of France and Maurice, against Charles V. But upon the premature death of Edward, and the succession of his sister Mary, England was brought into a new connexion with the continent, and one which might have had the most fatal consequences, by the union of Mary and Philip II. of Spain (1554). It is true, the parliament took all possible precautions, but had there been any children of the marriage, Philip's unwearied activity might easily have overcome these difficulties. Even as it was, the political relations of England were affected by it. When Philip II., soon after his succession, saw himself compelled (1557) to a war with France, he contrived, by his personal influence with his wife, to make her a party to it. The result was the loss of Calais, the only remains of the old conquests of Britain in continental France.[1] Calais was taken by the French in 1558, and at the time was considered a most serious loss; but in reality it was a gain to England. It was this that chiefly tended to dispel the old visions of conquest in France, which had so often been the occasion of undertakings against that country, although the impracticability of the design might long have been discovered.

From what has been said, it is clear that, although England during this period occasionally interfered in the affairs

[1] The islands of Guernsey and Jersey she still retains.

of the continent, the British continental interests were not as yet become national interests; they existed only in the family connexions of the reigning houses, or in the old claims of the kings of England upon France: that is to say, in an idea which had already outlived its own strength. For her independence, England had then little to fear from either France or Spain, since Italy was the prize for which these powers were contending; and if there had been any apprehension that they might hereafter become dangerous, it would have been most natural to permit them to wear out their strength against each other. It remains therefore only to inquire, how far the interests of England, during this period, may have been involved in those of the continent by its commercial transactions.

As England was then wholly without colonies, which might give her the produce of distant parts of the world to convey to other markets, and as her domestic industry was too confined to produce any considerable means of commerce, it is easy to see that her trading interest at this time could not enter into the most remote comparison with that which arose in the subsequent periods of her history. The great commercial revolution for which the ground was laid by the discovery of America and the East Indies, in the beginning of this period,—the only one which furnishes an epoch in the general history of trade,—was not entirely without its influence upon England; for as early as 1497, John Cabot sailed on a voyage of discovery to North America, and others followed him; but those discoveries, although made with the *consent* were without the *support* of the government; and during this period led to no advantageous results.

But, in the mean time, the wool which England produced, and which was exported partly in a raw and partly in a manufactured state, was of so much importance that it was not entirely without influence upon her continental policy. From the twelfth century, the breeding of sheep (which was afterwards greatly improved by the introduction of the Spanish breed, in the reign of Edward IV.) had been the principal employment of the English farmer; and after continuing to export it raw for a considerable period, cloth manufactures were at length introduced. The nearest mar-

ket, and that to which English wool was first carried, was in the Netherlands, the manufacturers of which depended for their prosperity upon the trade; and hence arose a connexion which existed not merely in the caprice of the sovereign or the minister, but in the real interests of the nation. Even in this period it had some political consequences; for when Henry VIII. declared war against Charles V. in 1527, the discontent of those engaged in this business, compelled the king to make a separate treaty for the neutrality of the Netherlands. The sequel of this inquiry will show, that as the connexion with this country was one of the oldest, so it has always remained one of the firmest links of the British continental interests. Besides the trade with the Netherlands, England found a market for her wool in the north-eastern countries of Europe, in Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and even in Russia. This trade was for some time carried on only by the vessels belonging to the Hanseatic league; which, as it is well known, had one of its commercial establishments in London. But the English began to try all means in order to bring it into their own hands, and thus differences arose; which, however, ended rather in piracy, and that of the most cruel kind, than in formal wars. If the power of this league, however, had not been already so much on the decline, that Elizabeth was enabled to deprive it of its commercial privileges in England, these circumstances might have had a much greater influence upon the continental politics of this country, than actually was the case.

These are the ties which, under the first four Tudors, connected England with the continent of Europe. They were all of the most delicate and frail nature; and for the most part detrimental to England. But it was reserved for the last monarch of this house to create a firmer and better connexion; and in the history of the continental interests of England, her reign undoubtedly constitutes a distinct and very important period.

SECOND PERIOD.

PERIOD OF ELIZABETH, 1558—1603.

In the whole history of the British continental interests there are, properly speaking, only two periods which form

general epochs—that of Elizabeth, and that of William III. However great may have been the claims advanced by her arrogant father, it was only under Elizabeth that England raised itself to the first rank among nations. During this reign it first learnt its power and the proper sphere of its action; the old visions of continental conquests vanished away; all the family connexions by which England had been united with the continent were dissolved; and in their place arose relations of a very different character, produced by neither private interest nor vain projects of aggrandizement. Elizabeth has the merit of having made her private interest subservient to that of her nation, or at least of having united the two, whilst her predecessors were guided solely by the former; and this, notwithstanding the cunning and deceitfulness sometimes displayed in it, forms the principal feature of her glorious reign.

Her first undertaking was the introduction of Protestantism into England; and this determined not only the internal relations of her kingdom, but became for a long time the true foundation of the foreign interests of Britain.

A change of religion was in itself an affair of the people, and not of the government alone. Elizabeth, in yielding to the wishes of a large majority of the nation, founded a real and universal national interest; but at the same time one which affected the government. And as the Reformation implicated England in the politics of the continent, it is at once evident that this connexion must have been closer than any could have been before. It now for the first time became possible, that a real continental interest should arise, at least if we understand by this one which is not merely the personal interest of the ruler, but also that of the people. Such a connexion was now, by many circumstances, rendered unavoidable.

About the time when the Reformation was introduced into England, the religious interest[1] was also in a great degree a political one. The maintenance of the constitution rested directly on Protestantism; and it could not escape the observation of the queen, that the fall of that religion would have involved her own. She was forced, therefore,

[1] See above, *Political Consequences of the Reformation*, second period; page 289.

to become its defender, but circumstances made it impossible that she should confine herself to playing that part at home. England (for Sweden had not yet taken a decided part) was the first leading power which had declared for the Protestants; and Elizabeth was therefore considered as the general supporter, if not the head, of the party; a character which she could not refuse without endangering her own interests. Then as Spain was at this time governed by Philip II., the most determined of the defenders of the old doctrine, a man too whose pride Elizabeth had wounded by the refusal of his hand, the antipathy which sprung up between these two powers became an almost necessary consequence. But, again, it was this very antipathy which laid the foundation of the greatness of England. The religious interest now involved that of independence and political existence; and England, in entering the lists against the first power of the time, was under the necessity of either raising herself to eminence, or abjectly submitting to be crushed; the choice lay between victory and destruction.

That this relation between England and Spain could last thirty years (1558—1588) without breaking into open war, while at the same time Elizabeth never, during this long period, made a single sacrifice of her real interests, is undoubtedly the most splendid proof of her superior political ability. But in the mean time, other circumstances arose on the continent, which very much strengthened the connexion with England; namely, the war of the Hugonots in France, and the revolution in the Netherlands. And although one of these ties was broken off even during the reign of Elizabeth, the other seemed to be permanently established.

When the disturbances began in the Netherlands, there were three reasons why England should take part with the insurgents. It has been mentioned, that the Flemish provinces were the principal market for the disposal of British produce,[1] and even on this account England could not be in-

[1] Even at the beginning of the troubles in 1564, an attempt to prevent the importation of English cloths, occasioned disputes which were terminated only by a provisional arrangement. See Rapin, in whose work may also be found an account of the trade between England and the Netherlands. Its whole value is put at twelve millions in gold, (quere, what dollar?) of which the exportation of cloth alone from England amounted to five millions. Vol. viii. p. 308. ed. 1729.

different to their fate. This, then, was one reason for interference. The second regarded the religious interests which they had in common. The struggle which was here beginning, was one against religious tyranny; if the Protestant creed was victorious in the Netherlands, its maintenance in Germany and England was also secured; but in both countries this was more than doubtful, if Spain succeeded in stifling it there. The third reason was, that the loss of the Netherlands would be a blow to the Spanish power, which must eventually prove fatal to it, and insure success to England in the rivalry which had now commenced.

For these reasons Elizabeth took a share in the Flemish disturbances; and this share was advantageous not only to her, but to the nation. She did not do more however than give them scanty subsidies, and permit her subjects to serve as volunteers in their army. She wished, as it appears, to avoid, if possible, a war with Spain; and she well knew, that the scanty assistance she gave, was best calculated to develope their powers, and thus to obtain her principal object.

It was only in 1585, that she made a formal treaty with them, by which, in consideration of the money which she had advanced, and the troops which she supplied, three of their ports were pledged to her, and a place in the council of war, then existing, was promised to her ambassador; at the same time, however, she declined the proffered sovereignty over these provinces. These and other well-known circumstances led to a formal quarrel with Spain, and the interests of England and the Netherlands, in respect to this power, became inseparably united. The destruction of the invincible armada (1588) freed England at once from all apprehension of the Spanish power; and now Elizabeth had no longer any wish to put a stop to a war, the circumstances of which were favourable not only to the security, but also to the greatness of her empire.

If we consider the whole conduct of Elizabeth towards the Netherlands, we shall plainly discover what her intentions were. That this infant state, just liberating itself from thraldom, would advance with such gigantic strides towards the greatness which awaited it: that it would not only outstrip Spain, but, by engrossing the commerce of the world, would even surpass England itself, and oblige that state to

strain every nerve, in order to supplant its rival: all this did not occur to her, nor was it probable that it should. She fancied that she was raising up a state, which could exist only under the protection of England, and would therefore never be able to act in opposition to the British influence. She wished to establish her supremacy here, as she had done in Scotland, and would gladly have done in France. This manner of extending her power, was as much studied by Elizabeth as it was by Philip II.; but she knew how to play her game more secretly, and calculated the chances better. It could not be otherwise, however, than that the mutual rivalry between England and Spain, (on which now depended the balance of Europe,) should produce these struggles: the territory which one side gained, was lost by the other; and each therefore was compelled to endeavour, not only to maintain, but also to add to its possessions.

The turn which the affairs of the Netherlands took during this reign, must have tended still more to strengthen the ties between them and England. The Belgic provinces, it is true, were restored during the war to the Spanish dominion, and the Batavian alone maintained their independence; but even while the war was raging, all manufactures and trade had been transferred from the former, which were the constant scene of action, to the latter, which suffered infinitely less; and since in these Protestantism finally triumphed, they became connected with England by religious as well as mercantile interests, and common enmity to Spain remained the watchword of both nations.

The relations in which Elizabeth stood towards France, were much more complicated; and she could hardly herself have been aware, how far they would lead her. The protracted hopes of marriage which she held out to Francis of Alençon, the presumptive heir to the crown, and which, even allowing for the feelings of her sex to the degree which her history requires, it could never have entered into her plans to fulfil, were the veil under which she concealed her true designs. The religious wars, which commenced in 1562, had lasted but a short time, when she began to support the Hugonots by intercession, by money, and by volunteers; and this she continued to do, without openly breaking off her amicable relations with the government.

It would be difficult to find a parallel to the political game which she played here, and which surpassed in subtlety even that carried on by her in the Netherlands. It was impossible to know how these wars might terminate, but here too her rivalry with Spain formed her chief inducement to act as she did. As Philip II. supported the league in order to further his own views, she opposed him by siding with Henry of Navarre; and when this prince came into quiet possession of his throne, she joined him in the war against Spain, which, as concerned France, was terminated by the peace of Vervins (1598). But the pacification of the Hugonots by the edict of Nantes, and the death of Philip, which happened in the same year, were of themselves sufficient to destroy this interest, the very nature of which was but transient.

These were the principal supports on which rested the continental interests of England during this reign; but the great and manifold development of the powers of the nation during the same period, had also an influence upon them which must be the less neglected in proportion to its greater permanency.

It was during the time of Elizabeth that England first learnt for what she was destined, and became acquainted with her proper sphere of action, since it was then that she laid the foundation of her universal commerce and navigation, although it was not till a later period that the structure was brought to perfection. The rivalry with Spain chiefly conduced to this; and as the possessions of that nation extended over the most remote parts of the earth, England was not wanting in the courage requisite to seek and encounter its enemies on the most distant seas. In this manner were the seeds of many branches of British commerce, which attained their perfection long afterwards, sown, since England now sought to appropriate to herself her own carrying trade, which hitherto had been chiefly in the hands of foreigners. While she was seeking a north-eastern passage to India, arose her commerce by way of Archangel with Moscow, and even Persia. Thus originated the share which she took in the Newfoundland fisheries, which afterwards became of such immeasurable importance. Thus, too, the first trial of the African slave trade. It was thus that the

Hanseatic league was deprived of its privileges in England, and British ship-owners got the continental trade into their hands. Thus, too, were made the first, although ineffectual attempts, to colonize North America. Thus was England even then induced to turn her attention to the commerce with India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; and as early as the end of this reign (1600) the old East India Company was established, although as yet there were no important possessions in those parts. Thus many discoveries were made, and to this it is owing that Drake made his successful voyage round the world.

Most of these new branches of commerce were, it is true, so inconsiderable at that time, that they could not be fairly regarded as possessing direct political influence. Commercial wars, strictly speaking, had not as yet arisen; but the importance of trade in general began to be more sensibly felt. To this it must be added, that with the commerce and the navigation of England, her naval power was also extended. As yet England had not been, in the present sense of the word, a naval power—it was only in the reign of Henry VIII. that a slight foundation was laid for that "*Royal Navy*" in which was to consist the future strength of the country. The rivalry with Spain rendered an increase of naval power necessary, and therefore it was augmented under Elizabeth; but some great trial of strength was wanting to prove its whole importance to England. This was afforded by the invincible armada; and from that time the conviction became deeply rooted that the security and independence of Britain depends upon her wooden walls. From that moment she suddenly became conscious of her power, and the defensive war was changed into an offensive one; from it too we must date the rise of her designs upon the sovereignty of the seas, which, cleared as they now were of the Spanish fleets, seemed only to await a new mistress.

The conclusion at which we arrive therefore is, that, 1. The interest of religion under Elizabeth was also that of independence, and of the connexion between England and the continent; 2. That during her time the foundation was laid for a commercial interest, the whole power of which however was not to be developed till a later period.

THIRD PERIOD.

PERIOD OF THE STUARTS, 1603—1689.

At the time when the Stuarts ascended the throne of England, the religious interest formed, as is evident from the preceding part of this inquiry, the pivot on which turned the whole politics, both foreign and domestic, at once of England and the rest of Europe. On Protestantism Elizabeth had founded her throne and her greatness, and a firmer basis they could not have had; because she thus united her interest with that of the people. Her successor appeared therefore to have his way marked out for him; he thought fit, however, to choose another, and thus prepared the fall of his dynasty.

The house of the Stuarts is probably the only one in history which brought on its fall, not so much by practical as by theoretical principles. These principles were, however, at direct variance with the interests of England generally; and more especially with her continental interests. Since Elizabeth, by the defence of Protestantism, had attained the supremacy of Protestant Europe, it was evident that to maintain it her successor must assume the same character. But James I. was rendered incapable of doing so, by the strange mixture of political and religious sentiments in which he loved to indulge, and which remained the hereditary and deep-rooted sentiments of his family. His theory respecting the high dignity and unlimited power of royalty, determined his religious creed, which was confirmed by the feelings which in his youth had been roused in him by the fate of his mother. He hated the puritans from the bottom of his heart, because he scarce considered them in any light but that of rebels. He professed that he belonged to the episcopal church, because to be king of England it was necessary that he should do so, but his very first speech in parliament declares in such plain words that Catholicism, (excepting the doctrine of the papal supremacy, which was detestable to him from its limiting the regal power,) was the religion of his heart, that it could not but destroy once and for ever the confidence of the nation in their king.[1]

[1] This speech, like the rest of those composed by the king himself, forms a curious document illustrative of English history. It contains the seeds of

An immediate reaction upon the continental policy of England could not but ensue, and even at the commencement of the reign of James I. it showed itself in two ways; in the peace with Spain, and in the transactions between that power and the Netherlands. In 1604 James concluded the war with Spain which Elizabeth had so determinately carried on, by a peace with Philip III.; in which no single advantage was gained for England, and the Netherlands were left to their fate. How far the conditions of that treaty were favourable or unfavourable to England, made but little difference; with this peace expired that rivalry with Spain, which under Elizabeth had been the soul of British politics. On this rivalry was founded the greatness of the nation; through it her naval power had developed itself; and it supported the confidence of the other Protestant states of Europe and the supremacy of England. It is clear also, that the change in these relations produced a corresponding one in the whole course of foreign policy pursued by England, and the firmest, and under existing circumstances the most natural, connexion between her and the continent was broken.

The second occasion, when the change in the political system of England became apparent, was the negotiation which the Netherlands entered into with Spain, respecting the recognition of their independence in the year 1607. This period was of incalculable importance to England, which had so long fought the same battle as themselves. With what activity would not Elizabeth have applied the negotiation to her own advantage, so as to take the whole credit to herself, and to attach the new state to England, by unstrained but yet secure ties! But thoughts like these did not enter a head like that of James I. According to his sentiments, the Netherlands were nothing more than rebels to their sovereign, and thus even in the midst of the negotiation, he acted in so contradictory a manner, that no one knew what his designs were, because he did now know himself. The consequence was, that at length no one noticed him, and Henry IV. obtained the influence which Elizabeth would have secured to herself.

that harvest of misfortunes which the Stuarts afterwards reaped. One might almost say that the evil genius of this family, which drove it blindly from one fault to another, had inspired the king with it.

This apathy and indolence, which James I. concealed under the name of love of peace, would have completely broken up the relations between England and the continent, had they not been renewed by family circumstances. The care of making a suitable marriage for his son, which, according to his notions, could only be with the daughter of a king, carried him into negotiations, which characterize more perhaps than any thing else the perverseness of this eccentric king. A Spanish princess was to be the wife of his son and future successor; a Catholic, therefore, a descendant of that family and of that nation, who, both by religious and political interest, were the hereditary foes of England. Thus James I. was indifferent to risking his own interest, that of his son, and of his country, for the sake of gratifying a caprice, which found a ready support in his prejudices. This is not the place for reviewing this extraordinary negotiation, in which Spain had the advantage during seven years (1617—1624) of leading the weak monarch according to her own views, and which, when at length it failed, was the occasion of a war, by engaging in which the luckless Charles took the first step towards his ruin. But during the progress of these negotiations, the marriage of Elizabeth, only daughter of James I., had created new continental relations, which had a considerable influence. In 1612 she was married to Frederic V., Elector of the Palatinate, who, in 1618, assumed the crown of Bohemia, which, as well as his own family possessions, he lost by the battle of Prague and its results. If James I. had taken an active part in the German war, it would never have been laid to his charge, that he bartered the interest of the empire for that of his daughter. For the first was here concerned as well as the latter; the interest of Protestantism was at stake, and this more especially, because in 1621, the war between Spain and the Netherlands was renewed. But here too James I. played a double part. He did not approve of the undertaking of his son-in-law, because he considered the Bohemians as rebels, and yet he would willingly have seen his daughter a queen. But the close connexion between Spain and Austria made the policy of interference still more questionable; for if he had decided on coming forward, a threat from Spain of breaking off the negotiations for the marriage of his son

would have made him as undecided as ever. Hence the melancholy part which he took in this eventful period. An idle show of assistance was all that his son-in-law received from him.

But if James I. thus betrayed the continental interests of England, this neglect brought its own punishment, and that a severe one. The power which, under his predecessor, had turned the scales in the political balance of Europe, now sank into such insignificance as almost to become the ridicule of Europe. Our inquiry thus far has shown, that the relations between England and the continent were as yet very simple, when compared to those of later times; and yet her history, even under James I., clearly shows that a neglect of her continental interests is with her the signal of decline.

It is true, that the reign of his ill-fated son began with a twofold war, with Spain and with France; but the first arose from the failure of the scheme of marriage, and was founded only on family interests; the other aimed at the defence of the Hugonots in France, who had been disarmed by Richelieu, and therefore the support of religion might be supposed to be involved in it; but the real cause was hatred of that minister; while both were carried on in so weak and spiritless a manner, that they only served to embroil Charles I. with his parliament. Although Charles took some share in the affairs of Germany and of the Palatine family, it was so inconsiderable, that it led to no results; and it was very evident that he was induced to it, not so much by religious or national, as by family interests. The true continental interest of England was left out of sight; and when the storm in his own country began to gather, he had no time to give any attention to foreign affairs, and England remained as it were isolated in the European system, until Cromwell (1649) had possessed himself of the helm of state. The government of that bold usurper is distinguished, not only by a more active interest in the transient affairs of the continent, but also for the lasting consequences which resulted from it. The stormy times of the revolution had roused a power in England hitherto unknown; almost every one who was capable of it had carried arms, and the spirit of faction had created moral energies, which can be brought into action only at such periods. To this must be added the fact, that,

notwithstanding the troubles of the times, the navy had not been neglected either by Charles I. or his father. He had most scrupulously applied the sums granted for its support, and England, as a republic, stood both by land and sea in a more formidable attitude than she had done as a monarchy.

The private interest of the Protector made it, no doubt, requisite that he should take an active part in foreign affairs, as well to afford vent to the excitement at home, as to give splendour to his reign; but, independently of this, a new interest had been springing up, which, in progress of time, rapidly increased, and gradually gained a greater influence upon the relations between England and the great powers of the continent, namely, the colonial interest.

With the East Indies, England had, it is true, for some time carried on a considerable trade, but as yet it had no territorial possessions, and was confined to a few scattered factories. But even these already furnished occasions of quarrel with Holland and Spain, whose jealousy would suffer no strangers to gain a footing there.[1] But, properly speaking, the first colonies of the English were on the coasts of North America, and the West Indies; and they owed their origin chiefly to political and religious interests. Bands of malcontents wandered across the ocean, and sought beyond its waters a freedom or security, which they either did not, or imagined they did not, find at home. Thus arose the numerous settlements in several of what are the United States, and in 1623, and 1624, in Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, and some of the smaller islands, which the Spaniards had not thought it worth their while to occupy.

These foreign possessions always continued in a certain state of dependence on the mother country, although this relation received different modifications. The mother country was therefore under the obligation of defending them, and as this was especially necessary against the continental powers, the colonial interest naturally became a mainspring in the continental politics of England. This state of things was at first caused by the absurd pretensions of the Spaniards, who, as the first discoverers of the new world, claimed the

[1] Particularly in the year 1623, at Amboina, where the Dutch massacred the English colonists in a horrid manner, under pretence that they were engaged in a conspiracy; and also took the small island of Poleroon from England.

exclusive possession of it, and the sole right of trading in its seas. These claims were not relinquished even in time of peace; and although after the treaty of 1604 these settlements obtained a little more peace, and therefore prospered better, the Spaniards exercised occasional acts of violence and cruelty, which sufficiently proved that they had no intention of resigning their claims, and afforded at least one of the grounds which determined Cromwell to chastise them, when he declared war against them in 1655.

The whole system which the Protector adopted in regard to continental politics, is very comprehensive and complicated, and therefore not easy to include in one view.[1] His whole government show how important he considered it; and although we cannot deny that private feelings and objects influenced his measures, still it is clear that his main object was to make it a means of increasing the commercial navigation of England. The consequences of it were, the two foreign wars which he carried on; viz. that with Holland (1652—1654), and that with Spain (1655—1657).

Whatever other circumstances may have had their influence in the former of these, it was in reality a commercial war, and the first in which England had engaged. The relation in which she stood to the West Indian colonies, where the Dutch were in possession of nearly all the commerce of the British islands, and more especially that of Barbadoes, led to the passing of that famous Navigation Act, which not only secured to the mother country the whole trade of the colonies, but also forbade the introduction of European produce in any ships but those of the country from which it came; and thus gave the death-blow to the extensive carrying trade of Holland. This Act was therefore little less than a declaration of war. The relations between the two states, however, had undergone a great change. Holland had all but secured the monopoly of the commerce of the world, and England if she wished to have any share of it, could not avoid entering into a contest such as Cromwell engaged in. The dispute which arose respecting the rights of the flag, unimportant as it may appear, displays in a remarkable manner the rivalry of the two nations; but that England, by persisting in the Navigation Act, laid the foundation of her naval power, requires no proof.

[1] This is the part of Cromwell's history in which Hume has been the least successful. He omits the mention of all those leading principles of his policy, which the slightest glance at it will display.

The war with Spain, with the assistance of France, exercised a twofold influence upon the interests of Britain. In the first place, the conquest of Jamaica (1655) secured for ever the colonial interest in the West Indies. Until that time England possessed only a few of the smaller Carib islands, and that by sufferance rather than by any power of her own. It was the intention of Cromwell to wrest St. Domingo from the Spaniards, and thus to make England mistress of the West Indies. In this he did not succeed; but the conquest of Jamaica, which, although at that time of no moment, became in a few years a flourishing English colony, compensated for the disappointment; and as the demand for their produce increased, the West Indian colonies gradually became of such importance to England as necessarily to influence, and that in a material degree, her relations with other nations which already had established, or were on the point of establishing, settlements in those islands. A second result of this war was the renewal of the scheme of conquests on the continent. It was the intention of the Protector to gain possession of the sea-port towns, and perhaps of the whole coast of the Spanish Netherlands; and France was obliged to pledge herself beforehand to resign to England the places which it was proposed should be taken, viz. Dunkirk, Mardyk, and Gravelines; and in this manner the two former really came into the possession of the English. But his views were yet more extensive. He wished to gain also the principal ports in the North Sea and the Baltic; and the treaty with Sweden (1657) was intended to prepare the way for this.[1] At this period Charles X., the warlike successor of Christina, was planning the formation of a great Northern monarchy, by the conquest of Poland and Denmark. The Protector promised him support, and expected in return the possession of Bremen, of Elsinore, and Dantzic. But a longer life would have been requisite to carry out

[1] According to Hume, he entered into this alliance with Sweden from mere zeal in the Protestant cause. Nevertheless, according to the seventeenth article of the treaty, he retained the right of disposing of all fortresses taken from the Danes; which surely cannot have been wholly dictated by zeal for the Protestant cause.

these plans than fell to the lot of Cromwell; the possession of Jamaica and the Navigation Act, (Dunkirk being sold to the French in 1662,) remained the only permanent memorials of his protectorate.

However extensive therefore were his views of continental policy, it is clear that but few of them were carried into execution. But when the Stuarts were restored to the throne (1660) the old prejudices of their family came back with them, and under the existing circumstances became still more dangerous to England than they had been in the reigns of James I. and his son. It was at this period that Lewis XIV. raised his power in so sudden and formidable a manner as to disturb the peace and independence of all his neighbours. In order to carry out his plans, the concurrence of England was indispensable; and although at his first attempt England took part in the alliance which brought about, or seemed to bring about, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, (1668,) it is well known from history that Charles II. and his venal ministers soon became so wound up with the interests of France, that they even took part in the war for the subjection of Flanders to France, although that event was evidently opposed to the interests of Britain. The hope that, with the aid of France, he should be able to overturn the constitution and the established religion, and thus attain unlimited power, was the talisman by which Lewis led this abandoned monarch to embrace his interests,[1] and induced him, as well as his brother and successor, to continue in them. It would be in vain, during the reign of princes who were guided only by their passions and their prejudices, to look for fixed principles of policy; a revolution was necessary to establish these upon a new foundation.

FOURTH PERIOD.

WILLIAM III. AND ANNE (1689—1714).

We now come to the period which is undoubtedly the most important in the history of the modern continental politics of England, namely, the period of William III. The merit of having laid the foundation of those continental interests which have lasted to our time, belongs undoubtedly

[1] The conditions of the secret alliance with France (1670) as quoted by Hume, put this point beyond dispute.

to him. In the time of Elizabeth, as we have shown, it was Protestantism which determined the relations between England and the continent. It is true that this spring of action operated more powerfully, and for a greater length of time, here, than in any other European state; so much so, that it displayed considerable strength even under William III.; but as it began about this time to relax in other states, the same necessarily became the case before long in England; and here as elsewhere it could only be maintained for a short additional period by the local or family circumstances of the reigning house. Some other powerful inducement was therefore requisite, in order that the participation of England in the affairs of the continent should rest upon higher grounds than the personal connexions and inclinations of the monarch. This new spring of action, which has continued down to the latest times the soul of British policy, was the rivalry with France, a principle which was then established for ever. England since that time has scarcely ever entered into any political connexions with the continent which have not either mediately or immediately proceeded from this source. This rivalry has been one of the mainsprings of European politics, and the more partial the view which is often taken of this circumstance, the more necessary it is that we should consider it in its real bearings.

The rivalry of these two great powers was undoubtedly the cause, partly of the origin, partly of the extension and of the prolongation of several of the great wars which have desolated not only Europe, but even the most remote parts of the earth. Considered in this light, we may well excuse the opinion which refers to this rivalry, as to one of their chief causes, the manifold evils which in these times have happened to mankind; but it is undoubtedly a false estimate which would assert that these evils, undeniable as they are, outweigh the advantages which have sprung from the same source. A more extensive view of history in general will lead us to a very different result.

What is the rivalry of nations but the spur, ay, and the most effectual one, to prompt them to the development of their powers? What else therefore than the mainspring by which they are urged to the attainment of that state of civilization for which they are by their capacities and circum-

stances fitted? The progress of whole nations is in this respect the same as that of individuals; nor can it be otherwise, since it is of such that they are composed. As amongst individuals it is emulation which ripens youth into manhood, so it is also amongst nations; and it would probably be in vain to search in history for an example of a nation which became great without the impulse of rivalry. The Greeks would never have been the first nation of their time, had it not been for their victory over the Persians! Never would Rome have been mistress of the world, had it not been for the struggle with Carthage; and Carthage would have been without a Hamilcar and a Hannibal, had she not been the rival of Rome. Nay, even when she was mistress of the world, and seemed to stand without a rival, Rome would scarcely have outlived the first century of our era, had not the contest with the Germanic nations, which finally subdued her, then upheld her in her place. And does not the history of modern Europe present an equal number of examples? Have not Spain, France, and the Netherlands raised themselves since the sixteenth century by their mutual rivalry? Was not the rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant parties the life of the German confederation? Would Peter the Great, would Frederic II., have reached their height of power, if the one had not had Swedes, the other Austrians to engage with? And yet in none of these instances has national rivalry done so much as in the contest between England and France. It was this which drew out the noblest qualities of both nations—it was this which preserved that love of freedom and independence which is founded on patriotism—it was this which kept alive the most lofty feelings of the human race—it was this which not only brought to perfection the civilization of these nations, but also planted the seeds of European refinement in the most distant parts of the globe; and thus what in the eyes of short-sighted mortals was frequently considered the source of misery and calamity, became in the hands of Providence the means of producing and diffusing the perfection of our race.

And thus, by taking this view, we escape that partiality which in any less exalted one is unavoidable. If we place ourselves in the position of either of the two nations, we

shall never be able to form a judgment which will not be accused of partiality by the other; but if we take this higher ground we shall easily escape the reproach. It is not necessary to deny that errors have been committed, or to gloss over past acts of injustice. We grant that from that rivalry have sprung many evils; but in this we only recognise a confirmation of the universal law, that beings so imperfect as we are can never attain to the great and good without alloy, because we require the impulse of our passions before we can put forth the whole of that power with which nature has endowed us.

When William III. was placed on the throne of England, this rivalry was already existing between the nations, although not between the governments; and even the animosity between the nation and the government affords proof of this. The religious influence was still in full force in England, because the nation was convinced of its connexion with liberty and independence. But other causes were added to strengthen this rivalry by the spirit of the government of Lewis. His conquests must have excited the attention of England the more from their being directed against both the Spanish and the United Netherlands. The independence of the latter depended immediately upon the fate of the former, and we know that the connexion between the United Provinces and England was so close, that even the wars of Cromwell and Charles II. had interrupted it only for a time. But France was becoming a more dangerous neighbour to England, as she now took a place among the leading naval powers; and the rivalry was yet more inflamed by the commercial and colonial system created by Colbert. During the reigns of the two last Stuarts the commerce of England had advanced simultaneously with the extension of her colonies;[1] its importance was now fully felt; and a neighbouring nation which in this point sought to equal, if not to excel her, could not be regarded with indifference. But the colonial system of France now received as great, if not a greater extension than that of England; and hence resulted that unfortunate confusion of the colonies of the two nations,[2]

[1] By the peace of Breda, 1667, she obtained the province of New York; and in 1680 William Penn founded his settlement in Pennsylvania.

[2] We may add, of the European colonies generally. If there were any step

in their geographical situations, which has cost so much blood, and will probably cost yet more. In the West and East Indies, and in North America, the French and the English now became neighbours. Their interests therefore crossed each other more and more; they came in contact no longer only in Europe; they found each other in every corner of the world. Even under the Stuarts this rivalry had displayed itself notwithstanding the unanimity of the sovereigns. England in 1668 had joined the triple alliance against France, in opposition to the wishes of Charles II.; and although in the next war (1672) Charles united with Lewis against Holland, after two years the voice of the nation forced him to break the alliance. We find, then, that at the time of the revolution, the foundation had already been laid of a *national rivalry;* it did not therefore owe its origin entirely to the policy of William III.

It does not however admit of a doubt that the personal inclinations, and the position in which this monarch was placed, tended greatly to increase this rivalry, since he made its maintenance a principal maxim of his policy. Even in his youth (1672) he stood opposed, as the champion of the Netherlands, to the great king of France,[1] to whom he bore a personal hatred, which was in turn cherished against him by that monarch; and from that moment he seemed to live for the sole purpose of thwarting Lewis, and became the life and soul of all the alliances which were formed against him. When raised to the throne of England he had to defend it against Lewis, who took his rival under his protection. The war, hastened as it was besides by many other causes, became thus unavoidable, and it wrapped nearly all Europe in flames, (1689—1697,) until at the peace of Ryswick Lewis found it convenient to acknowledge William as king of England.

which would lead, if not to interminable, at least to lasting peace in Europe, it would be the geographical separation of the colonies. This has been in great part although not wholly accomplished, by the last treaty of peace, which we shall consider hereafter; the fortunes of the Spanish colonies will perhaps bring about the rest.

[1] It is well known from the Memoirs of St. Simon, that this personal hatred arose from the refusal of William, when only Prince of Orange, to accept the hand of one of Lewis's natural daughters, which was offered him by her father. We should be careful, however, not to lay too much stress upon such anecdotes, even when true. The result would have been the same had this circumstance never occurred.

There is probably no other example of a rivalry between two civilized nations in which so many causes of jealousy are to be found, as those upon which that between England and France was founded. The interests of independence, of religion, and of commerce, were involved in an extraordinary manner with those of the sovereigns themselves. Is it then to be wondered at, that such a rivalry should become at the same time both violent and lasting? But it is time to follow out the consequences which it had on the subsequent continental interests of Britain; we shall thus trace the formation of many of the threads on which was wrought the whole web of the subsequent politics of Europe.

Alliances on the continent were, under the existing circumstances, absolutely necessary to England. It was a struggle with a power which at sea was about equal to her in strength, but which on land was infinitely superior; and which necessarily remained superior until it was discovered that an addition to the standing army was not at the same time a diminution of national freedom. England therefore dared not enter into a contest with France alone; and when this idea had once gained ground, it continued even in times when its justice might well have been disputed, and thus became the governing principle of the continental policy of Great Britain.

An alliance therefore with that state which as a military power maintained the next rank to France, was an unavoidable consequence; and hence arose the close connexion between England and Austria, a connexion which may be considered as the true foundation of the British continental interests, and which, although for a time dissolved, was soon again renewed, and will probably be from time to time renewed as long as the rivalry between England and France continues to exist. As long as a branch of the house of Hapsburg reigned in Spain, this connexion could not but lead to an alliance with that country, and this the rather as the plans of Lewis were constantly directed against the Spanish Netherlands. But yet more important was the influence of the British policy upon the United Netherlands, now that their hereditary stadtholder was at the same time king of England; and hence arose the great alliance of Vienna, (1689,) in which England for the first time dis-

played in full force her vast influence upon the affairs of the continent. This alliance, and the ensuing war down to the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, gave to the politics of western Europe that character by which they were afterwards peculiarly distinguished. The alliance of the naval powers (England and Holland) with Austria, against that power which had become equally formidable on land and sea, forms the groundwork of the system, and the interests of these states so clearly demands such an alliance, that political sophistry will scarcely be able to prevail against it. All the states of the continent, which had learned by experience that Lewis was desirous of increasing his power at their expense, if not of destroying them entirely, could not but see that this was the most natural means of defence; and it is clear from what we have above said, that the same applied to England.

Under these circumstances it resulted from the geographical situation of these states that the Spanish, afterwards Austrian Netherlands, became the centre of this alliance. They were, in the first place, the chief aim of the policy of France: in the next, they were the connecting link between England and her continental allies. They formed the passage into Germany, the means of junction with the allied armies, and the conductor, so to say, by which the war might be drawn off from the principal countries of the Austrian monarchy; on their independence rested that of the United Provinces as well as of the German empire; and with all these points was connected the balance of political power in Europe. The maintenance of the Belgian provinces was therefore necessarily one of the leading maxims of the continental policy of England—a maxim in the support of which she has repeatedly and wisely exerted her best energies. While England was thus connecting herself on every side with the continent, it could not but follow that several smaller states should be drawn into these arrangements. But those only will require mention which were permanently involved in them, and amongst these the first is Savoy. In 1689 the fatal activity of Louvois first compelled the duke Victor Amadeus II. to take part in those tragic scenes which were now repeatedly acted in Europe; and the situation and condition of his territory, which was at

once the gate and the bulwark of Italy, necessarily, when that country became the scene of action, gave this family a degree of importance which the political talents of its leaders turned with extraordinary dexterity, and still more extraordinary good fortune, to their own advantage. Of the remaining states of Italy, Naples being still a province, none was of sufficient importance to make an alliance with them possible; and with the individual princes of Germany it was not necessary to be at any pains, as the whole body generally followed its chief, and each of the great Austrian wars became a war of the empire.

By means of the war of 1689 therefore the relations in which England stood to the continent were first organized; and in her subsequent policy she merely continued to build on the foundation which was here laid. A proof of this is to be found in the Spanish war of succession, which followed only four years afterwards. By the negotiations which preceded it, England had become deeply involved in continental politics, and even if Lewis XIV. had not forced her to war by recognising the pretender, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of Ryswick, she would scarcely have been able to preserve her neutrality. A contest was pending, upon the result of which, according to the principles of the policy of that time, whether just or not, depended the maintenance of the political balance in Europe.

The connexions of England with the continent continued then during this war the same as during the last, with the exception of the altered circumstances of Spain; although their author did not live to see its commencement.[1] But the unaltered policy of his successor, Anne, notwithstanding the change which took place in the influential persons at court, affords the clearest proof that, in spite of the clamour of parties during the reign of William III., the interests which he had pursued were not merely his own, but those of the nation. The alliance with Austria was the great link on which all the others depended, since not only the republic of the United Netherlands, although it had abolished the dignity of stadtholder, persevered in its previous policy, but the Germanic empire also took an active part in the war, and the duke of Savoy, although at first on the side of

[1] William III. died March 19th, 1702.

France, was soon won over by the allies. But still the war of succession in Spain modified the British continental policy in more than one respect, and at the same time increased its strength and its sphere of action; and it is necessary that these points should be more closely examined.

1st, The old connexions, especially that with Austria, were greatly strengthened. The confederacy found (what alone can render any alliance formidable) chiefs who were capable of holding it together and infusing life and spirit into it. Where can history produce a duumvirate like that of Eugene and Marlborough? And when did any thing but success stamp such an alliance with durability? It is true the alliance fell to pieces towards the end of the war, but still it is an example without parallel that it should have lasted so long; and even that the dissolution was but temporary, and the tie was renewed as soon as circumstances demanded it.

2nd, One lasting consequence of that war was the close connexion with Portugal: while this state trembled, and not without cause, for its independence, when a Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain, and therefore sought to unite itself with the allies, they on the other hand required its assistance in order to play their game with a probability of success, and to drive Philip of Anjou from his throne. This connexion, however, springing as it did from the circumstances of the moment, would have been but transitory, had it not been strengthened by other ties. This was done by means of the commercial treaty of the British minister, Methuen, (1705,) which granted a free entrance into Portugal for British manufactures, especially woollens; and for Portuguese wines into England. It is well known that scarcely any other treaty has been so advantageous to England, owing to the extraordinary wealth which this market had derived at that period from the newly-discovered gold mines of Brazil. Thus by the interweaving of political with commercial interests, arose that connexion between England and Portugal which has not been broken by the most violent storms of revolution.

3rd, In the war of the Spanish succession, England first employed the granting of subsidies. The wealth of England and the financial system founded by the creation of the

national debt, and the means thus afforded of obtaining unlimited credit under William III., must sooner or later have given rise to this, even were it not the character of great commercial nations to carry on their military enterprises, if they should be engaged in such to any extent, more or less with the aid of foreign troops received into their pay. Whether this be done by subsidies or by fairly taking troops into pay, the system remains in its principal features the same, and the consequences must be the same also. The Spanish war, continued as it unnecessarily was by the breaking off of the negotiations in 1709, gave a dangerous example of the facility with which such wars may be protracted if the interest of the party at the helm of state demands it; but experience has also shown that the injury must necessarily recoil upon England itself.

4th, The conditions of the peace of Utrecht necessarily strengthened the continental relations of England, without however, except in the case of Spain, materially altering them. This was occasioned partly by the resignation by Spain of her European provinces, partly by the acquisitions which England made in America. The Spanish Netherlands now became the property of Austria, which thus became the natural ally of England; and when the Italian possessions were given up, partly to Austria, partly to Sardinia, new points of connexion arose between these states and England, who had already by the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca gained a firm footing in the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the conditions of the treaty of Assiento with Spain, and the acquisition of Nova Scotia in North America, scattered the seeds of future wars; which however did not spring up until the following period.

From what has preceded, then, we conclude that, when the house of Hanover ascended the British throne, the continental interests of England were, in their leading features, already fixed. The rivalry with France was the foundation on which they were built; and as long as this lasts it will remain essentially the same, whatever temporary changes may take place. The friendly connexion which was formed under George I., seemed for a time to put an end to the rivalry; but it was only the consequence of a family dispute of the Bourbons, and with the dispute itself it ceased; as will appear in the consideration of the next period.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1714—1789.

The continental relations of England under the house of Hanover became still closer and more complicated than they had previously been. Our inquiry will therefore lead us more deeply into the general system of Europe, and becomes proportionally more difficult, although at the same time more instructive; nay, perhaps we may add, more meritorious also, since this whole period of British history, however rich in materials, has not as yet found an historian worthy of it. Although therefore what may here be offered can only serve as a brief introduction to such a work, we shall still find it worth while to follow the history of this nation in one of its most important aspects, during this its most prosperous period; and perhaps at the same time to combat some prejudices which have arisen from partial views of the subject.

I believe that I have sufficiently established in the first half of this inquiry, that when George I. ascended (1714) the British throne, the principal ties between England and the continent were already in existence. These however were now strengthened and some new ones added to them. The first and most important of these is generally considered to be the circumstance, that the family which ascended the throne of England was possessed of hereditary dominions on the continent. That it is a totally false opinion which attributes to this the main foundation of the foreign policy of England, is clear from what has preceded; it certainly had its influence, exaggerated as this has been at particular periods by British authors, but an impartial estimate of its extent requires a more minute consideration of the political situation of George I. at his succession, as well in reference to his position at home, as in his relations to the remainder of Europe. The internal position of England must at that period have given rise to closer connexions with the continent, even had not external circumstances led to the same result. Although the house of Hanover was called to the succession by the voice of the nation, it is well known how divided within itself the nation was—how thoroughly the parties of whig and tory became political factions, and what fierce convulsions were the consequence. There was

a pretender, with numerous adherents at home and powerful friends abroad. As long as he found foreign support, or there was even a probability that he would do so, it was necessary to oppose his endeavours; and this opposition brought on a long chain of political connexions with the continent. The existence, and what is more, the lengthened existence of such a pretender, who at least *might* obtain political influence, and at particular periods *did* actually obtain it, was a piece of signal good fortune to England itself as well as to the new government. The continued danger kept the government, as well as the nation, continually on their guard, and became one of the strongest ties between them. However deeply the conviction might be impressed upon the latter that the maintenance of their constitution depended upon the Protestant succession, the great mass of the people were still in need of something to remind them of it; and what could be better calculated to secure this object, than the unceasing claims of a Catholic pretender? And however great may have been the personal qualities, however pure the intentions, and however strong the attachment to the constitution, in the members of the new reigning family, still nothing would serve better than those very claims, to keep it constantly in their minds, that it was through the constitution, and for the constitution, that they were invested with their high dignity. Thus the king and the nation could not but agree in considering the constitution the palladium of their freedom to the latter, and of his throne to the former; thus the conviction naturally grew upon them, that the interests of the king and the nation were inseparably the same; thus in a word the constitution escaped being considered a dead letter, and was impressed upon the hearts of the people and their rulers. But external circumstances were of yet more influence in strengthening the continental policy of England, by which it became deeply involved in the affairs both of eastern and western Europe.

The west of Europe had just emerged from a contest of thirteen years, in which the Spanish monarchy was the stake. This war had been sustained by an alliance, the soul of which was England, and which drooped and ended soon after England retired. The peace, in which she had secured

to herself important advantages, however trifling they may have appeared in the eyes of the whigs, had been her work, and its maintenance was no less her interest. But hardly ever was there a more insecure peace than that of Utrecht; for between the two principal parties—Spain and Austria—there was no stipulation of peace, even though the distance between their dominions and the position of the remainder of Europe had really caused a cessation of hostilities. The loss of her European dependences in Italy and the Netherlands to Austria and Savoy, was not forgotten by Spain, and she was only waiting for an opportunity of seizing them again. The interests therefore of England and Austria coincided in the maintenance of peace; and the connexion between them consequently continued and was strengthened. But the circumstances which then took place in the house of Bourbon, procured for England another ally on the continent, and that in a nation against which all her powers had been but a short time before exerted, namely, France. Since the death of Lewis XIV. (1715) affairs under the regency of the duke of Orleans took a very different turn from what had been expected. Instead of the close connexion between the Bourbons of France and those of Spain which had been looked for, rivalry and strife arose which ultimately led to war. The weak health of the youthful king of France excited the expectation of a speedy vacancy of the throne of France. Who in this case was to be his successor? the regent, or the king of Spain, who had resigned for himself and his descendants all claims upon the French throne? The example of Lewis XIV. however had shown how far such a resignation was binding. But it did not appear probable that the regent would suffer the sceptre to be wrested from him if the attempt was delayed till the death of the young king. It seemed much easier at once to deprive him of the regency; and this idea suggested itself the more readily to the Spanish minister Alberoni, since it agreed with his other plans for recovering the provinces which had been yielded to Austria and Savoy, (especially those in Italy,) and even for overthrowing the whole political system of Europe, by the elevation of the pretender to the throne of England. But the attempt to raise a conspiracy against their regent was betrayed and failed, and the recommencement of hostilities between Spain and France (1719) was the consequence of its discovery.

Under these circumstances it was natural that a connexion should be formed between England and the regent; his interest and that of England were alike involved in the maintenance of the established order of things in Europe, as settled at the peace of Utrecht. He was compelled, in order to provide for his own security, to oppose the plans of Spain. On the other hand, however extraordinary it might seem that England and France should be allied, it is easy to perceive that no material alteration had taken place in the policy of England. Spain, under Alberoni, wished to rule as France had done under Lewis XIV.; England was therefore guided by the same interest in offering a strong opposition to the plans of Spain, as that which had formerly engaged her in war with France. But other causes were added in reference to Spain, founded upon commercial advantages, which induced England to oppose that country, and (for it amounted to the same thing) to make the observance of the conditions of the peace of Utrecht the aim of her policy; and these were the great concessions made by Spain in the treaty of Assiento. By the provisions of this treaty, England obtained the right of furnishing Spanish America with negro slaves for thirty years, and of sending annually a vessel of 500 tons to the great commercial fair of Portobello.[1]

These privileges could not fail, on account of the smuggling to which they gave rise, of securing to England the greater part of the trade of Spanish America; and in proportion to the increase of profit, the British government became more anxious to insure the continuance of them, by maintaining the peace. It would be superfluous to describe the events, which after the year 1714 caused the fall of Alberoni, and upon it the accession of Spain to the quadruple alliance, and thus led to the attainment of this object.

Thus it becomes evident that the participation of England in the affairs of western Europe during the first half of the reign of George I., arose not merely from the personal in-

[1] The fair of Portobello was at that time one of the most important in the world, as at it the European goods required by the South American provinces of Spain were exchanged for the gold and silver of Peru.

terests of the monarch, but also from those of the nation. At that time there were as yet no designs upon the dominion of the sea; the only objects aimed at were the security of the balance of power—the confirmation of the advantages which had been gained by England—and the maintenance of the peace of Europe. The colonies however now began to exert an influence upon continental politics, which must not hereafter remain unnoticed.

But while the British cabinet was thus active in the west, new connexions arose in the east. The great war which had laid waste the northern part of this quarter of the globe for one-and-twenty years (1700—1721) was not without its influence on England. George I. has been represented in almost all the histories of England, as having upon this occasion exchanged the king for the elector; and for the sake of his German territories permitted himself to be mixed up, as king of England, in the strife which took place. We ought therefore to attempt what there is no longer any reason to prevent, viz. an impartial consideration of the question, how far the interests of the English nation required this interference of the king? how far the interests of the nation were the same as those of the electorate? and how far the consequences were advantageous or the reverse to Great Britain?

It has already been shown that England had long been no indifferent spectator of the proceedings of the northern powers. The trade in the Baltic was the cause of this; and after it became considerable, the English could remain as little indifferent upon the subject as the Dutch, with whom they shared it, though at that time very unequally. Besides, the geographical situation of the Baltic, which can only be reached by narrow straits, one only of which, the Sound, is perfectly navigable, made it by no means a matter of indifference in whose possession this passage, and with it the means of entering this sea, should be.

If any single power obtained the dominion, if, as had more than once happened in the times of the Swedish monarchy, any single state arose with such power as either actually to close that entrance, or by the imposition of heavy tolls virtually to effect the same object, that branch of the commerce and navigation of both England and Holland

could not but become in the highest degree precarious. The active interference of England in the affairs of the North commenced therefore during the period of the Swedish dominion, when that state began to menace Denmark; and the maintenance of a certain balance, or at least the preservation of both powers, was the object which this interference had in view. It is true that, besides negotiation, England, owing to her situation, had no means of giving succour except by her fleets; but the position of the two states, which made it necessary that a war between them, if undertaken in earnest, should be carried on by sea as well as land, rendered this kind of assistance very important, and might even do what in naval expeditions very rarely is the case, viz. make it decide the event. The internal disturbances which distracted England towards the close of the thirty years' war, rendered an active intervention in favour of Denmark, then menaced by Sweden, impossible. Denmark however was relieved by the peace of Brömsebroe (1645). It was in Cromwell's time however that attention was first directed to these affairs: nay, as we have previously shown, his designs went even to the acquisition by England of possessions on the shores of the Baltic. When Charles Gustavus of Sweden threatened the total annihilation of Denmark (1657) England strenuously took her part, and procured the peace of Roschild (Feb. 26, 1658); and when that monarch suddenly broke the conditions and besieged Copenhagen, not only did England join the confederacy at the Hague, but English vessels accompanied the Dutch fleet to the Baltic, and by a victory over the Swedish fleet contributed much to the relief of Copenhagen (1659). The trade with the Baltic and the maintenance of the previous tolls at the Sound, are the causes assigned for this interference in the treaty which was then made.[1]

The change which shortly afterwards was effected in England by the restoration of the king, not only did not diminish, but even increased the share which England had taken in these affairs. The trade with the Baltic was considered to be of such importance, that it was regulated by new conditions with Sweden as well as Denmark, and these continue to this day to be the groundwork of the mutual

[1] Vide Schmauss *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft*, vol. ii. p. 129.

commerce of these countries. The treaty with Sweden was concluded by Charles II. (1661) with the regency during the minority of Charles XI., and altered in some particulars in the year 1666; that with Denmark not till the year 1671.[1] In both these treaties it was especially provided what articles should be considered contraband, in order to avoid any interruption to the trade during times of war. But the attention of England was now especially engaged by the constant endeavours of Holland to obtain the whole of the trade; and owing to this, the relations in which the two states stood to each other, usually had their influence upon the North. A clear proof of this is afforded by the negotiations which took place during the war, (1665—1667,) which was ended by the treaty of Breda. Holland then gained over Denmark as well as Sweden, and the entrance into the Baltic was to have been entirely forbidden to England.[2] But the peace of Breda (1667) which soon ensued, and the new and more important occurrences in western Europe, when Lewis XIV. commenced his wars in the Netherlands, altered these political relations and prevented any consequences which the above negotiations might have had.

The ambitious designs of Lewis extended themselves even to the North; and when France succeeded in winning over Sweden, Denmark also followed; but the war did not become a naval one, and had no reference to commerce. It will only be necessary to bear in mind the internal affairs of England under Charles II., James II., and William III., in order to account for the circumstance that her policy was less frequently directed towards the North during these reigns.

But the great northern war, which, after continuing twenty years, entirely changed the relations of northern Europe, could not fail of engaging the attention of England. The proof of this is found in the peace of Travendal, (1700,) which was concluded between Sweden and Denmark through the mediation of England, and guaranteed by her. The war of the Spanish succession, which immediately afterwards set the whole of western Europe in flames, and which England carried on by land with a degree of vigour and good

[1] They are to be found in SCHMAUSS *Corpus Juris Gentium*, vol. ii. pp. 753 and 2328.

[2] Result of the treaty concluded at the Hague between Holland and Denmark, Feb. 11, 1666.—SCHMAUSS, *Staatswissenschaft*, vol. ii. p. 178.

fortune never before witnessed, made it impossible that she could interfere with energy in the affairs of the North. She contented herself with watching the proceedings of the Swedish hero, and was only anxious lest it should enter into his head to become the ally of France, and strike in with the sword in her behalf. But when by the peace of Utrecht (1713) she was released from this contest, it could not but be expected that she should again become active in that quarter.

But it was no easy question for England to determine what side she should put herself on. All the former relations had been changed; Sweden was exhausted, and while Russia was rapidly developing her strength, the balance between Sweden and Denmark was no longer the only thing to be considered. But in what point of view was England to regard this growth of Russia in reference to her own interests? On the one side it could not be a matter of indifference to British policy, that a power should be forming itself in the North, which not only threatened the independence and existence of all the other states, but was even directly bent upon becoming a great naval force, and thus grasping the dominion of the Baltic. On the other hand it required no great foresight to perceive, more or less clearly, the advantages which would result to England from the civilization of Russia. An acquaintance with the arts and the wants of luxury in a state of such immense extent, laid open an inexhaustible market to the manufacturing and trading nations of Europe; and although it could not then be foreseen what a preponderance England would afterwards obtain by the decay of Dutch commerce, it was very clear that she could not be wholly shut out from these advantages. But the measures adopted did not, as it appears, proceed from such general considerations. No care was taken of the future, and temporary relations only were looked to. Single opportunities were seized as they presented themselves, and thus England became involved in the question without having any fixed system to guide herself by. The extension of the northern war into Germany, in which George I. became concerned, as elector of Hanover, gave the first occasion of interference.

Sweden had been deprived by her enemies of almost all

her German possessions, and of these more particularly, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which she had obtained by the peace of Westphalia, had fallen into the hands of the Danes. Denmark sold these territories to Hanover, in a treaty which was signed June 26th, 1715. As Sweden would not recognise this sale, nay more, as Charles XII. made it no secret that his whole efforts were directed towards regaining as far as possible the supremacy in northern Germany, the implication of Hanover in the northern war would have been a natural consequence, even if it had not been expressly stipulated in the treaty that George I. should declare war against Sweden.[1] This he did in his character of elector of Hanover, and it was only in this character that he carried it on by land; but at the same time a squadron of eight English men of war was sent to the Sound, which joined the Danish fleet.[2] It was not without cause that Charles XII. complained of this last step, which led however to no important results; nor did he, in the bitter hatred which he bore to George I., distinguish between the king and the elector, but sought his revenge by no less formidable means that a revolution in England in favour of the pretender; and this his minister, Baron Gorz, actually planned, but was unable to execute.

In the mean while the great impediments which arose to the commerce of the Baltic during the war, afforded England opportunities for complaint. No power ever carried commercial restrictions against his enemies so far as Charles XII. did in his regulations.[3] It is true he had extraordinary inducements to such a course. It was according to the existing regulations his chief interest by all means to prevent Russia from excelling him as a naval force; and yet it was to this that Peter especially devoted himself; and he was able as early as 1716 to make his appearance in the Baltic with a fleet superior to that of Sweden. The neutral powers, and especially Holland, assisted him in many ways. The great advantage to be gained by it induced them not only to furnish him with all other necessaries which he required, but even to supply vessels completely equipped, and which could be used as ships of war. On this were founded the severe measures of Charles, which were directed in the first place against the Dutch, but which fell also upon the English, and would almost have annihilated their commerce with the Baltic had they not protected it by armed vessels. The interest of George I. as elector of Hanover, was therefore not the only cause which induced him to adopt measures against Charles, for he had grounds of complaint also in his character of king of England. Nevertheless it is the constant reproach of all English writers, that he did not distinguish between these two interests; but that the wish to preserve the duchies of Bremen and Verden, by which a communication was opened between his new kingdom and his German territories, led him to implicate England in the contests of the northern states.

[1] The state papers are to be found in *Mémoires de Lamberti*, vol. ix. p. 229.
[2] The British admiral put himself in those days under the orders of the Danish commander. Such are the changes which occur!
[3] See his edicts of Feb. 8, and Dec. 19, 1715. LAMBERTI, vol. ix. p. 228.

It would not be difficult, from what has been already said, to find grounds of defence for George I.; but allowing every one to form his own judgment upon this point, there remains another ground which has not been taken by any English historian with whom I am acquainted, and which is the most important of all in the determination of the controversy—I refer to the question whether the interests of England or Hanover were most nearly concerned in the acquisition of Bremen and Verden? And I believe it will not be difficult to prove that the former were chiefly involved in it.

Hanover certainly gained at a sufficiently cheap rate two provinces, one of little importance, the other more so, yet neither remarkably fertile, except in those parts which border on the rivers. But then, the latter of the two commands the entrance into the two principal rivers, and consequently the chief commercial approaches of northern Germany; and thus by its geographical situation becomes of very great importance. By the electorate, a country which has not one sea-port nor any commercial town of moment, which exports comparatively little, and the exports of which, as they are objects which are not generally classed among contraband commodities, there could not easily be found causes to interfere with, little was gained; but this made the advantages to England all the greater. From the time that the

province which commands the mouths of those streams, and with them the two principal sea-ports of Germany, became annexed to the dominions of her king, these roads of commerce were permanently open to England; the communication with Germany no longer depended on political circumstances; she had no longer any cause to fear that her exports would be either excluded from the continent or admitted under the disadvantages of increased duties; and a fair prospect was opened to her of securing the commerce of the whole of northern Germany.

In order to comprehend the truth of this, we must view the case not according to present circumstances, but those of that time. In the state of alienation which then existed between England and Sweden, it was but too certain that Charles would seize the first opportunity of vengeance. Let us suppose he had succeeded in recovering himself,—and this, considering the reconciliation which he was on the point of effecting with Russia, was far from impossible,—and had regained possession of his German territories, would not these rivers, as well as the entrance into the Baltic, have been closed, either immediately or on every future quarrel, and privateers have been fitted out for the purpose of infesting that as well as the northern sea?

But these advantages must have appeared the more important to England at that time, in proportion to the power of the rivals with whom she had to cope. England was then far from having the greatest share in the commerce of Germany, especially upon the Weser and Elbe. The Dutch unquestionably still retained the superiority. In order therefore to be able to compete with them with a hope of equalling or surpassing them, that acquisition was of the greatest importance: It would be easy to point out other advantages, such as the power of sending troops to and from Germany unimpeded, and the like, which were secured to England, the importance of which depended upon political circumstances as they arose.

From all this I think it has been made clear,—and more was not intended,—that those British authors who make the share which George I. took in the affairs of the North an occasion of reproach, embrace a very narrow view of the subject. Still it remains true, that he did not act on fixed

political principles, but that his conduct was the result of circumstances with the changes of which he changed also. Charles XII. fell in the trenches;[1] his minister, his friend and counsellor, was compelled to ascend the scaffold; and with them was destroyed the whole fabric of their policy, at the very time when it was upon the point of completion. It is known that this was founded upon a reconciliation with Russia, the equivalent of which was to be obtained at the expense of other enemies, especially of Denmark. The new party who came into power would not prosecute this plan, because it had been formed by Görz, whom they hated; but if Charles XII. with his iron arm and iron determination was not able to maintain himself alone, what could be expected from the government which succeeded him? Nothing therefore remained upon the rupture with Russia, but to seek assistance from those powers against whom it had been intended to turn their whole forces; and the first of these was England. The treaty formed with George I. as elector of Hanover, in which Sweden for a sum of money yielded up Bremen and Verden, led the way to this; and was shortly succeeded by a treaty of alliance[2] with England, expressly directed against Russia, and in which assistance by land as well as by sea was stipulated for, in order to set bounds to the devastating inroads of the Czar.

If the consequences of their political errors proved so disastrous to the Swedes, the change in the policy of England admitted perhaps of some palliation, on the ground that she wished to repress the fearful aggrandizement of Russia, and to uphold the balance of power in the North.

But if this was her object, she embarked in an undertaking which she could not accomplish, and even at that early period exhibited a proof how little she was able at any time to form a correct estimate of her own power, or to determine the precise sphere of her influence. The only way in which she could injure Russia was by obstructing for a time the navigation of the Baltic. But this was surely not sufficient to retard the growth of its power. And as to maintaining the political balance in the North, it was now,

[1] Dec. 11th, 1718; and as soon after as Feb. 28, 1719, Görz was judicially murdered.

[2] Peace was concluded with Hanover, Nov. 20, 1719; and on Jan. 21, 1720, followed the alliance with England.

generally speaking, too late. Besides, when Russia at the peace of Nystadt had effected the separation of the finest lands on the Baltic from Sweden, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Courland, what support, however powerful, could have sustained Sweden in a position to preserve the balance of power against Russia?

By the peace of Nystadt then nothing, it is true, was definitively settled respecting England; it was nevertheless the foundation of her continental policy in the North. As the consequences of this peace developed themselves slowly, but on this account the more surely, in the growing prosperity of Russia; as not only her exports increased in consequence of her possessing the principal port in the Baltic, but from the spread of European luxury, her internal consumption was also augmented, so the conviction that this was by no means a questionable but in the highest degree an advantageous result to England, developed itself more and more in that country; the market for British manufactures becoming thereby so much the more extensive, and the trade to the Baltic daily more important. On the other hand, the augmentation of the British navy caused in turn a proportionate demand abroad for the materials requisite in ship-building, especially timber and hemp, both of which the immense territory of Russia offered in the greatest profusion. In a word, both countries were becoming every day more and more indispensable to each other; not in prosecuting a common war, but in supplying each other's wants; a bond of union far more durable than any treaties of alliance.

Under these relations the British continental policy in the North necessarily assumed more of a passive than an active character. The good understanding between England and Russia was indispensable to both parties; and there was nothing at that time which seemed likely to disturb this amicable connexion. Even when the occasional re-action upon the north of Europe of the political events of the west might have excited such apprehensions, they passed away without any important consequences. This state of things lasted till Russia took a direct and vigorous part, not only in the affairs of the north and east, but also in those of the west and south of Europe. This intervention necessarily gave

birth to some new features in the British continental policy in the North, as will be seen in the sequel of this inquiry.

The happy influence which the formation of the quadruple alliance produced on the west of Europe, had not only implicated England as closely as possible in the political relations to which it gave rise, but one might even say that she became and continued the moving power in them. The attempt to force upon Spain the acceptance of the conditions prescribed by this alliance did not, it is true, after the fall of Alberoni, re-establish any permanent peace, but still it restored tranquillity (Jan. 26, 1720); the points still in dispute were to be decided at a general congress. Under these circumstances it might be expected that England should take a most lively interest in the affairs of the continent; but yet she did not do so to the extent anticipated.

Political activity and negotiation had become a necessary resource to George I. It is possible that he was at first led by the ambition of showing that it was not merely the government of a small but of a large state to which he had succeeded, and that his growing power enabled him to participate in the direction of the common interests of Europe; but once deeply involved in these interests, he could not easily have drawn back without compromising both himself and his kingdom, even though his inclination might have prompted him to do so. But in addition to this, at that very juncture (April, 1721) the reins of government were held, and retained for twenty-one years in succession, by a minister, whose disposition, in this respect, coincided with that of his master, not it is true in evading the war, but in employing every method which negotiations and demonstrations could supply to avoid it. Such a course of policy might have been expected from the long and almost uniformly peaceful administration of Robert Walpole.

The continental relations of England always require to be considered in two points of view: first, as regards their advantageous or pernicious influence on England itself; and, secondly, in relation to the whole system of European policy. In the British cabinet the first question had of course at all times a preponderating weight. We shall therefore contemplate our subject-matter first of all in this aspect; but nothing shall on that account prevent us from surveying

it likewise in the other, and from noting the points of agreement and difference which they respectively present.

It cannot be denied, that if we examine the British policy in the last years of George I., we are unable to trace any fixed plan of proceeding. An insular state which takes an interest in the affairs of continental powers, can only do so by virtue of a federative system established on sound principles of policy, and followed up with firmness. We have seen how the links of this connexion have hitherto been concentrated in England. But at the period of which we are speaking, those links were so wonderfully complicated, that the principles on which they were founded seemed to be forgotten. The connexion with France was renewed, that with Austria dissolved, while the confederacies in the North were determined by the influence of the combinations formed in the West. The ignorance of the real designs of the foreign states, which we so often see occasion to impute to the British cabinet, manifested itself at this time in a remarkable manner. Justice, however, requires us also to observe, that the relations of the continental powers to each other were not the less variable and uncertain, because they were for the most part determined by the excitement of a personal and angry hatred.

To this cause we must ascribe the wavering policy which characterized those times, and which could not possibly continue without exercising some influence upon England. Nevertheless, in all the activity of the British cabinet at that period, we discover one dominant principle, which was in the highest degree beneficial, not only to England, but to Europe at large. This principle was the maintenance of peace. The only question is whether it always adopted the right method to secure this object.

One result of this policy was the congress at Cambray, which began to assemble under the arbitration of England and France, in order to separate again, after long delays and fruitless negotiations, without any decisive issue. Here the old dispute between Austria and Spain should have terminated; the recent feuds also, especially that about the plaything of Charles VI., the Indian company at Ostend, which became the object of a general outcry to the other commercial states, as soon as their highest interests became

affected by it, ought to have been here laid aside; in a word, the whole evil should have been now rooted out.

But history no where affords a more striking instance of the truth, that large conventions are generally fruitless, nay, often in the highest degree prejudicial, unless they are directed by great men, who know how to raise themselves above petty passions, and to view and treat every question, whether great or small, with strict regard to its merits and proportions. The voices of the arbitrators swelled the note of discord which was raised about the most trivial circumstance; the passions were not calmed, but excited from the first; and the congress could scarcely have terminated otherwise than it did, even if other circumstances had not intervened to dissolve it.

It is melancholy to observe how much the politics of almost the whole of Europe were, at that time, determined by the proposed, though ineffectually proposed, marriage of a child; and how little was wanting to renew the flames of a general war. A Spanish princess, then just twelve months old, was fixed upon by the quadruple alliance, for the consort of Lewis XV., and had been sent to Paris, where she was brought up. The Duke of Bourbon, the minister of France, had, however, private grounds for wishing a speedy consummation of the marriage of the young prince, which, owing to the age of the princess, could scarcely have been brought about in less than ten years. He was, therefore, anxious to procure for Lewis a consort of a marriageable age, which he found in the daughter of the ex-king of Poland, Stanislaus Lescinsky; and the Spanish princess was sent back. This event, which could, under no circumstances, be otherwise than mortifying, produced the highest degree of rancour and resentment in the haughty mind of Elizabeth, who felt herself insulted, both as a mother and a queen.[1] Yet, owing to the friendly connexion between France and England, it would have been the height of rashness to hazard

[1] Elizabeth of Parma was, as is well known, the second consort of king Philip V., having become so in 1715, and the legitimate heiress of the Spanish throne. Her first object was to secure the succession, which properly belonged to the sons of the first marriage, to her own children; in consequence of which Spain was precipitated into more than one war. The prospect of seeing her daughter on the French throne was a principal part of her plan, which was now frustrated.

a rupture with France, especially since a reconciliation with Austria had not yet been completely effected by the congress at Cambray. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected, from the state in which men's minds then were, that such a reconciliation should have been accomplished at a congress. The consequence was, that a resolution was speedily formed in Spain, of establishing a direct connexion with Austria.

This attempt was by no means exceptionable in itself; it could hardly fail of success, since a clear understanding had been arrived at long before, during the peace, on some of the main points of difference, namely, the concessions which were mutually demanded, and no collision of interest had occured in other points; but still, neither in the choice of a mediator, nor in the general conduct of the proceeding, was a sufficient degree of caution resorted to. Never, since their difference with Austria was virtually arranged by the treaty of Vienna, on April 30th, 1725, and the treaty of commerce, which immediately followed it, could it have been more essentially necessary by a provident and careful policy to tranquillize the fears which must have arisen among the foreign powers in consequence of this unexpected result. But the business of pacification was committed to the duke of Ripperda, one of the vainest braggarts that ever existed;[1] who, intoxicated by his unexpected good fortune, knew so little how to conduct himself in such a change of circumstances, that he very soon brought about his own ruin. The senseless behaviour of this man, who now considered himself the first statesman in Europe, his arrogance and haughty bearing towards the ambassadors of foreign powers, caused a crisis in the affairs of Spain, the issue of which promised much more of war than peace.

This reconciliation of Spain and Austria roused all the political energies of George I. into activity. Almost the only provision of special interest contained in it was that which it had always been the policy of England to promote, viz. the complete ratification of the peace of Utrecht and a defensive alliance. But the opinion prevailed that it contained much more than it really did. The public mind was anxious for information about secret stipulations, which were

[1] He was in fact a native of Holland, whom Alberoni had brought as a manufacturer to Spain. After his fall he wandered about as an adventurer in Turkey.

said to be especially directed against England, so as not only to secure Gibraltar to Spain[1] and the establishment of his Ostend company to Charles VI., but even to place the pretender on the British throne; for in which of the political negotiations of that period could this bugbear be dispensed with? The sequel showed that it was a mere phantom which caused the alarm; the British cabinet had not informed itself with accuracy as to the true state of things, it gave credit to rumours and hearsays; but the consequences of its conduct were serious in the extreme.

The supposed new offensive alliance was to be met by a counter-alliance, which George I., during his residence in his German territories, concluded with France and Prussia at Herren-haus (Sept. 3rd, 1725). Yes! these political convulsions extended even to the remotest regions of the North. Austria succeeded in attaching to itself Russia, and at first Sweden also. In order to have a counterpoise here likewise, the allies of Herren-haus obtained Denmark; and Sweden, also, was soon induced, by the promise of subsidies, to join their confederation. This was truly an era of confederacies! But far from erecting them on the basis of mutual and well-defined interests, they founded them on relations which could not possibly be durable. England separated itself from Austria, the only continental power in the south of Europe with which it could be connected by any permanent interests. It leagued itself with France and Prussia. The consequences could not be long restrained. Frederic William I. immediately afterwards entered into various negotiations with Austria; from the prospect of private advantage which he saw, or imagined he saw, in the opening of the dukedoms of Berg and Julich, which might soon be expected, with the view of procuring these possessions for himself.

In the event, however, war, on an extensive scale, seemed likely to be the result of this confederation of Herren-haus. England fitted out three fleets, of which one was sent to the West Indies, another to Gibraltar, and the third to the Baltic. The first two were, therefore, directed against Spain, which, on her part, already began to lay siege to Gibraltar; the third was designed for the support of Denmark and

[1] Spain certainly made claims upon Gibraltar, but Charles VI. had only promised his mediation.

Sweden, in the event of any movement on the part of Russia. But these hostile demonstrations produced no very serious consequences, since some good genius still stifled the flame of war just as it seemed on the point of breaking out.

Europe was indebted for this in a great measure to the ministerial change which occurred in France, 1726. Cardinal Fleury became premier when the Duke of Bourbon fell; and introduced into the French ministry dispositions, not less pacific than Walpole had infused into the British. The negotiations which were more particularly directed by papal nuncios, took a favourable turn; and one of the main stumbling-blocks was removed, when Charles VI. consented to suspend for seven years his Ostend commercial company. George I. lived just long enough to know that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris and Vienna, to which Spain also acceded after some difficulty: and in consequence of which, England recalled her fleets, but on condition that Spain should consent to raise the siege of Gibraltar;[1] and by the treaty at Pardo, (a palace near Madrid,) they were presently ratified by both powers.[2] But a few days after the conclusion of those preliminaries, viz. on June 22nd, 1727, George I. died, during a tour in his German territories.

The foregoing examination will, it is hoped, suffice for forming a general opinion of the continental policy of England under George I., and for determining with greater precision the effect which it produced, as well upon the political fabric of Europe in general, as upon England in particular. The interference of England under George I., was manifestly attended with beneficial results to the whole political system of Europe. The preservation of peace was its object, and peace was either maintained or restored. To what protracted and sanguinary wars must the execution of Alberoni's project in all probability have led, if England had not mediated a peace, and maintained it by means of the quadruple alliance, which it was mainly instrumental in constructing! The execution of those projects, inasmuch as they involved the reconquest of lost provinces, would have been as little a subject of congratulation to Europe as it would probably have been to Spain itself; which had so

[1] June 13th, 1727. [2] March 6th, 1728.

repeatedly learned by dear-bought experience the cost of distant provinces. The war in the North had been terminated through the intervention of England; and though it was impossible for England to re-establish a counter-balancing power in this quarter, Sweden was at all events maintained in the rank of independent states, from which, without assistance, it would probably have disappeared.

It must be allowed that England itself did not acquire any new possessions by its continental relations, (though I think it has been clearly proved that the acquisition of Bremen and Verden were important to it,) but it gained advantages of another description which were by no means inconsiderable.

In the first place it secured the succession of the house of Hanover on the British throne. The voice of the nation has proclaimed this too loudly and unanimously as the most important feature of its returning prosperity to require any detailed proof; the only question which can possibly arise, is whether this was a consequence of its continental relations. It may perhaps be objected on the other hand, that the attempts to re-establish the pretender on the throne originated in the interference of England in the affairs of the continent. But as long as the Stuarts had or might have powerful friends abroad, could the new dynasty safely dispense with such aid? The throne of the Hanoverian house was by no means so secure as to supersede the necessity of accepting every available offer of support. But it was more peculiarly the good understanding which existed for so long a period with France, which was of such infinite service to them in this emergency. France was the principal, perhaps the only power which by supporting the pretender could in any material degree endanger the security of the new dynasty. And surely the favourable opportunity which was thus presented to the new family, of negotiating its private interests by means of this connexion without compromising those of the nation at large, was a piece of good fortune not to be neglected. Further than this—By the active share which England took on this occasion she maintained that high consideration in the political system of Europe, which she had acquired during the reign of William and Anne. It does not require much sagacity to perceive of how much influence

the public estimation of a state must be in such a system as that of Europe. The conduct of others is regulated by it, just as we see it among individuals in private life. Even fallen states have often for a considerable time experienced the benefits of its support; as for example, Venice and the Porte; but even a state which is but on the rise cannot afford to be indifferent to it. Even though no positive advantage should be gained by this public estimation, yet the negative effect is invaluable, since no measure of importance is undertaken without the knowledge of such a state, and therefore none can be easily undertaken which is opposed to it and its interests. We cannot adduce a better illustration of this truth than by comparing the republic of the United Netherlands with England, at the period of which we are treating and still propose to treat. The latter state laid it down as a fundamental principle of her policy after the peace of Utrecht, to keep herself as much aloof as possible from all foreign transactions, or only to take part in them when absolutely compelled. She continued to maintain for some time longer her position in public estimation among the states of the first order. By degrees, however, she began to sink lower and lower in the scale, and experience has shown the result to which this eventually led.

Lastly, the continuance of peace was another result to England of her continental policy, and assuredly not the least considerable. It not only secured to her the quiet enjoyment of the advantages derived from her Spanish commerce, but also those arising from intercourse with her colonies in America and the West Indies, which at that very time were becoming prosperous in the extreme, and to which the annually increasing consumption of West Indian produce, particularly of coffee, began to impart a value which no one could have anticipated. Still the times had not then arrived (as they since have) for such an increase in the power of England as to enable her to carry on her trade, even during war, comparatively without molestation.

But though all this may demonstrate the soundness of the British continental policy in *general* during the reign of George I., it will not by any means vindicate every single measure which was resorted to in pursuance of it. It cannot be denied, that, particularly in the last six years of this

monarch's reign, the interference of the British cabinet in the affairs of the continent, assumed the character of overactivity without at the same time maintaining that stability which is the indispensable condition of all durable alliances. It cannot be denied, that precipitate measures were sometimes adopted, particularly those occasioned by the league of Herren-haus, which, without a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, which were beyond the control of England, would in all probability have caused disastrous consequences. To this period we may perhaps ascribe the illusion that she was able by her fleets to accomplish more than the nature of things permits; so likewise the notion of deriving great advantages from the subsidies which she furnished, was then at least entertained, though it had not as yet any serious consequences.

Important changes in the ministry were expected on the death of the king (1727). These anticipations, however, were not realized; Walpole, supported by the credit of Queen Caroline, continued prime minister. It could scarcely have been expected therefore, that the spirit of the British continental policy should be materially altered during the first years of George II.'s reign. But though no immediate changes ensued, the alteration which took place in the political relations of the continent, caused a corresponding alteration in those of England, which ought not to pass unobserved.

When George II. ascended the throne, the amicable relations subsisting between England and France remained in all their force. The character of the two premiers, Fleury and Walpole, were too well suited to each other to admit readily of a change. Both were intent upon the preservation of peace, and their union was still more strongly cemented by the brother of the British minister, Horatio Walpole, in the character of ambassador at Paris. Prussia, the other ally of Herren-haus, had, as we have before remarked, already entered into separate negotiations with Austria; the republic of the United Netherlands stood on a most friendly footing with England and France; accustomed as Europe was to see the republic take part in all her great confederations, it was now taken for granted that no association could be formed without its concurrence; while the

republic itself, intent upon the preservation of peace, thought it could never employ sufficient precaution in pursuit of this object. With regard to the confederate powers, Spain and Austria, negotiations had been opened with the former of them, which though at first they appeared to take an unfavourable turn, owing to the death of the king, were soon restored to their former course, by the continuance in office of the Walpole administration, and were brought to a successful issue by the treaty at Pardo. Since the scheme of the Ostend company had been suspended, it appeared as though friendly relations might be renewed with Austria likewise; but new events intervening, this was prevented, or at least delayed.

The British cabinet at that time evidently set a much higher value upon the friendship of Spain than on that of Austria. The temporary advantages derivable from the secure possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, the profitable trade with Spain itself, and, above all, with its American possessions, guaranteed as it was by existing treaties, seemed to claim a paramount importance. But this friendship could not well be maintained without entering into the interested plans of the queen of Spain for the advancement of her children, and thus hazarding giving offence to Austria. However, the prospect of advantage derivable to England from a separation of the two powers, Austria and Spain, overcame this consideration. By the conditions of the quadruple alliance, Tuscany, with Parma and Placentia, were secured to the queen of Spain for her elder son Don Carlos, as soon as their projected opening should be completed—till which time they were to remain in the occupation of neutral troops. But apprehensive that obstacles might be thrown in her way, she wished to secure the immediate possession of them, and Spanish troops were sent into them as a garrison. England entered into these plans, and although they were an infraction of the quadruple alliance, without consulting or apprizing Austria, joined with France in concluding a treaty with Spain at Seville,[1] in which it was not only permitted to Spain thus to act, but even England rendered itself liable to contribute towards sending Don Carlos into those provinces with 6000 Spanish troops.

[1] Nov. 9, 1729.

The most violent indignation on the part of Austria was the natural result of these proceedings. But, however much incensed Austria may have felt, however loudly she protested that she would not tolerate any foreign troops in this quarter, Walpole nevertheless succeeded in calming her resentment. His plan was to endeavour to steer his way clear between two rocks, and he succeeded. When the more dangerous alternative of the two, viz. a breach with Spain, had been eluded—his next point was to avoid the other. But Walpole knew the talisman by which the opposition of Charles VI. might be charmed away. Whoever recognised his order of succession in favour of his daughter, his Pragmatic Sanction, might always calculate upon gaining him over, and even inducing him to make a sacrifice of his own interest. At this price Walpole, by quietly negotiating with Austria as he had just before done with Spain, obtained the formal abolition of the Ostend company for England, and the promise of the investiture of Tuscany and Parma, with permission to send Spanish troops thither for Spain; and the treaty of Vienna was concluded on the 16th of March, 1731.

In any continental state Walpole would, with such a policy as this, in all probability have failed. England was now in friendship with all the world, without possessing a single true friend in the political sense of the term. The friendship of Spain could not be permanent, since a growing cause of differences lay hid in their commercial relations; the friendship of France was now growing cold in consequence of the treaty of Vienna, which had been concluded without her participation; to counteract which Fleury not only re-established the good understanding with Spain, but likewise showed his skill in strengthening it. The renewed friendship with Austria required under such relations to be severely tried before its sincerity could be depended upon. England had engaged herself in a tissue of treaties, out of which it seemed scarcely possible she should extricate herself. Had she been prepared to fulfil all her engagements, scarcely a war could have arisen in any quarter of Europe in which she would not have been implicated, nay, in which she would not have been obliged to furnish auxiliaries in several quarters at once. But an insular state has certainly

in such cases great advantages over every other. Its position gives it in every case the best chance of keeping clear of the struggle; and how many resources may not be discovered when time is allowed, by which we may extricate ourselves from difficulties, without being directly unfaithful to our engagements! It is a sure rule, that an insular state, in its connexions with continental powers, always stakes less upon the game than is staked by them in their connexions with it. Probably, however, Walpole was not influenced by such considerations as these. He was not a man who built his policy on general grounds, or who looked very far into futurity. His object was the preservation of peace; and he cared not through what obstacles he had to steal his way towards the attainment of this object, provided he was only so fortunate as to avoid each as it occurred.

The truth of these observations is strikingly corroborated by the events which occurred in Europe in the following years. The throne of Poland, which had been vacated by the death of Augustus II.,[1] plunged the greater part of the continent of Europe into a war, in which the occupation of this throne was to the majority of those engaged but the pretext of their interference. Charles VI. was guilty of the folly of taking part with Russia and Prussia, in favour of Augustus III., in order to obtain from Saxony the recognition of his Pragmatic Sanction, and thus armed the Bourbon powers with weapons which they might wield against himself. Attacked by France, Spain, and Savoy, Charles VI. saw himself stripped within the space of a year of all his Italian possessions, while at the same time the banks of the Rhine became the scene of the war in Germany.

After so many previous negotiations and so many connexions contracted in every quarter, who could have expected that England at such a crisis, when her most recent allies were the objects of attack, would have remained neutral. There was no backwardness on the part of Austria in demanding assistance; but as the treaty with this power was only a defensive treaty there was not much difficulty in evading it. England, in connexion with Holland, confined herself therefore to that which touched her most nearly, the

[1] Feb. 1, 1733.

maintenance of the neutrality[1] of the Austrian Netherlands, and generally to making proposals of peace which however were not accepted. The issue is well known. France concluded the preliminaries of the treaty of Vienna with Austria without any interruption from England.[2] It acquired for itself in return for the bare promise of recognising the Pragmatic Sanction, the dukedom of Lorraine; and the queen of Spain was eventually contented to accept the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in lieu of Parma and Tuscany, for her son Don Carlos, in hope of recovering also at the first opportunity the other Italian territories for her second son.

The course pursued by Walpole during the progress of these events, was perhaps most consistent with the momentary advantages of England, but it was not consistent. The very minister whose whole energies were roused into action the moment that a single twig of the political tree was set in motion, now looked on with indifference while the whole stem was shaken! How could he any longer hope to find a faithful ally—he, who was so deeply interested in such connexions—if he saw his most recent and almost his only ally despoiled of his most valuable territories, without tendering him the least assistance? It might certainly be a matter of indifference to England who continued to sit on the Polish throne, but after all that she had hitherto done, was it possible that the fate of Italy and the aggrandizement of France could be so likewise? We are far from meaning to assert that England ought to have taken up arms in every such emergency. The presumption of being able to decide such points has already cost the world enough! But still I repeat that this conduct in comparison with his former policy was not consistent. History never presumes to determine what would have happened in any given case, but the supposition is at all events not without foundation, that if Austria had been at that time vigorously supported, Europe might have been spared the whole war of succession.

Meanwhile the times were approaching in which all the anxiety of the minister to maintain peace was unavailing, since the nation was unable any longer to endure the blessings of tranquillity. England was plunged into two wars at

[1] By a treaty with France at the Hague, Nov. 24, 1733.
[2] October 3, 1735.

the same time, the Spanish and the Austrian wars of succession, both of which became at last blended into one. But they constituted an epoch in the British continental policy; and it is in this point of view that they must here be considered.

The war which broke out with Spain in the year 1739, can only be regarded as a remote consequence of the continental relations; so far, namely, as the commercial concessions made at the peace of Utrecht, by means of the treaty of Assiento, laid the ground for it. But considered in another point of view, it is nevertheless always of extreme importance, as a phenomenon arising out of the development of the British commercial policy, so far as this had always a considerable influence on her foreign relations. It was the first war which England carried on under the house of Hanover, or indeed it would not be too much to assert that it was the first which she carried on at all, barely for the sake of commerce; and then it must be allowed the voice of the nation imperatively demanded it. And although the treaty of Assiento and some other disputes, as about cutting logwood and others, gave occasion to it, yet the cause, properly speaking, lay more deep. The spread of British power in the West Indies, and the flourishing commerce of her colonial possessions there, could not possibly consist with the claims which Spain still made to the dominion of these seas; and the war was from the very first not merely a war for the protection of the smuggling trade, but for the free navigation of the West Indian seas. The point in dispute could not be, and of course was not, whether England should carry on its smuggling trade with the Spanish colonies, but the question was from the first, whether British ships trading to the West Indies should in the high seas be subjected to Spanish search? The Spaniards had hitherto exercised this right as consequent on their dominion of the sea, and regarded it as the only means of restraining the smuggling trade. The English on the other hand refused to submit to that search. Viewed in this light, the importance of this war with respect to its consequences will not require any further notice.

Meanwhile the exertions of the minister were wholly and sincerely directed to the means of averting the war, if it could only be effected without trenching too closely on the interests of the nation. He accordingly entered into negotiations; and as he well knew that the demand relative to the right of search would never be explicitly and unreservedly given up by Spain, he sought as much as possible to evade it; and eventually succeeded, on Jan. 15, 1739, in bringing about a treaty with Spain, which was signed at Madrid. It contained, however, only a few preliminaries, while the further arrangements respecting the future security of British navigation in the West Indies was referred to commissioners appointed on both sides for the investigation. However much sagacity the minister had shown in these negotiations, his whole project nevertheless now miscarried. The opposite party prevailed, and he saw himself compelled to declare war against Spain. Would it not have been better to have let this be done by another, and to have tendered his resignation at once, rather than to have submitted after a fruitless struggle to be driven from power by his opponents?

The scene of this war was, as might be expected, in the West Indies. It was the first time that a British fleet had sailed to those regions of the world; where only single ships, or at most small squadrons, had formerly been seen. The growing importance of the colonies in connexion with their commercial jealousy, led subsequently to the result that even their colonies became the scene of war between the European powers.

But this war did not long remain the only one. The year 1740, in which Maria Theresa and Frederic II. mounted the throne, constituted an era in the general history of Europe; and likewise in the history of the British continental relations. We have seen the fluctuations which took place in the latter during the last fifteen years; we have seen that, although at certain periods greater stability of purpose might have been expected from the British ministry, yet the main cause lay in the fluctuating politics of the continental powers themselves, and in their mutual relations. But the Austrian war of succession, which broke out at the instigation of France, and had no less considerable an object than the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, excited a general interest among the powers which leagued themselves with France for this purpose, viz. Spain, Sardinia, and Bavaria, and though only for a short time and for definite objects, Prussia also. The old enmity which subsisted

between Austria and France, revived therefore in all its vigour; and had the object which the league had in view been attained, France would have reigned without a rival over the whole continent of Europe.

That the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy would be in two respects detrimental to England, as neither the destiny of the Austrian Netherlands nor the balance of power on the continent could be matters of indifference to her, was generally agreed upon in England. Besides, England had not only guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in general, but had also entered into peculiar responsibilities for sending twelve thousand auxiliaries against Austria.[1] The honour and interest of England seemed to render it imperative upon her to make a vigorous effort to save Austria. But how this might be effectually done, was another question.

The relations of Austria and the continental relations in general, had been materially changed since the accession of George I. to the British throne by the growing power of Prussia, which even now, in a military point of view, stood in the first rank of powers. England herself had few points of contact with Prussia; but it could not be a matter of indifference to England, that Prussia should join her enemies, and besides, so long as the interest of Hanover was not considered altogether detached from that of England, a point of contact of more than ordinary importance was here presented. The alliance of Herren-haus seems also to have laid the foundation for it. But the desertion of this alliance by Prussia, and still more a personal aversion which subsisted between George II. and Frederic William I. notwithstanding their near relationship, had frustrated these views, and had even neutralized every attempt to re-establish amicable relations; yet the British cabinet did not lose sight of this measure; and even in the very next year after the death of Charles VI. it became the favourite project of Walpole to consummate a grand confederation with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which should maintain the balance of power against the Bourbon courts. But as this was frustrated and the Austrian war of succession broke out, hopes were nevertheless at first entertained of realizing this idea in part, since a separate treaty between Austria and Prussia was

[1] By the treaty of 1731.

effected, which was to have a defensive alliance for its sequel. But Maria Theresa, who would consent to no sacrifice, rejected this proposal of reconciliation, chiefly influenced by the visionary hopes so absurdly excited in her by the negotiations in London.[1] Considered merely in a political view, Walpole's plan would have been excellent; but ministers too often forget that political plans are morally impracticable, so long as political motives are subject to the influence of the passions. How could it have been possible to effect a solid union between two powers, when the principles on which it was based demanded the compulsory surrender of considerable provinces from the one to the other?

England had therefore no alternative remaining, but either to leave Austria to her fate, or to interpose for her deliverance; and, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of the Spanish war, she chose the latter, which the voice of the nation loudly demanded. Walpole, however, while he held the reins of government, would not renounce his old policy; he wished to administer succour without involving himself in the war; he furnished subsidies and took German troops into pay.

Both these phenomena, subsidies and mercenary troops, especially characterize the continental policy of England from this period. It is requisite therefore that we should examine them somewhat more minutely with regard to their nature and their effects; and indeed the more attentively we view them, the more unfair and partial will the employment of them often be considered, especially in later times.

The granting of subsidies to foreign states was not, as we have already shown above, p. 396, first introduced by the kings of the house of Hanover, but had prevailed as early as the reign of William III., and more especially in that of Anne, during the war of the Spanish succession. Upon a general view, it appears a consequence of the un-

[1] The most credible and satisfactory explanation which we have received of all the diplomatic relations and negotiations of the British cabinet, at that period, derived entirely from public documents, and supported by them, first appeared in the two works of W. Coxe. "Memoirs of Robert Walpole," 1798, 3 vols., and "Memoirs of Horace Walpole," 4to, 1802. I refer particularly to the last, pp. 211, 224, et seq. What valuable materials of every kind, historical and moral, do these works present to the future historian of Great Britain, under the house of Hanover! They have been the first to render such a history of the whole period of the two Walpoles feasible.

equal distribution of wealth in the countries which formed the complicated political system of Europe; and for that reason necessarily extended itself more and more in proportion as this inequality increased. Since the western countries of this part of the globe, by the advantage of their position, drew to themselves the most extensive commerce, wealth became accumulated in specie, and enabled these countries to furnish the subsidies of which the others stood in need. Not only England, but France and Holland followed this system. But England, by reason of her position and her relations, was manifestly most frequently placed in a condition to adopt it.

The granting of subsidies may prove a great gain, or a great evil, as well to the state which furnishes them as to that which receives them, accordingly as it may be directed by a sound policy, by despicable passions, or by mere political caprice: its effects, if pernicious, may even extend to the whole political system.

Independence and security are more valuable than money, and if both of them can be purchased or maintained for a state itself and its confederates by money, such an expenditure certainly cannot be without advantage. In a system composed of such different elements as the political system of Europe, that nicely-adjusted balance of power which can afford the only security for the perpetuity of the whole, cannot possibly be maintained without reciprocal support. It is clear, however, from the preceding observations, that those states which had been accustomed to receive supplies of money rather than of men, must unavoidably be subsidised as soon as they themselves experience a greater deficiency in money than in men. To rich states, therefore, who spared their own subjects, which they might otherwise have been compelled to sacrifice, the granting of subsidies became under such circumstances an almost necessary condition for the maintenance of this balance. But considered in another point of view, it is unquestionable that such a resource is likely to be scandalously abused, whenever blind passion resorts to it for satiating its animosity, or even that execrable policy is followed which sees its own interest in the protraction of war amongst others, and does not shrink from making considerable sacrifices in order

to compass its object. The maxims which sound policy would dictate in granting subsidies, have never, so far as I am aware, been made the subject of a distinct inquiry. They may, perhaps, be most correctly deduced from the expression itself. Subsidies are succours furnished in money by one state to another, principally for the purpose of defending the interests of that state, which are indirectly identified with its own. This appears to be the main point for consideration, but which immediately becomes changed when the defence of our own interests becomes the direct motive of our actions. It is only in the first case that any reasonable prospect of advantage can be expected; and a detailed history of subsidies would probably lead to the conclusion that great statesmen have pretty closely adhered to that fundamental maxim; and that those who violate it do so to their own cost. In an isolated case it might certainly be sometimes difficult to determine whose interests predominated; whether those of the state that furnished the subsidies, or those of the state that received them. This, however, could never be less doubtful than in the case of the subsidies afforded by England at this period to Austria. Even the enemies of England did not venture to cast any imputation upon her for her conduct.

The taking foreign troops into pay in order to prosecute our own wars, is an expedient closely allied to that of subsidies. This phenomenon, as we learn from history, is an immediate consequence of the nature of great maritime and commercial states; where there is neither a large population, which can be employed in land service without considerable injury to commerce, nor indeed is land service usually considered so honourable as in those which are peculiarly territorial states.[1] But England had besides an especial reason for having recourse to this expedient, which, in her case, could not possibly have been avoided, viz. the objection of the nation to any increase of its standing army, from a fear that it would prove dangerous to its liberties. We need only retrace the parliamentary history of the past century, commencing with the last quarter of it, in order to know how often, whenever an opportunity occurred, this object became the

[1] I have already shown this at large in the instance of an ancient people, the Carthaginians, Historical Researches, African Nations.

bone of contention between the opposition and the ministerial party. Although this distrust was not altogether groundless, yet there can be no question that it was carried too far, and that it might have led to very detrimental consequences. While the other states of Europe continued to augment their standing forces almost every year, even an insular state could not entirely avoid doing so, where it was not merely an active member of the general state system of Europe, but was likewise threatened, and not idly so, with an invasion from without. From such exigencies and obstacles, the system of nations supporting themselves as much as possible by taking foreign troops into pay, naturally had its rise. Even this might have its good and evil consequences, according as it was proceeded in with moderation, or abused and carried to excess. England might by that means spare her men; but on the other hand it might prove a very pernicious expedient, if it weakened the confidence which she ought to repose in her own strength, and damped the military spirit of the nation. The evil appeared to attach for the most part to those nations who furnished troops for money. But in the first place, and this is a very important circumstance, according to the recognised principles of international law in those times, the people who furnished mercenary troops were not on that account regarded as enemies of those against whom these troops were employed; and if we do not take narrow and confined views of the subject, it is not difficult to show how one side of the question alone was considered by those persons whose declamations were solely directed against a market of the human species, where slaves are exposed for sale. God forbid that these expressions should be supposed to recommend the hiring out one's own troops for foreign pay as a universally excellent maxim of policy. But if countries which groan under the burden of a heavy national debt, are not only relieved from it by this expedient, but are restored to a state of public prosperity, and who can be ignorant that such is the case? may it not be truly asserted, that the troops which enter into a foreign service promote the good of their country in a more eminent degree than they could do on the field of battle in any cause of their own. Here too it is the relations under which the circumstance occurred, and the objects which might be, and

indeed were attained thereby, which form the true criterion of approbation or censure. Besides, how often has it happened, indeed almost invariably in continental wars, that the countries which furnish troops for pay, were themselves interested in the war! What an advantage it was in such a case, not only to devolve upon others the expenses of a war, in which they could not have avoided taking a part, but also to contribute towards keeping it at a distance from their own frontiers; for which object scarcely any sacrifice is too great for small and weak states to make.

England had already, before the breaking out of the war, concluded some negotiations with Hesse and Denmark for auxiliary troops. But as an active participation in the continental war was decided upon when Carteret succeeded Walpole in office, and as Denmark also renewed her treaty, a Hanoverian corps of 16,000 men was taken into British pay. How much it contributed to the successful issue of the war, particularly at the battle of Dettingen, is well known. Yet never have the measures of government during the whole period of the house of Hanover excited a more violent opposition than at that time, when the quiet spectator would certainly least have expected it. Never were the old objections more vehemently and unbecomingly re-echoed than at that juncture.

We shall be disappointed if we expect to find in any British historian, so far as I am aware, a dispassionate and impartial examination of this opposition. The positions from which they set out render this impossible. They have the interests of England alone in view, and perhaps not merely is a disregard of them, of which they themselves cannot quote any well-grounded proof, an offence in their eyes, but even the attempt to identify the interests of England and Hanover.

But, naturally asks the impartial inquirer, had your kings then ceased to be electors of Hanover? Is it to be supposed that England had demanded this from them? Had they in that capacity no duties towards their German subjects, for which they were responsible? Did they owe them no protection, as far as negotiation and continental connexions could afford it? It is scarcely credible how far and in what tone such claims have been urged in England. A person must have read the parliamentary speeches of those times,

particularly in the Upper House,[1] in order to form a conception of the furious diatribes, full of ebullitions of the coarsest national pride, and of the grossest insults, against a people which stand connected with them by so many ties. Time itself has given perhaps too complete a refutation to those fictions of projects formed for the extension of the electorate, which, whenever the slightest step was taken, or only presumed to be taken, for the advantage of Hanover, were again revived.

But in order to estimate duly those objections, it is necessary to trace them to their genuine sources. They originated much less in conviction than in party spirit. It was the cry of the opposition which succeeded at that time, after having put down Walpole, in gaining over to itself the great mass of the nation. Where could they more readily find materials for their speeches than here, where they never failed, as soon as they set out on mere selfish principles? It is not the design of this dissertation to give an account of that opposition in detail. Otherwise readers who are not conversant with the history of those times, would behold with amazement the degree of blindness and fatuity to which the rage of faction can lead.

The history of England during the 18th century is as rich as any other, and perhaps richer, in instances of great virtues and great achievements; but there is one aspect in which a man of right feeling cannot contemplate it for the most part without abhorrence. It is not the opposition itself, without which no political liberty can exist; neither is it the ebullition of party spirit, which at certain periods is inseparable from it, with which I find fault. Even that disgust which arises from the reiterated and incessant clamour frequently raised on the most trivial occasions about the impending ruin of the state, which never ensued, may be overcome. But it is that melancholy and so often recurring spectacle, of men, themselves of the highest talents and character, who,

[1] In the years 1742 and 1743, during the ministry of Carteret, the discharge of the Hanoverian corps in the British service is the constant topic of the rival speakers. This corps constituted at that time almost the half of the allied army, and the consequences of their dismissal may easily be calculated. I question whether the whole range of history has produced a similar example of the mastery of passion over sound reason amongst people who called themselves statesmen.

calling their selfishness patriotism, speak in despite of their better conviction; who censure every measure of the minister, because it is his measure; whilst in every instance their object is not to promote the interests of the state, but to force themselves into power. The conduct of the first William Pitt, whom England still regards, with justice, as the first of her statesmen, while he was in opposition against Walpole, a circumstance on which he himself afterwards always looked back with self-reproach, may be mentioned as an example. The true character of the opposition is said to be a continual censure of the minister. But a censure which only finds fault, and is always finding fault, loses its power, and does not attain its object. This perverse spirit of the opposition is mainly instrumental in giving to the government such excessive and increasing power. The opposition had often prevailed in England, and forced the minister from his ground, when the evil was already past; but was seldom or never able to prevent the execution of perverse measures at the right time.

The history of the Austrian war of succession interests us here only on account of the consequences resulting from it to the British continental policy. As soon as the old enmity between France and Austria revived, not only was the ancient connexion between this power and England renewed, but similar connexions were likewise formed on the continent, as in the reign of William and Anne. The king of Sardinia was by the treaty of Worms the ally of England in Italy, on condition of receiving subsidies; the republic of the United Netherlands was likewise drawn into the war, and since the peace of Dresden, in 1745, England herself also entered into a friendly connexion with Frederic II.

The course of the inquiry demands from us something more than a passing notice of the conduct pursued by that great prince in this eventful period. Properly speaking it was he, who in this war constructed a new political system, since the conquest of Silesia laid the foundation of that rivalry which subsisted between Austria and Prussia, and which became, subsequently, for more than ten years, the hinge, as it were, on which the politics of Europe turned. The later history of Frederic may perhaps afford more valuable lessons in the arts of war and of government; but in

politics, provided that his claims to Silesia, which we cannot here undertake to estimate, shall be considered justifiable, this earlier period will be found most replete with instruction. His conduct, if we consider, how in 1740 he at first single-handed took up arms, how he allied himself with France, and yet so early as 1742 concluded a treaty for himself alone; how two years later he again took up arms; again allied himself with France, and yet after only sixteen months again abandoned her; affords a novel, one may say a startling, exhibition. But we must take a complete survey of the order of his external relations at that time, and above all of those with France, whose design of effecting the annihilation of the Austrian monarchy by no means coincided with his own, in order to understand and admire him. The art, till then unknown in Europe, of concluding alliances without committing one's self, of remaining unfettered while apparently bound, of seceding when the proper moment is arrived, can be learnt from him and only from him. Indeed this seems to have become lost to posterity; yet it could scarcely be otherwise; for his whole policy was, in the first place, not a consequence of the superiority of his genius, but of the independence of his character, which certainly could not be transmitted by hereditary succession. Hence that intrepidity of conduct; that freedom which characterized every movement; that straightforwardness, which was not on that account unaccompanied by cunning; in a word, that superiority over his contemporaries, which displayed itself not less in the cabinet than in the field of action. Hence no trace of that base womanish policy which cringes before a more puissant adversary, in order occasionally to defy a weaker, which has no higher object than to thread its path through the relative circumstances of the day, and which would be ready on the morrow to solemnize a thanksgiving, if it has but escaped to-day unscathed by them. The immutable truth, that independence of character is of more value in negotiation than brilliant talents, and rises in importance proportionately to the eminence of the station in which the possessor is placed, no one has more strikingly attested by his own example than Frederic at that period.

He understood precisely the nature of his own wishes, and retired from the theatre of war as soon as (by the treaty

of Dresden, Dec. 25, 1745) his objects were attained. The war was continued three years longer by the other leading powers, with what view it is difficult to say, unless we take into account the passions which were excited by events which occurred in the interval. France had as little reason to flatter herself with the prospect of annihilating the Austrian monarchy, as of snatching away the imperial crown from Francis I. after he had once been elected, and recognised also by Frederic. And however brilliant her victories in the Netherlands were, experience nevertheless showed that she could not calculate upon achieving any permanent conquests here. All parties eventually concurred in a peace,[1] because all were exhausted. What were the results of this to England? It is notorious that England gained no increase of territory by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But it would be great perverseness to seek materials for blame in this fact. The war was not commenced with a view to conquest, but to support Austria against France. This object was attained; and any peace may well be termed a good peace, by which the object which has induced a person to undertake a war is attained. It is true that this is not the general opinion, which estimates the advantages solely by the conquests achieved. The more rare the virtue of independence is, the more frequently do we experience that schemes of ambitious projects are first excited during wars; and these, by their prolongation, then become the scourge of nations. This war, however, had attached to it other consequences of greater moment to the policy of England.

The first of these was the more intricate complication of the colonial interest with the political relations of Europe. No war which England ever carried on, had so extensively affected the colonies as this. The war with Spain naturally made the West Indies and the American sea the scene of her enterprises; but the East Indies likewise became now for the first time the theatre of action for the British and French. Two of the most extraordinary men, *Labourdonnais* and *Dupleix*, had already prepared the way for acquiring a dominion there, which, if it had depended upon herself alone, would probably have secured to France the possession of India. The jealousy of the British was aroused; hostili-

[1] At Aix-la-Chapelle, April 30, 1748.

ties broke out there likewise; and although the conquests which had been made were resigned on both sides at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the spark of discord remained nevertheless unextinguished, and in each of the subsequent wars, India, as well as the new world, became the cause as well as the scene of contest.

In close connexion with this, was the superiority of the navy of England, which afterwards became so firmly established. In no previous war had this ever risen to any pre-eminence above that of her enemies; but at the time this war broke out the French navy had been reduced to the lowest state of decay, by the parsimony and supineness of Fleury, and during the war was almost annihilated. This superiority having been once established, gave rise in every new war to similar plans, which ultimately led to that exclusive dominion of the sea, which became an object of envy to other powers, and the source of so many calamities to Europe.

In the next place, the relations of England with the continental states seemed now for a considerable time to be determinately settled. Her newly-revived rivalry with France had given rise to the connexion with Austria; and the duration of the latter seemed likely to be commensurate with the former. The sources of dispute with Spain were not only stopped,[1] but the personally favourable inclination of Ferdinand VI., the successor of Philip V., since 1743, gave England power, if not as an ally, at least as a friend, in Spain. On a similar footing were the relations with Prussia placed. With the republic of the Netherlands, however, they had not merely continued the same, but had become more close. If the reciprocal connexion of both powers was before founded on their rivalry with France, the revolution in the constitution (which took place during this war) gave rise to new ties. It is well known that in the year 1747, on the advance of the French army into the Austrian Netherlands, the hereditary dignity of Stadtholder in the United Provinces was revived in favour of William IV., the son-in-law of George II.; and the powerful influence, or rather the sovereignty, of the house of Orange was again firmly established. After a war which had been carried on and

[1] By the treaty at Buenretiro, October 5, 1750.

terminated in common, the continuance of the existing connexion was in itself quite natural, but that which was now derived from family connexions added a new link. Lastly, this war had besides strengthened the connexion with Russia. Maria Theresa had succeeded in winning over Russia to her side; and Germany was for the first time visited by a Russian army in the year 1748, in consequence of a subsidy treaty which had been concluded with England and Holland. Nevertheless this first interference of Russia in the affairs of Western Europe, was of short duration; the age had not yet arrived when the maintenance of the balance of power was in her hands.

In the years immediately subsequent to the war, especially after definitive arrangements had been entered into with Spain, England was more engrossed with domestic and financial affairs than with the transactions of foreign countries; and by the reduction of the interest of the national debt, to three per cent, Pelham[1] erected a more glorious monument to his ministry than any victories in the field could have raised. Meanwhile, the consequences of the system established by Frederic II., by which the maintenance of the balance in the German empire between Austria and Prussia was regarded as the foundation-stone of the balance of Europe, began also to develope themselves. It might naturally be expected that England would adhere to its ally Austria; and it seemed the more natural as the occupation of East Friesland, which had been evacuated about this time, and the disputes about the Embden East India Company soon after, had produced a great coolness between George II. and Frederic. But the mode of proceeding then adopted by the British cabinet, put arms into the hands of the opposition which they knew how to wield with great dexterity. Maria Theresa had already conceived the wish of preserving the regal diadem of Rome for her son Joseph, who was yet a minor; and England not only supported this scheme, but also dispensed her subsidies with a lavish hand among the electors, in order to accomplish it. With the elector of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Saxony, and Cologne, treaties were either actually concluded

[1] Pelham, and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, next or subordinate to him, stood at the head of the administration when Carteret went out of office, 1744, till the death of Pelham, 1754.

or subsidies promised them, for the purpose of gaining their votes. It is surprising to hear even Pitt himself speak in favour of the treaty with Bavaria,[1] because, as he expresses it, that state would thereby be drawn away from the French interest. Whether England had any reason at all for embroiling herself so deeply in the affairs of Germany is a question which we need not here determine; the principle that it should, certainly prevailed in the British cabinet. But these subsidies, (as Horace Walpole so bitterly complains,[2]) not only failed in their object, for Frederic II. knew how to frustrate all these plans, but kept open the breach with Prussia at a moment when there was the strongest reason for avoiding one. It was a striking instance of the abuse of subsidies.

But that great change which was so extensively preparing at this time in the political relations of the continent, and which soon actually ensued, quickly diverted attention from the election of a king of the Romans to more important objects, nor could it fail to effect a change in the policy of England.

The approximation and close connexion which immediately ensued between France and Austria, was an occurrence which seemed to mock all the calculations of the politician. No step of the French cabinet has been more frequently and severely censured; and if we take into consideration her next object, the making war upon and annihilating Frederic II., none was ever more justly censured. But the German writers and journalists, who have so often repeated these strictures, ought not to forget that they, at least, have had the greatest cause to be thankful for it. Was not indeed that prosperous period of almost thirty years which occurred, even though Frederic II. had come off victorious in the struggle, and which, upon the whole, was the most prosperous and flourishing that Germany had ever enjoyed, to be attributed to the good understanding between France and Austria?

[1] Life of William Pitt, i. p. 114.

[2] An admirable exposition of the British continental relations at that period, particularly in respect to these points, will be found in the memoir which Horace Walpole at that time, 1751, caused to be laid before the Cabinet. *Coxe's Memoirs of Horace Walpole*, p. 386, sq. Both before and after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he was most zealous in an alliance with Frederic II., but to no purpose. He was certainly right so far, that it was unwise to exasperate him.

This connexion between France and Austria, not only robbed England of her first ally, but by reason of the great differences which had already arisen with France herself, respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, the forts in the back settlements of the North American colonies, and the possession of the neutral islands in the West Indies, rendered the probability of war a matter of almost absolute certainty; the object of which, as a continental war, would necessarily be the abolition of the newly-established balance in Germany, by the overthrow of Prussia; and the most important theatre of which, now that the Austrian Netherlands could no longer serve as a diversion, must necessarily be Germany. George II. would have to consider this connexion in two points of view, as king of England, and as elector of Hanover. It would naturally be expected then that, under this coincidence of relations, the affairs of his German states would be first arranged; it could only be considered as a fulfilment of his duties as regent, if he first bestowed his attention upon them. But how could the interests of England and Hanover be more identical than at this time? It was the only state that could now afford to England a powerful ally on the continent, Frederic II.; and what would have been her situation after the subjugation of Hanover? This truth, however, though clear as the noonday sun, was far from being generally recognised in England. The old cry about the Hanoverian interest was again set up. Alas! even the man who, as minister, afterwards maintained the position that America must be conquered in Germany, at this time arraigned the connexion which George II. sought to establish on the continent by means of the subsidy treaty.[1]

[1] Pitt, however, did not speak in general terms. He only censured the connexion which George II. at that time sought to establish between Russia and Hesse. But who would not wish himself to read the very words of such a man on such an occasion: "It is impossible," said he, "to defend Hanover by subsidies. An open country cannot be protected against a neighbour who is able to fall upon it with one hundred thousand men, and to send as many more after them. If Hanover, in consequence of her connexion with Great Britain, shall become the object of attack, then is it obligatory upon us when peace is restored to provide her full indemnification for all the losses she has sustained. But the idea of defending Hanover by subsidies is ridiculous and impracticable." Life of W. Pitt, i. p. 136. The exaggeration of the statement is best refuted by the event.

The first thoughts of the king were directed to Russia. In consequence of the subsidies furnished to Russia in the last war, the presence of Russian troops in Germany was no strange spectacle, and a treaty was concluded with Elizabeth to cover the electorate against the invasion of the French.[1] It may well be doubted whether in the relations of Russia, as they soon developed themselves, this object would be attained, since the French-Austrian party prevailed also in Russia. But Frederic II., who understood these relations too well to admit Russian troops into Hanover, and was also too well aware of the consequences which might result from the occupation of that country by a foreign power, would not allow himself to be influenced by distrust or petty feelings of any kind. He engaged himself to protect the neutrality of Hanover; George II. abandoned Russia and united with him,[2] as well as with several of the neighbouring princes of Northern Germany.

The history of the ever memorable war which now broke out belongs not to this place. The glorious days of the Frederics and Ferdinands are past, and the memory of them is all that is left to us. Followed by almost all their heroic comrades, they have long descended to the shades, in order to make room for a later generation, whose history will be more easily learnt, from its containing fewer names worth remembrance.

But to return to England. The administration of this kingdom now devolved upon a man, William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham,[3] whom the nation has never ceased to remember, and whom we, if for no other reason, must not omit to notice, as he was the main stay of the continental relations of England.

He had entered parliament as early as 1735, and had taken office, under the Pelham administration, as paymaster of the forces, which he resigned in 1755.[4] He had long been a member of the opposition against Walpole; but his influence was now become so great, that not only could no administration hold together without him, but even the formation of one was intrusted to him, because on no other terms would he himself accept of place. Accordingly a

[1] In the spring of 1755. [2] By the treaty at Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1756.
[3] He was born on 17 Nov. 1708, was made Earl of Chatham 1766, and died May 11, 1778. [4] Nov. 20.

year had not elapsed before he was called upon to form an administration (Oct. 20, 1756) as secretary of state, when the king approved his proposals for filling up the other appointments, which exalted post he retained till Oct. 5, 1761, when he resigned upon finding that his measures were not supported. The five years of his administration was the most brilliant period which Great Britain had yet seen. His panegyrists have not omitted to enumerate the many battles which were won, the ships which were captured, the conquests which were made during his administration;[1] for although he was not the immediate agent in these victories, it was through him that they were achieved. His real merit may be comprised in two lines. *By the greatness of his individual character he called up, as by magic, the spirit of his nation.* He was a man in the fullest sense of the word. Integrity and independence formed the centre of his whole moral system, from which the rays of his genius and of his often admired eloquence emanated no less than from his sound political maxims. In proportion as he relied upon himself, the nation learned to trust to its own strength and energies. Thus England became familiar with, and accustomed to, the most daring enterprises; thus became improved the discipline of the army and navy; and thus, above all, became roused the spirit of the nation: the minister meanwhile preserving its confidence, by showing himself anxious on every occasion to appear as the champion of the rights and power of the people, in the constitutional sense of the word, rather than as one who wished to court the favour of the prince, by taking every opportunity to extend the rights and power of the crown. It was therefore an essential element in the character of Pitt, that he should in his general policy show little inclination towards the system of subsidies and mercenary troops, inasmuch as it might paralyse the self-confidence and independent energy of the nation. But he exhibited also a proof that great minds do not blindly bind themselves to any particular maxims. As soon as he could resort to that system without prejudice to those higher interests, he adopted it; and the prudence with which he exercised it was as great as its consequences were fortunate.

[1] A list of them will be found in the Life of Pitt, vol. i. p. 198.

Never were auxiliaries more judiciously employed than those of the allies at this period. Never were subsidies more judiciously furnished than those which were granted by Pitt to Frederic II. It is a singularly interesting spectacle to see these two great men united together, each trusting in the first place to himself and acting for himself, without on that account overlooking the advantages which might be derived from their connexion with each other.

The British continental policy during the seven years' war, as long as Pitt held the reins of government, may, according to my idea, be regarded as the most perfect model from which the British cabinet could have drawn (at any time) its fundamental maxims in this respect,—I speak not of the choice of allies; this can only in part depend upon the cabinet, as the relations between the powers of the continent are variable,—but of *its whole course and method of proceeding*. It adhered very properly to the true notion of subsidies. It afforded them to those, who under the existing relations were the most natural allies of Great Britain, and with whom it had in general a community of interest; not to every one who asked for them. They were afforded with the view that those who received them might first of all assist themselves; and hence it was expected that advantage would be indirectly derived to England, but not that they should forget themselves and first succour England. More was not promised than was intended to be given, but what was promised was faithfully performed. They made the weak strong, while they placed them on a secure footing, and supported them there by uniting themselves to them. Thus might Pitt and Frederic, both equally independent, each pursue his own course, without, by so doing, destroying the perfect harmony which subsisted between them. Pitt has himself, in one of his later speeches, so clearly defined the principles on which he acted, and the policy which he pursued at this period, that the reader would not willingly forego the satisfaction of seeing it here introduced.[1]

"I have been much abused, my Lords, for supporting a war, which it has been the fashion to call my German war. But I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that that abuse

[1] Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 221. The speech was first delivered in the year 1770, in the Upper House.

has been thrown upon me by men, who were either unacquainted with facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting them. I shall speak plainly and frankly to your Lordships upon this, as I do upon every occasion. That I did in Parliament oppose, to the utmost of my power, our engaging in a German war, is most true; and if the same circumstance were to recur, I would act the same part, and oppose it again. But when I was called upon to take a share in the administration, that measure was already decided. Before I was appointed secretary of state, the first treaty with the king of Prussia was signed, and not only ratified by the crown, but approved of and confirmed by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament."

"It was a weight fastened upon my neck. By that treaty, the honour of the crown and the honour of our nation were equally engaged. How I could recede from such an engagement; how I could advise the crown to desert a great prince in the midst of those difficulties, in which a reliance upon the good faith of this country had contributed to involve him, are questions I willingly submit to your Lordships' candour. That wonderful man might, perhaps, have extricated himself from his difficulties without our assistance. He has talents, which, in every thing that touches the human capacity, do honour to the human mind. But how would England have supported that reputation of credit and good faith, by which we have been distinguished in Europe? What other foreign power would have sought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us? But, my Lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do not admit that alliances with some of the German princes are either detrimental or useless. They may be, my Lords, not only useful, but necessary." Not, as he further observes, to introduce foreign auxiliaries into England, which is strong enough to protect itself, but into Ireland to defend it from invasion.

The connexion with Prussia and her allies was not, however, the only new feature which the seven years' war produced in respect to the British continental relations. One other was this, that the republic of the United Netherlands, notwithstanding its intimate relations with England, had the

option of remaining neutral in this war, which it had not in any preceding one. But the connexion between France and Austria would necessarily affect in some degree the conduct of this republic, and weaken its connexion with England. In the revolutions of the continent it had only one paramount interest, the continuance of the existing condition of the Austrian Netherlands. As long as these provinces continued in the possession of a distant power, they served them as a bulwark with or without fortified places. Under the existing relations these could not become, as formerly, the scene of hostilities; France had by her connexion with Austria discarded all designs upon them; and therefore for the republic this connexion, viewed in this light, must have been a most felicitous occurrence. But the advantageous effects of this neutrality upon its commerce, which even excited the envy of England, are well known. What an era might this have been for the republic, if it had not been long afflicted with disorders which no remedial measures could now counteract!

These changes in her relations with other powers, rendered it unnecessary for England to establish any federal connexions in Italy, such as it had formed with Sardinia during previous wars. It was during the negotiations for peace in 1762, that recourse was first had to this country as mediator, and that not in vain. But England had still remaining another ancient ally who was drawn with her into the vortex and required assistance—Portugal.

It has been already shown, in its proper place, when and how the connexion with this state arose, and became established. Since the treaty of Utrecht it had kept up a highly advantageous connexion, in a commercial point of view, for England, without any important political consequences resulting from it during the long period of peace which Portugal enjoyed. Even the plans of Pombal could not have dissolved or materially affected it. But the closer connexion which through the family compact drew Spain into the war, was also instrumental in involving Portugal in it, and in causing her now to look for assistance to her ancient ally.

The celebrated family compact of the Bourbons appeared in the result to confirm the fears which had been entertained during the war of the Spanish succession, and at the peace

of Utrecht. Although the crowns of France and Spain remained separate, yet the interests of both powers were intimately united. How little, however, hitherto, had the fears, which were cherished on that account, been justified by the event; Spain would have been unavoidably obliged to take part with France in the war, but this had as yet only served to enable England to support herself at the cost of Spain, and to keep her sailors in good humour by the rich prizes which they captured. This last was perhaps the most important advantage which she gained. By privateering and plunder, individuals enriched themselves; but no nation has ever acquired by such means a single permanent advantage.

The effects of the family compact[1] then were even already apparent; England became unavoidably involved in a war with Spain, and since Portugal was now threatened with an attack from the same quarter, not only were British auxiliaries sent to Spain, but also a German commander, Count William of Lippe Bückeburg, one of the heroes of the seven years' war. Although it was not in his power to recast the nation in a new mould, he nevertheless stamped the recollection of himself indelibly upon it. Who is there even now in Portugal who has not heard of the great Count. The country escaped from the war uninjured; and the connexion with England had become strengthened.

But one consequence of the family compact, though accidental, yet much more momentous as regards the continental policy of England, was the secession of Pitt from the ministry. However secret the conclusion of that treaty had been kept in Spain, with the view of gaining time, in order to secure to themselves the treasures from America, Pitt had nevertheless been able to procure intelligence of their proceedings. His anxious wish was, as might have been expected from a man of his character, to anticipate Spain, and immediately to declare war upon her, which he saw to be inevitable. But he was not believed, and was in consequence outvoted. Not accustomed to capitulate when convinced he was right, he turned his back and retired.[2]

His prediction was fulfilled, and England soon saw her-

[1] Signed on Aug. 10, 1761, but still kept secret. The very first two articles of the treaty contained an offensive and defensive alliance, and a reciprocal guarantee for all possessions.

[2] October 5, 1761.

self obliged to declare war. But although even now the short war with Spain had been prosecuted with the greatest success, the retirement of Pitt had such an effect on the measures of the British cabinet, that the whole of his system of continental policy, as yet scarcely matured, necessarily fell to the ground. It ceased, however, to take an active part in the continental war, the subsidies to Frederic II. were discontinued, and England concluded a peace for herself without paying that regard to her ally which he might with justice have demanded.

Viewed in the light of a mere temporary advantage, this conduct of the British cabinet may admit of some vindication; but on the principles of a higher policy it cannot possibly be defended. It cannot be denied that the assertion of Pitt, that Frederic II., if left entirely alone, would be able to extricate himself from all embarrassment, was now verified; but if this be granted, would it not have been more consonant to the principles of sound policy, for England to have allowed her connexions with Prussia to continue as long as the intimate relation between Austria and France should exist. Would England have obtained a peace on less favourable terms if she had concluded it in conjunction with Frederic? It was only owing to a fortunate combination of circumstances that no new relations occurred to render his assistance necessary for England. His aversion to this state was afterwards perhaps too deeply rooted to admit of being ever again eradicated.

England, therefore, after the seven years' war stood alone without allies, or at least without powerful ones; and had, after the prostration of that power which opposed and rivalled her, no immediate cause for seeking new connexions. During the profound peace which the west of Europe so long enjoyed, no such exigence arose. The activity of the nation was confined at first to its own domestic affairs; since the well-known disputes with Wilkes brought questions into agitation which seriously affected the rights of the Upper House. The contest with Spain about the Falkland Islands (1770) produced only threats, but no hostilities; the disputes which commenced with the colonies in North America soon engrossed universal attention. The particulars of the dispute as well as the war which ensued is foreign

to the present inquiry, except so far as continental relations are concerned. The effects which it had upon these were manifold. The first was the restoration of the subsidy system. From the moment it was decided to send an army over to America, the need of foreign assistance was sensibly felt. The assertion of Lord Chatham, "that cases may occur in which connexion with German princes could not be dispensed with," is again applicable here. He certainly had not anticipated such a case as the present, and could not have alluded to the contest which broke out with America on the subject of exemption from taxation.[1] Once admitting however (which I am very far from maintaining) that it was politic to attempt the subjugation of America by force, there can be little doubt that mercenary aid was the best resource which could be adopted. The lives of their own men were thereby spared—lives which a state like England could least of all afford to lose.

Further, although this war did not give rise to a continental war in Europe, yet it did to one amongst the European powers, as France took part with America, and Spain, by virtue of the family compact, was also necessarily drawn into it. America was merely a secondary stage for these powers, the war between them was almost entirely a colonial one, for which new materials had been accumulating ever since the treaty of Paris. One of the greatest evils that disturbs the European system is that intermixture of its colonies, naturally occasioned by their geographical position. This was the principal cause of the seven years' war, and, although the peace which put an end to it, and by which France was completely dispossessed of its continental possessions in North America,[2] was in some measure a remedy for this evil, it nevertheless contributed in other respects

[1] The opinions of Chatham respecting America may be gathered from the bill which he proposed to the Upper House, but without success, Feb. 1, 1775, after the disturbances had broken out. It will be found in Life of Pitt, ii. p. 129. The colonies were to remain dependent, but to have the privilege of taxing themselves by their provincial assemblies. The congress at Philadelphia, which had already assembled, was to settle the division of the taxes among the provinces, and to determine the sum which each was to contribute towards the liquidation of the national debt in England. Even Chatham could not rise sufficiently high to take an enlarged view of the immeasurable advantage which would result to England from the complete liberation of America.

[2] After that it ceded Louisiana also to Spain, 1765.

rather to aggravate it. The power of the British and the French was now nearly equally balanced in the West Indies, but in the East from the time England established herself at Bengal, (1763,) the preponderance was clearly in her favour. France nevertheless still retained hopes of being able to restore the balance, as she had found an ally in one of the chiefs of the interior, who, from personal interest, was necessarily hostile to England, and had already discovered the means of setting her at defiance. The East Indies thus became the principal theatre of the war, and in spite of every effort they would have been lost to England, if a better arrangement in the organization of the East India Company, by the concentration of the four presidencies under one governor-general, and the bill of Pitt, had not rendered them politically independent of the government.

The colonial war, moreover, cost England a political friend on the continent, by the republic of the United Netherlands becoming implicated in it. England certainly lost nothing by this war; she conquered St. Eustace, Trinconomale, Negapatuam; the last of which she retained to the peace. But this rupture with the republic was connected with another event, which was necessarily of critical importance to England.

England by this war became involved in a contest with all the maritime powers of Europe, and was singly a match for them all. It was indeed a signal proof of the rapid advance she had made since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle that she was now mistress of the seas, although as yet she was far from asserting a dominion over them. But when once her energies were directed to this object, circumstances naturally arose out of her attempt, which exposed England to the danger of being involved more extensively with the greatest part of the continent. It was not enough to cripple, or even to destroy the enemies' fleets, unless she effectually prevented them from refitting and building new ones. Their capabilities of doing this however depended, for the most part, on their interference with neutral powers, from which France would be obliged to procure the necessary materials. This was one reason for her oppression of neutrals and the obstructing of their navigation; but these arbitrary proceedings necessarily became extended beyond all bounds as soon

as the annihilation of the enemy's commerce and the endeavour to appropriate it to themselves (two facts inseparable from the sovereignty of the sea) became their avowed object. In wars of earlier times, the commerce of belligerent powers had escaped under the protection of neutral flags, and although the celebrated maxim, *free ship, free cargo*, had always been but doubtfully maintained, the dispute could never become of much practical importance until some one maritime power felt itself sufficiently strong to maintain the contrary. But this unjust oppression, for such the conduct of England was felt to be, was not submitted to without resistance; Catharine II. set on foot the armed neutrality,[1] which the northern powers, and even Portugal, joined; and Holland herself would have acceded to it, if England had not anticipated her doing so by a declaration of war.

The armed neutrality was a phenomenon from which England might have derived important lessons; but she did not. Submission then was absolutely necessary, unless she was willing to incur the danger of being involved in a war with the whole of Europe; this submission, however, was made in silence, unaccompanied by any formal recognition of the principles which had been set up. All, therefore, that remained was an association which could only be of practical utility during the continuance of the war. The indispensable need of a maritime law of nations was more sensibly felt than ever; and Catharine had loudly proclaimed it by that association; but here, as usual, the policy adopted was merely to serve a temporary purpose; and of what use could a maritime law of nations on paper be when the want of it, in time of peace, should cease to be felt, and which, it was obvious, in time of war would be made subservient to the convenience of individual states?

But another effect of this war upon the continental policy of England was her altered relations with the Netherlands. Internal tranquillity was by no means restored in that country by the peace, and England even found an opportunity thereby of maintaining her influence over it.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of the continental policy of England, that although she was so deeply involved in the affairs of foreign countries, yet during the

[1] In the year 1781.

whole period of the house of Hanover, (it may be said too even of the Stuarts,) in no one of them was the spirit of party either fostered or excited thereby. What a different spirit had France excited in Sweden, and Russia in Poland! This consequence may indisputably be ascribed to the fact that England required no party aid for the attainment of her object, but merely the support of the administration; and in some measure to the existing relations of that period, which gave little encouragement to party spirit in the countries with which England stood connected. I have no wish, therefore, to pass any encomium on the more exalted morality of the British minister on that ground; but I am prepared to prove that the interference of England in the affairs of foreign powers, was hitherto much less dangerous to their object than the influence of the continental powers upon one another.

The events which occurred in the United Netherlands formed at the time we speak of an exception. As during the last war this state had leagued itself with France, and as that power found an opportunity to do her some essential services during her quarrel with Joseph II., it could not be difficult for the French ministry to maintain for itself a party here; and this party, under the name of the patriotic party, stepped forward as an antagonist of the house of Orange, without knowing, as far as could be discerned, any thing more determinate as to its real object.

The moment at which England might probably have attached to herself the republic, with less galling, but certainly more lasting bonds, as afterwards happened, would have been the moment of the peace. But this moment was neglected! When could generosity towards an old friend, with whom she had only occasionally fallen out, have been more properly evinced than here? Yet so far was she from acting in this spirit, that she forcibly dispossessed Holland of one of her colonies, *Negapatuam*;[1] a colony of no inconsiderable importance; and was only with difficulty prevented from depriving her of another, *Trinconomale*. By this impolitic harshness the republic was driven to conclude a peace through the mediation of France; and it was made abundantly evident that, as colonial aggrandizement became

[1] In the treaty of peace of May 20, 1784.

the point at issue, no compunction would be shown by England in despoiling, even with her own hands, her ancient ally; and that she only waited for an opportunity to extend further her rapacity. Thus, then, she deprived herself for ever of the confidence of a nation with which she had so long been in close and amicable connexion, in a manner which made its renewal impossible;—what was the equivalent?

The ferment at home, however, certainly made it necessary for the Orange party to attach itself to England, since, during the life of Frederic II., it found no other support. But even this support was of little help to it. The British cabinet did not find it advisable to afford any efficient assistance, when the prerogatives of the hereditary stadtholder were one after another infringed and contracted; and it became highly probable that he would have been entirely dispossessed of his dignity, if Prussia had not adopted a change in her policy.

It is well known under what circumstances, and with what result, in the autumn of the year 1787, the commotions in Holland were suppressed by the entrance of a Prussian corps, and the stadtholder reinstated and confirmed in the full exercise of his power.

England, up to the present time, had remained without any considerable ally on the continent. But the change which we have just mentioned gave rise to another alliance, which was not without important consequences to Europe. England and Prussia both united themselves with Holland; they had the same common object in view, that of supporting her newly given or restored constitution, and this common point of contact soon brought on an alliance between these two powers.[1]

The connexion of Prussia with Holland was a consequence of family interest, the further consideration of which would be irrelevant to this inquiry. With regard to England, the affinity with her was not sufficiently close to allow us to attribute to this source the interest which she took in the affairs of this country. Although the reigning houses were connected, the motive by which she was more immediately actuated in the part she took, was the desire of counteracting French influence by the depression of the patriotic party.

[1] By the treaty of the 13th of August, 1788.

But surely the moment at which the peace was concluded would have been more favourable for this purpose than the present. England certainly could not view the fate of the republic with indifference. She necessarily wished to see her independence maintained; but the compulsory re-establishment of a form of government, to which a great, perhaps the greater, part of the nation were vehemently opposed, could not possibly be considered as a firm foundation of her independence. She united herself in this way with the government which she restored, but not with the nation. Experience has shown the dangerous consequences of such policy.

By this triple alliance, however, the connexion of England with Prussia was renewed, though the basis on which it rested was not formed on so extended a community of interest as under Frederic II. The maintenance of the stadtholdership in the Netherlands could not possibly become of sufficient importance to both these powers, to form a permanent bond of union between them. Chatham, with his principles, would never have concluded the alliance which his son concluded; still less would he have approved the consequences which followed it.

These consequences displayed themselves chiefly in the east of Europe. The representation which we have already given has shown the little share England had taken in the events of those parts since the peace of Nystadt. Her commerce was carried on there without molestation; the growing prosperity of Russia had favoured it, without becoming formidable to England. In the mean time the most decisive changes had taken place in these quarters, such as the foundation of the independence of the Crimea,[1] the appearance of Russian fleets in the Mediterranean,[2] and even the first partition of Poland,[3] without any active manifestation of opposition on the part of England. The British cabinet felt itself too little interested in them; it had no political connexion either with Poland or with Turkey, and had no engagements to perform to either; the trade with the Baltic, and that with the Levant, by no means considerable, was not affected; and those countries in general lay beyond the circuit of its political sphere of action. Whether therefore her policy in this respect was exceptionable or not may

[1] In the year 1771. [2] In the year 1770. [3] In the year 1772.

admit of doubt, although an action which set at nought the hitherto recognised law of nations could not be a matter of indifference even to England. Her policy can only be excused on the ground that she connived at what she could not hinder. But after the triple alliance her former maxims of policy were evidently changed, and England sought not only to obtain an influence over the affairs of those countries, but even assumed a tone of dictation. If we may credit French authors,[1] she was actuated by a jealousy of the treaty of commerce, which Russia had concluded with France, 1787, by which France had been greatly favoured; in consequence of this, England herself felt an inclination to do every thing to involve Russia in a war with Turkey, which it is well known broke out 1788. The truth of this unauthenticated assertion may reasonably admit of doubt; but that the British policy here stepped beyond its proper sphere, that England had thought herself able to dictate where dictation was not to be dreamt of—of this the ministry were soon to experience a painful conviction.

The mediation of England at the congress of Reichenbach, 1788, was not without advantage; but when the British cabinet wished likewise to dictate to Catherine II. the conditions of peace with Turkey, she declared that she concluded peaces only for herself; nor was she alarmed at the demonstration made by the equipment of a fleet; she actually concluded the peace at Jassy[2] for herself, and on the terms she wished, and the British cabinet gained no more from its threats than the knowledge that it had threatened to no purpose.

The first object to which the exertions of every cabinet should be directed would seem to be, to comprehend clearly, and to determine precisely, the proper course of action which its position and strength point out to it; and thence to deduce the fundamental maxims of its foreign policy. This assertion will not be supposed to imply that such a theory should be openly paraded, as it were, and be laid down in public declarations; but the fact that every state,

[1] Compare Segur, Histoire de Frédéric Guillaume, vol. ii.

[2] The 29th of December, 1790. The empress retained in it the district on the Neister, instead of the old boundary which England had wished to prescribe.

however powerful, has certain definite limits to which its sphere of action should be confined, is an immutable truth; and he who would deny the conclusions drawn from it, would be guilty of an absurdity. Yet if we look into history, how seldom do we find this truth kept in view! How many unsuccessful plans and undertakings do we discover, which it were easy to see beforehand could not succeed! Indeed it would seem to require nothing more than sound common sense, and a moderate degree of intelligence, to determine the sphere of action to which a nation should confine itself. But still we must not forget to take in account the great influence of the passions upon politics, and, above all, the exaggerated conception, which every minister is prone to form, of the importance of the state at the head of which he is placed, in order to explain the many disastrous errors from which scarcely any state has kept itself wholly exempt. Even England did not exhibit at this period the only example of this kind. Justice, however, assuredly demands of us to remark, that it is much more difficult for a maritime and commercial state to determine the boundaries of its interests and its sphere of action, than it is for a continental one. Not only the direct, but, still more, the indirect points of contact are here so numerous, the calculation of how much damage may be inflicted on other powers by its fleets, is made on no determinate data, and is on that account in the highest degree indeterminate. The indirect damage is greater than the direct; and the state is so much misled by an exalted opinion of its own power, as to think itself still greater, and its own influence more decisive than it really is, and from its nature can be.

We have thus far traced the continental policy of England up to the period at which, by the great revolutions of Europe, not only the triple alliance last concluded was dissevered, but all political relations were at once violently rent asunder, and then forcibly joined together again by new ties, which, after such sanguinary conflicts, could not keep together the contracting parties for any length of time.

How, under such circumstances, could the former relations of England be maintained? It was not, however, merely a change in individual instances which they underwent, but the whole system of her continental policy

assumed a different form. On this account then it is necessary to pause here awhile in order to review some general results, for which the previous investigations will afford materials.

Our statements have shown that England was certainly involved in the affairs of the continent, sometimes more and sometimes less, without ever being entirely disengaged from them. But if we make some allowance for the period of the quadruple alliance under George I., England was very far from having ever been, or having ever claimed to be, the dominant power in the political system of Europe. The internal relations of this system were not in general determined by England, but England rather determined her own conduct by them. This was precisely the reason why the continental policy of England so seldom proceeded on solid principles. How far, however, this should be made a matter of reproach to the British cabinet, requires a close investigation. To settle permanently the reciprocal relations of the continental powers was throughout beyond the capacity of England. It would have been a foolish and vain presumption to attempt it. For this very reason then she could discover no durable and solid basis for her federative system, in respect to the choice of her allies. England was not, like France and Prussia, and other countries, surrounded by weaker states, which she might attach to herself by means of her preponderating influence; she was obliged to seek out allies for herself; and could not even make the ties which bound her to the most powerful of all, to Austria, indissoluble. England, from her position, can only have allies which are separated from her by the sea. If they are among the weaker states, such as Holland, Portugal, and Sardinia, they are from their very nature more likely to be under the influence of their immediate neighbours than hers; if they are among the more powerful, as Austria and Prussia, the connexion will only subsist so long as it afford some point of common interest. England therefore has not the power to construct a federative system as the powers of the continent have.

But though we cannot with justice cast any imputation on England for the change which she made in the choice of her allies, (if she erred in that, she committed political

errors, for which she would have to atone,)—the non-performance of engagements for which she had made herself responsible certainly exposes her to merited censure. In the three great continental wars in which England took part, the Spanish, the Austrian war of succession, and the seven years' war, she concluded every time a peace for herself, or only in connexion with Holland, and deserted her principal confederates. This conduct did not originate in any refined policy, systematically taken up, nor in a dereliction of public faith and confidence; but in the change of political principles, which, according to the general spirit of the British constitution, is almost inseparably connected with a change of ministry. In none of these cases did the minister who begun the war bring it to a close; his successor generally belonged to the opposite party, and therefore brought with him the opposite principles. The influence and power of the premier in England does not trench at all upon the personal character of the regent, as it does in unlimited monarchies; but emanates immediately from the spirit of the constitution, from the relation between the king and his parliament, between whom the minister is the connecting link. Without him therefore nothing of importance can be done. Hence arises what is certainly a most pernicious consequence in respect to foreign powers, that the British government cannot guarantee, with the same assurance as others, the performance of its obligation. The periods of Marlborough and Chatham exhibit a proof of this. But then, again, on the part of continental powers, physical impossibilities may occur, from extreme distress or total subjugation, to prevent the fulfilment of their engagements, a case which can scarcely be supposed to occur with respect to England.

Notwithstanding this one real defect, which attaches to the policy of England, her continental influence seems upon the whole, throughout this period, to have been highly beneficial in a twofold point of view. In the first place, Europe was indebted to it, during a considerable period, for the maintenance of peace. That this was the object of the British policy under George I., and continued to be so, as long as circumstances permitted, under George II., has been already shown. It was therefore any thing but a hostile

influence. In the second place, in the great wars in which England took part, she uniformly supported the weaker against the more powerful. She connected herself with Austria in the early wars, and in the later with Prussia, as these monarchies, one after the other, seemed threatened to be destroyed by confederated Europe. Both might possibly have saved themselves without the co-operation of England; but the merit of England must not, on that account, be depreciated. She materially contributed, perhaps in a greater degree than any other European power, to uphold the political balance of Europe.

SIXTH PERIOD.

PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1788—1815.

We have still to consider the last period of the British continental policy, which, though not the most extensive, is unquestionably the most interesting, both as respects England herself, and the continent of Europe. In respect to England herself, because it is distinguished by the most remarkable development of her energies; in respect to the continent, because England became in it the centre and the only unshaken support of the still existing political system of Europe; and because she determined and influenced the politics of other cabinets much more decisively than she had ever done in any former period. Never has the truth of the observation with which we commenced this inquiry, "that it is a highly advantageous circumstance for the maintenance of the liberty and independence of a states-system, that one of its principal members should be an insular state and in possession of a naval force," been more strikingly demonstrated than in this period. If a bridge had been thrown across the Channel how totally different might have been the fate of England and of Europe! We certainly do not entertain the slightest doubt that England, even in this case, would have remained unconquered, or that the invasion of a French army would eventually have ended in its destruction; and simply because the warlike energies of the nation would in that case have been more generally roused and concentrated, and more resolutely displayed. But the destiny of the British state, at least, if not of the British people, is now so entirely identified with the

security of the capital, that the consequences of its capture, or even of its being exposed to any imminent danger of capture, are incalculable; and who will venture to assert, that in such a case its security would have remained unendangered, or that even a conquest, though perhaps only momentary, could have been averted, especially as to this point all the powers of the foe would have been undoubtedly directed.

The relations of England with the continent at the period of which we speak, were determined by a man, who, in the double capacity of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, directed the helm of the state as premier, and who enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign—*William Pitt*.[1] When scarcely arrived at manhood—when only twenty-four years of age—he was raised to this exalted post, and had already held it six years when the French revolution broke out, which soon placed even England in a position that would not allow her to be a mere spectator. At this early period of his life this extraordinary man displayed not only wonderful talents and intelligence, but what was of much greater consequence, a maturity of understanding and judgment which seemed far beyond his years; and these qualifications were combined with an energy of character equally remarkable. Several of his contemporaries, his opponents and rivals, might possess more brilliant talents, but none could vie with him in clearness of intellect, in decision of purpose, and devotion to his country. He was a perfect statesman, in the noblest sense of the word; and what Plutarch says of Pericles, that

[1] William Pitt, the younger son of the Earl of Chatham, was born on the 28th of May, 1759. He was indebted for his early education to his father, and the subsequently appointed bishop of Winchester; and for his further tuition, especially in classical literature, philosophy, and eloquence, to Eton School and Cambridge. He entered the Lower House as early as his 22nd year, on the 23rd of Jan. 1781, as member for Appleby; and delivered his first speech on the 26th of February, on the better regulations of the civil list, by which he immediately excited general attention. He entered the ministry for the first time as early as July, 1782, under the Earl of Shelburne, as chancellor of the exchequer; but upon his retirement from office, March 14, 1783, he also resigned; until, after the dismissal of Lord North and Fox, Dec. 23, 1783, he was placed at the head of the administration, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, which distinguished post he retained till his voluntary resignation on the 9th of February, 1801; and resumed the second time from the 25th of May, 1804, until his death, 23rd of January, 1806.

he was only to be seen when going to the Senate House or returning from it, may with the strictest justice be applied to him. His policy it will be the object of the following inquiry to set forth. According to our professed design we are certainly principally concerned with his foreign policy; but this nevertheless stands so closely—so almost inseparably connected with his domestic administration, that we must be permitted at least to cast an occasional glance at that. Here, however, alas! we have too much occasion to regret the scantiness of our materials.[1] Of his public parliamentary career our information is sufficiently ample, but for all that relates to the whole internal mechanism of his financial administration, for all that relates to the manner in which Pitt conducted this, and especially for all that relates to the extraordinary simplification of the business of the treasury, his eminent services in which respect have acquired for him such imperishable fame, where can we find any accurate information? The account of his foreign policy, however, must be prefaced by one general observation. His conduct throughout was uniformly in accordance with his own conviction, and this is expressed in every one of his speeches in a manner not to be mistaken. According to this conviction *the summum bonum for England was the maintenance of her constitution.* This is therefore the hinge on which his whole domestic policy during that most eventful period revolves. But, in the maintenance of this constitution, which involved the condition of his whole sphere of action, he had in view merely the means for carrying on his foreign policy; and thus both stand in the closest reciprocal connexion.

When, in the year 1789, the opening of the assembly of the states-general ushered in the revolution, the attention of the minister was more engrossed with domestic than with foreign affairs. The relations of England with the continent

[1] Would it be believed, that in a country so rich in biography, the first of its statesmen has not yet met with a biographer in any degree worthy of him? According to the public organs of intelligence we may expect to have this desideratum supplied by his tutor and friend the aged bishop of Winchester; by which also it is hoped a clearer light will be diffused over the simplicity of his private life. The genuine portrait of this great man, in which the clearness, composure, and energy of this master spirit are so majestically expressed, is rarely to be met with on the continent; whilst most of our readers have perhaps seen it a hundred times in miserable caricatures. Even the collection of the speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt, in 3 vols. London, 1808, is by no means complete; still it is one of our principal sources for what follows.

were decisively influenced by the affairs of Holland, which, as we have shown above, by the restoration of the stadtholdership, occasioned a close connexion not only with the house of Orange, but also with Prussia, who had effected this object by open force. The interference of England in the affairs of the North, which was a consequence of this, though a fruitless one, and the rupture with Russia which thereupon ensued, have been noticed above. In his domestic administration, after completing the new arrangements for the management of the affairs of the East India Company, in accordance with the bill passed in reference to them, the minister was chiefly occupied with his financial measures for the diminution of the national debt, and for the reduction of the interest of the 4 per cent. annuities to 3 per cent. Convinced that the regular payment of the interest upon the national debt was not sufficient for the maintenance of the national credit, but that it was necessary to think of paying off the principal, he had, three years before, by the institution of a sinking fund, thrown out an anchor which has since given assumed stability to its credit.[1] This great institution could scarcely begin to operate at that time; the contraction of new debts, which a new war rendered inevitable, could not therefore enter into the plan of the minister. The observation of a strict neutrality was consequently the policy adopted by the minister during the first and second so called Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; for however imperfect and exceptionable, in many respects, the first constitution might be, which Lewis XVI. accepted and pledged himself to, the British cabinet, nevertheless, abstained from any interference in the affairs of France. But when, indeed, during the session of the second national assembly, political principles of a totally different character were set forth, the throne subverted, the king with his family cast into prison; when, moreover, the National Convention, which next followed, abolished monarchy and sent the king to the scaffold, the relations of the two nations were disturbed; yet still no war ensued, though considerations arose which rendered other proceedings necessary.

The question now became one of intervention in the domestic affairs of a foreign state: a question which has always

[1] 26th of May, 1786.

had its difficulties, and was perhaps never embarrassed with greater than in the present instance. It was to be decided whether this intervention should be general, or to what extent it might be carried. It was a favourite assertion of the popular leader and popular writer of that time, that no foreign state ought to interfere in the domestic affairs of another state; and even now we hear it asserted, that such an interference is to be regarded as an attack upon its independence and self-existence. That assertion holds good, so long as it is applied to states which, by their geographical position and political relations, stand separated. When revolutions occur in China and North America, it would be preposterous to assert that France or Austria are authorized to interfere.

The case, however, is altogether different where states are intimately related to each other by geographical or political contact, by a common union, a confederacy, or a states-system, as is the case with the states of Europe. Here the domestic concerns of the one are by no means always indifferent to the other; and cases may occur in which interference may be inevitable. If we begin by taking a survey of the constitution of the different states, we shall find that with all their individual varieties, yet in the system, taken as a whole, either the monarchical or the republican principle is predominant. The transition from the one to the other in any of the leading members of the system, must necessarily, by its unavoidable influence upon the whole, excite just apprehensions among the others. Thus an interest is awakened which may certainly still remain unaccompanied by any active intervention. How intense, however, and how lively must this interest be, and how just the apprehension, when the principles promulgated in the other states are diametrically opposed to those which were formerly received, and altogether irreconcilable with them! Does no common interest here find a place? Would not therefore an active interference in such a case become just? Would not negotiations here be allowed? Would not the revolutionary state feel at liberty to reject these, with the contemptuous answer, that it would not allow of any foreign intervention? Then again, what if these principles are not only in their nature opposed to others, but at the same time their propagation

and practical introduction into other states shall be expressly determined upon, and loudly proclaimed? Does not the duty of self-preservation then step in? Will it not then be requisite even to take up arms in self-defence, and to combat those principles?

These cases occurred as soon as the French revolution took its proper direction. This was founded upon the sovereignty of the people; but *the sovereignty of the people stands in direct opposition to the monarchical principle.* Now only one sovereign can exist in a state, not two. Either the people are the sovereign, and then is the state a republic, or the monarch, whatever may be his title. If he ceases to be so, then he sinks directly to the level of a mere magistrate; whether he preserve the title of king or not. "It is," says Pitt, in one of those powerful speeches, from which I shall have frequent occasion to quote, (and what higher authority can be cited than that of such a statesman at the head of the freest of all monarchies?) "It is a gross perversion of the principles of all political society, to suppose that there exists continually, in every government, a sovereignty in abeyance (as it were) on the part of the people, ready to be called forth on every occasion, or rather, on every pretence, when it may suit the purposes of the party or faction who are the advocates of this doctrine, to suppose an occasion for its exertion. It is in those false principles that are contained the seeds of all the misery, desolation, and ruin, which in the present day have spread themselves over so large a portion of the habitable globe. I have said more upon this subject than I should have thought necessary, if I had not felt that this false and dangerous mockery of the sovereignty of the people is in truth one of the chief elements of Jacobinism, one of the favourite impostures to mislead the understanding, and to flatter and inflame the passions of the mass of mankind, who have not the opportunity of examining and exposing it, and that, as such, on every occasion and in every shape in which it appears, it ought to be combated and resisted by every friend to common order, and to the peace and happiness of mankind."[1]

But if this principle were directly opposed to the British constitution, a constitution which is a pre-eminent example

[1] *Speeches*, iii. p. 58, etc.

of a free monarchy, how much more was it incompatible with the constitutions of the principal states of the continent, which are either in the class of absolute monarchies without democratic influence, or at most belong to those in which the higher classes exercise in the state assembly only a certain, and for the most part very limited, share in the legislation. If in the case of the British state a reform in the constitution might possibly have been sufficient, (though even this is scarcely probable,) an entire change in the constitution of those other states must unavoidably have ensued, if the French principle prevailed. How just, therefore, were the apprehensions which every where arose! Who could determine how far a doctrine would spread, which at the same time flattered the people, and was set forth by its originators as that which alone was productive of happiness? But these apprehensions received a new and formidable increase by the decree of the Convention, 19th Nov. 1792, which offered assistance from France to all people, who, for the establishment of liberty, i. e. democracy, should rebel against their constituted authorities. Such a summons to a general insurrection is unparalleled in history, and if any indulged the flattering hope that such a decree would never be executed, it was crushed by the new decree of 17th Dec., which enjoined all the generals of the new republic to establish in those countries into which they should carry their arms, a democracy in place of the pre-existing constitutions.

Thus by this decree was the most sacred prerogative which nations possess, that by virtue of which they form a state, their constitution, threatened with annihilation. In their constitution was at the same time involved their independence, because the new constitution was prescribed to them. Can any thing more be required to justify the ruling authorities, if they refused what was attempted to be forced upon them; if they defended their rights; if they even took up arms in their defence?

The foregoing remarks apply to all governments; we now return to England, to whose policy our researches are confined.

Among the states which formed the first great confederacy against France, England was one of the last, and cannot therefore be regarded as the originator of that confederacy.

As long as Lewis XVI. sat on the throne, all interference in the French affairs was carefully avoided by the British government. The French ambassador, *Chauvelin*, remained as representative of his sovereign in London, and was recognised as such, as was also the British ambassador in Paris. Indeed, even when the unfortunate Lewis was torn from the throne and plunged with his family into prison, the sympathy of England confined itself to the private demands of her ambassador, whether he could contribute any thing to relieve the wants of the unfortunate prince. The public relations were not changed till after the execution of the royal martyr, and then without a war. The British ambassador was recalled, and the recognition of Baron Chauvelin, to whom the Convention had sent credentials, was withheld; he soon afterwards received orders to quit England.

These measures certainly not only expressed a just abhorrence, which the execution of the unfortunate monarch had excited, but they implied likewise a refusal to recognise the newly-constituted republic, and with it the avowal that England would not enter into political relations with it. Although the prospects were in consequence clouded, no hostilities immediately ensued. It is of great importance for the practical purposes of politics, to have a clear understanding, that the provisional breaking off of relations between states does not amount to a declaration of war. Negotiations between two states presuppose in both a regular system of government. How can a government negotiate with a state which itself acknowledges that it is occupied in effecting a revolution, and wishes first to give itself a new constitution, and at the same time a different government.

Other causes, however, soon concurred to render the participation of England in the war unavoidable. Notwithstanding their disavowal of any intention of aggrandizement, the new republic not only assumed the character of a conqueror, but even scoffed at the laws of nations, which had been hitherto recognised, by immediately appropriating to herself the provinces of Avignon and Savoy, which had been taken from the pope and king of Sardinia. But that which more nearly concerned England was *the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands*, which followed in the autumn, 1792. These provinces formed, as we observed above, the bridge

which connected England with the continent, and above all with Austria. The partial suspension of the embargo upon the navigation of the Scheldt, which rested on the faith of treaties, was a new specimen of the republican code of international law. But that which must have most disturbed the tranquillity of England under the circumstances of those times, was the danger with which the Republic menaced the United Netherlands. At the head of this state stood the house of Orange, which had been for five years past reinstated in its privileges; with this house England, in conjunction with Prussia, had concluded the triple alliance, and in the same had guaranteed to it its prerogatives. It was precisely against this very house, that the attacks of France, in her desire to conciliate or maintain the support of the popular party, were directed. Could a war under such circumstances be avoided? Yet the war was not declared by England, but by France. The 1st Feb., 1793, was the day on which a declaration of war was issued at the same time against England and the stadtholder.

"What was," says Pitt, in one of his early speeches, "the state of this country with respect to France, previous to the declaration of war on her part? We then contended, first, that she had broken a treaty with our allies, which we were bound to support: secondly, That she had engaged in schemes of ambition and aggrandizement, inconsistent with the interests of this country and the general security of Europe: thirdly, That she had entertained principles hostile to all governments, and more particularly to our own. In consequence of all these circumstances, you then declared, in addresses to his Majesty, that if proper satisfaction was not obtained, a war must be the consequence. But while this was in agitation, they had themselves declared war, and been guilty of a sudden and unprovoked aggression upon this country."

"Acts of hostility," says the minister, upon a later occasion, "had been openly threatened against our allies; an hostility founded upon the assumption of a right which would at once supersede the whole law of nations: a demand was made by France upon Holland, to open the navigation of the Scheldt, on the ground of a general and national right, in violation of positive treaty; this claim we

discussed, at the time, not so much on account of its immediate importance, (though it was important both in a maritime and commercial view,) as on account of the general principle on which it was founded. On the same arbitrary notion they soon afterwards discovered that sacred law of nature, which made the Rhine and the Alps the legitimate boundaries of France, and assumed the power, which they have affected to exercise through the whole of the revolution, of superseding, by a new code of their own, all the recognised principles of the law of nations. They were actually advancing towards the republic of Holland by rapid strides, after the victory of Jemappe; they had ordered their generals to pursue the Austrian troops into any neutral country; thereby explicitly avowing an intention of invading Holland. They had already shown their moderation and self-denial, by incorporating Belgium with the French republic. These lovers of peace, who set out with a sworn aversion to conquest, and professions of respect for the independence of other nations; who pretend that they departed from this system only in consequence of your aggression, themselves in time of peace, while you were still confessedly neutral, without the pretence or shadow of provocation, wrested Savoy from the king of Sardinia, and had proceeded to incorporate it likewise with France. These were their aggressions at this period; and more than these. They had issued a universal declaration of war against all the thrones of Europe; and they had by their conduct, applied it particularly and specifically to you; they had passed the decree of the 19th February, 1792, proclaiming the promise of French succour to all nations who should manifest a wish to become free: they had by all their language, as well as their example, shown what they understood to be freedom; they had sealed their principles by the deposition of their sovereign; they had applied them to England, by inviting and encouraging the addresses of those seditious and traitorous societies, who, from the beginning, favoured their views, and who, encouraged by your forbearance, were even then publicly avowing French doctrines, and anticipating their success in this country; who were hailing the progress of those proceedings in France, which led to the murder of its king: they were even then looking to the day

when they should behold a National Convention in England, formed upon similar principles."[1]

After this, the frequently contested question, *who was the originator of the war*, requires no further investigation.[2] Even if France had not first declared it, she would notwithstanding have been the aggressor; for this charge attaches to those who desire war without provocation.[3] Thus then England enrolled herself amongst the belligerent powers. It is necessary to cast a glance at her position at that time with regard to the continent.

Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and some of the German states, and soon after the whole empire, were already, at this period, in a state of war with France. It was easy at the same time to foresee that other states would take up arms, partly in self-defence, partly, as was the case with Spain, from indignation at the execution of the king. But at this critical juncture, the system of standing armies had been carried on by the principal states of the continent to a degree which was no longer consistent with their resources. These scarcely sufficed to keep the great mass of stipendiary forces from mutiny. The extraordinary expenses of the war exceeded the resources of the states, and rendered it impossible to employ the whole force which they had under arms. England, in respect to naval power, might with good reason calculate upon vanquishing and possibly annihilating the fleets of France; and thus pave the way for the conquest of her colonies. But, however alluring these prospects might be, she could not flatter herself with the hope of thus bringing the war to a termination. Those conquests, however well they might have succeeded, could only, as Pitt himself expresses it,[4] have a collateral influence. France at that period, besides having been already by her own fault deprived of her most valuable colony, St. Domingo, did not attach so much importance to the rest, as would have been the case in earlier

[1] Pitt's *Speeches*, iii. p. 97.

[2] A work, expressly on this subject, appeared from the pen of an Englishman, *Herbert Marsh*, upon the causes of the war between England and France. Leipsig, 1796.

[3] Which party, whether the Girondists, as is asserted, or the violent Jacobin party, made the declaration of war, is of no importance in the solution of this question. And can it be supposed that the last were deterred by any other motive than because the time did not seem opportune?

[4] *Speeches*, l. c.

times. The contest must be decided by a land, and not by a naval force, and the formation of a league with the continental powers was the natural consequence. A series of alliances, from Portugal to Russia, followed in the same year, 1793. In order to estimate these, and to form an opinion of the general conduct of Pitt, we must place ourselves in his position. England certainly was in a certain sense the centre of the first league against France; but this league remained to a certain degree ineffectual: it was not in the power of the British minister to direct the energies of the allies at his discretion. It was ineffectual with respect to a leading power, Russia. Although Catharine II., as early as March 25, 1793, surpassed all the others in her eagerness to conclude an alliance with England; although she declared herself in a state of war with France; although her voice predominated above all, she still, in spite of all this, did least of any. Her views were directed to other objects; first, to the renewal of the advantageous commercial treaty with England of the year 1766; secondly, and above all, to the carrying into execution her new and unjust design of a partition of the too unhappy Poland, which was effected in this very summer. Thus the certainty of not having Russia for an antagonist was the only advantage which England derived from this connexion. Among the other continental powers, Austria and Prussia were naturally those with which the first and strongest connexions were formed; after these, came Spain, Sardinia, Portugal, and some smaller states. Most of these states were in the situation which we have already alluded to, their finances were greatly disproportioned to their military force. The natural consequence was that they sought assistance, where alone they could find it, in Great Britain. Thus not only was the subsidy-system of earlier times renewed, but carried to a much greater extent than it had been before. The war was for the most part carried on at the expense of England. During the eight years which elapsed between 1793 and Pitt's retirement from the ministry, loans to the amount of twenty-three millions sterling had been on the average yearly advanced by the minister. The British ministry was certainly, on this account, allowed to exercise a great influence in the conduct of the war; yet never so decisive a one as to have the

direction of it entirely in their own hands. The plan of every campaign had to be jointly concerted; the continental powers moreover had each naturally their several interests to be regarded. A mere minister of state is not capable, as such, of being unconditionally the soul of a large confederacy. It is only when the statesman and general are combined, as in Marlborough and William III., that this can occur. The wish of the minister was to arm, if possible, all Europe against France. But it was not in his power to accomplish this on a systematic plan, much less to give a permanent and systematic direction to the confederacy.

We must bear this in mind while considering the campaigns of 1793 and 1794. The first was successful. In consequence of the battle of Neerwinden, the French armies were compelled to evacuate Belgium. This gave England an opportunity of taking an active part in the war on the continent. An English-Hanoverian army united itself with the Austrian in the Netherlands, and these provinces became again what they had often been before, the bridge between two allied powers. Even the republic of the United Netherlands, now covered by the allied armies, appeared as a participator in the common field of battle. But the posture of affairs underwent a change in the following year. The system of terrorism established in France, which left security only in the armies, drove every one to arms capable of bearing them. Her preponderating power, and the new system of warfare which spared no men, decided the question: in the autumn of 1794, Belgium was again in the hands of the French. More severe reverses were soon to follow. An intense frost covered the rivers, the natural bulwarks of Holland, with a sheet of ice. The defence of the republic was impossible. The house of Orange fled to England; and the *patriot party* in expectation of a golden futurity received their new friends with open arms.[1]

This conquest of the republic had a double effect on the continental policy of England. In the first place it put an end to the direct participation of England in the war on the continent, inasmuch as she had now no field of action on which her armies could enter. Henceforward therefore she was obliged to confine her participation in the continental

[1] In January, 1795.

war to the advice and support which she gave her confederates. A second consequence was the commencement of a dissolution of the league, since one of its members had not only seceded from it, but had even gone over to the enemy. But this first separation was only the precursor of one still greater, to which, in some measure, it contributed. By the summer of 1795, England had lost two of her principal allies, Prussia and Spain.

The secession of Prussia must no doubt be chiefly attributed to financial embarrassments, which the subsidies of England could not relieve, as the main cause lay in the prodigality of its financial administration. But it is no less certain that false political principles had also a material influence upon her. An idea had existed from the early part of the reign of Frederic II., that Prussia and France were natural allies, an idea which France upon every opportunity endeavoured to revive. This idea, however, was manifestly grounded on the earlier relations in which France and Austria at one time, and Prussia and Austria at another, respectively stood towards each other. So long as the rivalry lasted between France and Austria, Prussia was for France the most advantageous ally; and after Prussia, by the conquest of Silesia, had entered the field as the antagonist of Austria, France was certainly so for Prussia. How Frederic II. availed himself of this has been shown above. This connexion rested solely on political relations, which were in their very nature mutable, and which had actually changed, since Austria and Prussia had become friends, and even allies; from the time that Austria had ceased to be annoyed at the loss of Silesia, Prussia could no longer be called the natural friend of France. But it is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in politics, that political feelings are frequently called into play, even after the circumstances which gave them birth have ceased. Again, by the conquest of Holland, the position of Prussia in respect to the war was geographically changed. Her western provinces, protected by few fortresses, lay open to every assault. But that which operated most powerfully was, the brilliant prospects which France displayed before her, of future aggrandizement, in the shape of indemnifications; as the limited possessions of Prussia on this side the Rhine remained, from the peace of

Basle till the conclusion of the general peace, in the hands of France. Thus England lost one of her principal allies on the continent, though not by any fault of her own; for Pitt still continued to advance subsidies, even when a zealous co-operation in the war could no longer be expected. Prussia now adopted a system of neutrality; to which Hanover and the other provinces of Northern Germany acceded.

In the course of the summer, Spain also withdrew from the league; the peace which she concluded at Basle placing her in the condition of a neutral state. Her participation in the war had been founded less on political than on family motives. The Bourbons who were seated on the Spanish throne, regarded the ignominious fate of their house as an insult offered to themselves. But their animosity had gradually subsided, or they thought they had been sufficiently avenged; greater facilities too were here offered for peace, inasmuch as, at least in Europe, no claim had been made to conquest on either side. The cession of her share of St. Domingo to France was, properly, only the fulfilment of an ancient treaty, in which Spain had engaged to resign this possession in return for another held by France—Louisiana.

Thus was the first great confederacy, or as it was then usually expressed, the first *coalition* against France dissolved. Its dissolution cannot be considered otherwise than calamitous, because the object of the war had not been as yet attained. The articles of the peace of Basle were even concluded with the National Convention, which, in spite of all its protestations, could not be supposed to have renounced its revolutionary principles. Thus, too, was exhibited the first example, that England was by no means capable of holding together the league which she had formed. Still, after all, the league was not altogether broken asunder; Austria, the most powerful ally of England on the continent, still remained, and by her successful operations on the Rhine, reanimated her courage. Besides Austria she had also remaining South Germany, Bavaria and its other states. In Italy she had also remaining Sardinia, which from the fortresses of Piedmont was the key of that country. She had also Naples, valuable for her sea-ports. In the west of Europe, she had still left Portugal, whose political relations were determined by her commercial connexions. So long,

therefore, as the war lasted, it might naturally be expected she would earnestly exert herself to draw more closely together the ties which connected her with the other allies. As early as the 18th Feb. of this year, 1795, a new defensive alliance was concluded with Catharine II., with reciprocal guarantees of possessions held by either party, which, like the first, was unproductive of any material consequences; on the 20th May, a contract with Austria: these two were the foundations of the triple alliance, concluded on the 28th September; the conditions of which have not been made known to the public. A new loan was granted to Austria in the same year.

The renewal of the connexion with Russia happened in the same year in which Catharine consummated her designs against Poland, by a third and final partition. England abstained from any active interference in these proceedings. Pitt, in his negotiations respecting the treaty of Russia with Turkey, had experienced how hazardous it was to interfere with the designs of Catharine. Whether the British cabinet would have manifested this passive spirit in more tranquil times, may admit of doubt; that resistance, under the existing circumstances, would have disturbed the good understanding with her allies, and perhaps, if it had been energetic, would have led to a war with Russia, is as evident, as it is improbable that any resistance could have prevented the dismemberment. Nevertheless, the opposition in parliament did not neglect to avail themselves of this ground for assailing the minister. He answered them briefly in his speech of May 10, 1796, in reply to Mr. Fox.[1] "Are ministers to be blamed," said he, "for not doing what it would be hazardous in them to attempt? and would it not be hazardous to propose a mediation where both parties were not ready to agree? To have erected ourselves into arbiters, could only expose us to difficulties and disputes, if we were determined, as we ought to be, to enforce that mediation on the parties who refused to admit it. And what is the great use which the honourable gentleman seems to be so eager to derive

[1] *Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 169. It is a part of the ordinary tactics of the opposition to embarrass ministers by reproaches for having suffered this or that to happen in Europe. The most recent events of history afford evidence of this. The reproaches would have been without doubt much more violent in the opposite case.

from that peace, if so procured? Is it fit that we should go to war in order to prevent the partition of Poland? In general policy I am ready to confess that this partition is unjust; but it does not go, as is said, to overturn the balance of power in Europe, for which the right honourable gentleman, as it suits his argument, expresses greater or less solicitude; for that country being nearly divided equally between three great powers, it can little contribute to the undue aggrandizement of either."

It was not compatible with the plan of the minister at this time to take up this subject on the different and higher grounds, which easily and spontaneously suggest themselves.

The whole energies of England were thus left to be directed against France, who in this same year obtained a great accession of power by drawing Spain from her neutral position to become her active ally. This she effected by the alliance-compact of August 10, 1796, by which the weaker state completely identified her fortunes with the more powerful, and which necessarily paved the way for its subsequent fate. This connexion became immediately of importance to France, inasmuch as it drew into her interest a naval power whose fleet she might expect in some measure would repair the loss of her own. Experience has shown how vain this hope was. The war with Spain necessarily became a maritime one; and, as formerly happened on the invasion of the United Netherlands, materially contributed to procure for England that sovereign command of the sea, which became afterwards the subject of so many complaints and reproaches. A war with Spain was besides generally very popular in England, and particularly wished for by the British navy, since it promised a rich booty to privateers as well as to ships of the line.

As long therefore as Russia remained inactive, Austria continued to be the principal ally of England, and at the same time the principal foe which France had to encounter on the continent. If Austria were conquered or forced to make peace, the weaker allies must follow of course. The great object of the French government, which had been for a short time in the hands of the Directory,[1] was to accom-

[1] In October, 1795, after the completion of the new constitution and the

plish this object. Three armies were to make an attempt on three different points to force a way into the heart of this monarchy in the summer of 1796, in order, if possible, to dictate peace in the capital itself. One proceeding from the Lower Rhine under General Jourdan, was to penetrate through Franconia; a second under General Moreau, through Swabia and Bavaria; while another under the new general-in-chief, Buonaparte, drove back the Austrian force in Lombardy. The unsuccessful issue of this plan is well known. Austria found in her own imperial house (a discovery of inestimable importance for her cause) the general and hero who held her enemies at bay. Jourdan, defeated at Amberg and Würsburg, hastened back across the Rhine with the relics of his army; Moreau was also obliged to make a retreat. These victories, however, had no effect on Italy. There the commander-in-chief, relying solely upon himself, pursued his own course undisturbed. While those events were taking place in Germany, he completely established the influence of France in Italy; and this country, which had been hitherto only a subordinate seat of the war, was made by him the theatre of its great operations. Here Austria, and with her, England, had a train of allies, among whom Sardinia was in every respect pre-eminent. Her territories are, by their position and their fortresses, the key of Italy. The first object, therefore, of the new generalissimo was to dissever this connexion, and to force Sardinia into a separate treaty. A few weeks sufficed for the execution of this project. By the 17th May, 1796, Victor Amadeus saw himself compelled to sign a peace, by which he not only renounced Savoy and Nice, but even received French garrisons into his principal fortresses. Thus England lost one of her allies, who had formed for the last hundred years an important link in the chain of her continental relations, and Austria a friend who had never been of greater importance to her than at the present crisis. They were now both obliged to depend on their own resources, for no dependence could any longer be placed on the other states of Italy, which were well satisfied if they could obtain by negotiation or purchase an armistice or a peace. Austria might now expect to be

dissolution of the National Convention, the Directory, consisting of five members, was established.

attacked in a new quarter, and to see, in the event of her main fortress, Mantua, falling, the French armies in her southern provinces, that being the only impediment to the advance of the enemy. It was invested in July, and no wonder she strained every nerve to save it. Three armies were raised, vanquished, again raised, and after all to no purpose! Mantua, on the 2nd of Feb. of the ensuing year, opened her gates to the conqueror; the rest of Italy had already obtained peace either by submission or negotiation, and an entrance was opened into Carinthia and Carniola, as well as into the south of the Tyrol; it seemed indeed questionable whether the progress of the warrior, who had penetrated into the heart of the state, could be arrested. Napoleon himself was not insensible to the hazard of his situation; but the new system of politics afforded him a resource, by making an amicable arrangement at the expense of a neutral state. The preliminaries at Leoben on the 18th April, which were afterwards transformed with some important alterations into a definitive treaty on the 17th October, at Campo Formio, restored peace to the continent—the republic of Venice being made the sacrifice.

We shall only consider this peace in relation to England. There was certainly nothing concluded in it which immediately affected this country, but as the English coalition now ceased of itself, the renewal of it was evidently rendered more difficult in future, as Austria, by this peace, in consideration of the indemnification which she obtained, in a large share in the Venetian territory, resigned her portion of the Netherlands in favour of France; the great importance of which, in the mutual relation of both powers, has been clearly demonstrated above. The occupation of the Græco-Venetian islands, which those treaties ceded to France, was another, by no means unimportant, consequence of that peace to England, since they were likely to affect her relations in the Mediterranean and with the Porte.

Thus the great confederation against France was completely dissolved, and at the end of the year 1797, England stood alone, unsupported by any allies on the continent (with the exception perhaps of Portugal[1]) against France and her allies. It now became a great and important ques-

[1] With Portugal also France had concluded a peace on the 20th of August;

tion, *whether she should continue the war or conclude a peace?* The opposition lost no opportunity of inveighing against the ministers on account of the continuance of the war.—"That it was a war without an object. That they combated principles which ought not to be combated with arms. That they were willing to make no peace with the republic of France; that they aimed at the restoration of the monarchy, or even of the ancient régime, which could not be effected. What had been hitherto achieved by the war? France was now much more powerful than before the conflict, and there was no hope of being able to reduce her to her ancient boundaries." Such was the language delivered on every opportunity by Fox, by Sheridan, and other leaders of the opposition.

That the British cabinet was not decidedly indisposed to peace, its proceedings had already evinced. In October, 1795, a new government had been established in France, that of the *Directory*. It must be allowed that nothing could then be done till experience had determined by what spirit this new body was animated—whether the revolutionary principles of the conventional government, which had made way for it, had descended upon it, or whether neighbouring states might now dwell near it in security and peace. But, however this might be, it was still a government, and as such, whatever well-grounded apprehensions might at first be entertained, it was the highest and only recognised authority with which the British ministers could treat. However faint might be their hopes respecting the final result, a door of communication seemed now opened, and they might, at least, ascertain at what price peace could be purchased. England had already made two attempts at negotiation, and she now made a third by sending over Lord Malmsbury as ambassador. His first attempt, made at Paris, (Sept.—Dec. 1796,) failed; what hopes could be entertained from the beginning of the final result, where the parties, instead of proceeding heartily and with good faith, began by insisting upon an *ultimatum?* It was, nevertheless, renewed at Lille, (July—Sept. 1797, during the negotiations for peace between France and Austria,) at first with a better prospect

which, however, after the suspension of negotiations with England, had been again formally retracted on the 26th October.

of success, as a party of the Directory anxiously wished for peace; but this party being overpowered by the majority and forcibly driven from office, it again fell to the ground; and, just as the negotiations with Austria were approaching a pacific termination, the British ambassador received orders to quit France, and England was left alone to struggle with the enemy.

Now again the reiterated attacks of the opposition, the loud demands Why he still continued the war? When he hoped to conclude a peace? again compelled Pitt to explain his views of the subject. He spoke them boldly and distinctly. However desirable the restoration of the monarchy in France might be, (no one at this time ventured even to think of the reinstatement of the Bourbons,) it was not insisted upon as an absolute condition; much less the entire restoration of the ancient form of government. Even with France as a republic peace might possibly be concluded, provided that it could be a secure peace. But since the politics of the Directory clearly showed that it had adopted the revolutionary principles in all their force, Pitt resolutely adhered to his principle: better no peace than an insecure one! "I have never believed," said he,[1] "that we could not treat with France as a republic. Whatever I may, in the abstract, think of the kind of government called a republic, whatever may be its fitness to the nation where it prevails, there may be times when it would not be dangerous to exist in its vicinity. But while the spirit of France remains what at present it is, its government despotic, vindictive, unjust, with a temper untamed, a character unchanged, if its power to do wrong at all remains, there does not exist any security for this country or Europe. In my view of security, every object of ambition and aggrandizement is abandoned. Our simple object is security, just security, with a little mixture of indemnification. These are the legitimate objects of war at all times; and when we have attained that end, we are in a condition to derive from peace its beneficent advantages; but until then, our duty and our interest require that we should persevere unappalled in the struggle to which we were provoked. We shall not be satisfied with a false security. War with all its

[1] Speeches, iii. p. 85.

evils is better than a peace in which there is nothing to be seen but usurpation and injustice, dwelling with savage delight on the humble, prostrate condition of some timid, suppliant people. We are not in arms against the opinions of the closet, nor the speculations of the schools. We are at war with armed opinions; we are at war with those opinions which the sword of audacious, unprincipled, and impious innovation seeks to propagate amidst the ruin of empires, the demolition of the altars of all religion, the destruction of every venerable, and good, and liberal institution, under whatever form of polity they have been raised; and this, in spite of the dissenting reason of men, in contempt of that lawful authority which, in the settled order, superior talents and superior virtues attain, crying out to them not to enter on holy ground, nor to pollute the stream of eternal justice. If it be asked whether I am determined to continue the war till the republic be overthrown? I answer, I do not confine my views to the territorial limits of France; I contemplate the principles, character, and conduct of France; I consider what these are; I see in them the issues of distraction, of infamy, and ruin, to every state in her alliance; and therefore I say, that until the aspect of that mighty mass of iniquity and folly is entirely changed; until the character of the government is totally reversed; until, by the common consent of the general voice of all men, I can with truth tell parliament, France is no longer terrible for her contempt of the rights of every other nation—she no longer avows schemes of universal empire—she has settled into a state whose government can maintain those relations in their integrity, in which alone civilized communities are to find their security, and from which they are to derive their distinction and their glory;—until in the situation of France we have exhibited to us those features of a wise, a just, and a liberal policy, I cannot treat with her."

The Directory itself soon realized the views of the British minister. The scandalous proceedings at the congress of Rastadt; the contumacious bearing of the French ambassadors; the seizure of Ehrenbreitstein in the midst of the peace; above all, the surreptitious attack upon Switzerland, and the treatment she received, afforded stronger evidence than the case required. Meanwhile England stood alone on

the field of battle; the question was, how and where she should be assailed? The earlier attempts on the West Indies and Ireland had failed;—*the Egyptian expedition* followed.

We propose to consider this extraordinary and remarkable enterprise only in one aspect, as to the influence which it had and must have upon the British continental policy. It soon assumed a greater and more comprehensive form than might have been expected from the nature of the expedition.

The object of this enterprise being the colonization of the fertile plains of Egypt, the result which France expected from it was, properly speaking, the acquisition of an important colonial possession, which might not only compensate the loss of the West Indian islands, but by the altered direction which it gave to the whole colonial system, might injure the British colonies in the West Indies; and perhaps even operate upon the relations in the East Indies. How far these projects were feasible or not, may be reserved for a distinct inquiry. It is enough that the apprehensions which they excited took such deep root in England, that the principle was firmly embraced not to lay down the sword until that plan was frustrated,—until Egypt was wrested from the French.

Certainly this war appeared, by the distance of its scene from Europe, to have no connexion with the British continental policy; indeed from its engaging so entirely the attention and energies of Great Britain in a different part of the world, it rather seemed to produce a relaxation in the continental relations. The contrary, however, was the result. The Egyptian expedition became one of the principal means of bringing about the second great confederacy or coalition against France, which was directed by England—and of which it remained the centre in an equal if not in a still higher degree than it had been in that confederacy which had been dissolved.

The expedition to Egypt thus became so pregnant with consequences and so momentous in relation to the British continental policy, that not only were the ancient cords for the most part re-knit together again, but new ones were likewise added. Amongst these must be enumerated as more particularly important, *the connexion with the Porte.* The storm which raged in the west of Europe had not yet reached this state. Its position, its relations, and its often

blissful ignorance, had allowed it to remain neutral. It had been for two centuries and a half the ally of France, without however taking part in her wars. England had had little connexion with it. She had wished perhaps, though in vain, to take an interest in its affairs before the conclusion of the last peace; but in this she was not actuated so much by a tender solicitude for the Porte, as by jealousy on account of the growing power of Russia. But now relations had changed;—Egypt belonged to the Porte; which now also discovered by experience that no public law afforded any protection against the political code of the revolution. Its oldest friend despoiled it, without any provocation, of one of its best provinces; and though this proceeding might be inexplicable to them, they were quite sensible that an insult had been offered them, which a semibarbarous people is of all others usually least disposed to brook. The means for gaining the divan failed; their voice was raised for war; and under these circumstances it could not be difficult for the British cabinet, when war was declared, to find in her an ally. Both expectations proceeded rapidly to their fulfilment. As early as the 12th Sept. the Porte issued a declaration of war against France, and by the 5th of January, 1799, a league was concluded, by which was stipulated mutual assistance, their harbours were closed against the French vessels, and they engaged not to make peace except with mutual consent, and guaranteed to each other their possessions. The alliance of the Porte differed only in one respect from that of the other powers with England. The Porte was the only power which received no subsidies, nor even desired them. This connexion was for England, not only of the highest importance in regard to her immediate object and the present war, but it opened to her a new and dazzling prospect of the fortresses in the Mediterranean and the trade in the Levant, which had been hitherto in the hands of the French and Dutch; but if it once passed into hers, it would not be so easy to wrest it back from her. The sequel has shown how these expectations were realized; it was written in the book of fate that the fruits of the expedition to Egypt, if we except its literary advantages, should not be reaped by France, but by England. The importance of this new continental connexion is sufficiently obvious.

But the expedition to Egypt was of service to the British continental policy in another respect. At the time it was set on foot, the spirit and courage of the continental powers were at a low ebb. The haughty tone assumed by the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt had dispirited and humiliated, as well as exasperated them. A new war was considered inevitable; but all seemed afraid to strike the first blow. Exactly at this crisis, and in this disposition of affairs, the glorious victory of the Nile was achieved by Nelson.[1] This however did not immediately affect the relations of the continental powers, though it had an indirect influence upon them. This humiliation of the haughty raised the courage of the oppressed; their confidence in England was revived; her exhortations and offers were listened to with more attention, and what perhaps is almost without a parallel in history, the effects of this victory were much greater in a moral than in a military point of view. The relations of France with Austria were already greatly disturbed. A new war was felt at Vienna to be inevitable. That country was only looking about for allies; negotiations with Russia had already been quietly going on during the interval of repose; it could not therefore be difficult for England to find an opening. It was still more easy at Naples, where the personal influence of the ambassador, or rather of his consort, Lady Hamilton, determined the queen, and through her the court, and even excited them to a precipitate rupture, the consequences of which were the occupation of Naples and the flight of the king and the court to Sicily.

But a new connecting link in the chain of British continental policy was formed in Russia. The connexions with Catharine, as well as their inefficacy, have been noticed above. She had retired from the stage,[2] and had made room for her son and successor Paul. This period is not only highly interesting as respects the British continental policy, but to the whole state-system of Europe. With it commences *the active participation of Russia in the affairs of the West*, which Catharine had always studiously avoided. And it might be foreseen that this could not easily be again withdrawn, whatever change might take place in the character and policy of the reigning prince. A power of the

[1] August 1st, 1798. [2] Nov. 16th, 1796.

first order, having once adopted an active participation, cannot easily stand aloof, for any considerable time, even if she wished it, which it is almost absurd to suppose she could do. The Egyptian expedition however had an essential influence in bringing about the co-operation of Russia. The capture of Malta by the French, having wrested this island from its ancient possessors, the knights of the order of St. John, and threatened their order with extermination, imposed on them the necessity of seeking a powerful protector. This they hoped to find in the emperor Paul, whom they chose for their grand master, and thus drew over to their interests one of the most powerful princes of Europe, who, flattered by the compliment, accepted their offer. The personal character of this prince, who always prosecuted his wishes with vehemence, and the desire he now showed to draw into a league the whole of Europe, and who indeed concluded alliances with Austria, England, (who consented to subsidies,) Naples, Portugal, and even with the old hereditary enemy of Russia, the Porte, removed every obstacle.

These were the elements of *the great confederacy* against France. If we measure it solely by the extent and population of the allied states, it was more powerful than the first. But the *neutrality* which *Prussia* maintained, and with her Northern Germany, left a great chasm which could not be filled up. It was not merely the want of the military force of Prussia which caused this chasm to be sensibly felt, but rather the geographical position of this state. The half of France, the whole northern half of it, according to its line of frontier at that time, was covered by this neutrality; and when after the successful progress of the allied armies, an attack upon the southern half was not impossible, it was obvious how difficult this must be rendered if France could concentrate all her forces here for resistance.

England thus again united the links of her continental policy by this second confederacy, as far as circumstances permitted. She concluded an alliance with Austria, Russia, Naples, and with the Porte. Circumstances did not admit of its being extended to Prussia, or to Sardinia; since, immediately on the breaking out of the war with Naples, the Directory availed itself of that crisis for robbing its proper ally, without the least pretext, of all its possessions on the

continent, and for banishing it to Sardinia. England was, it is true, by her subsidies, in a certain sense the centre of this second confederacy; but yet in a less degree than of the first. She was less capable of keeping it together. The Porte received no subsidies. It might be foreseen that its object went no further than the recovery of Egypt. Russia, though she received subsidies, was yet by her position and power virtually independent. But the greatest apprehensions were founded upon the personal character of its sovereign; whose policy was rather influenced by caprice and momentary impressions, than built on any firm principles. But all these things lay beyond the control of the British minister. Whatever expectations he might have formed of this confederacy, he could not conceal from himself the fact that it was but feebly held together. The first result, however, seemed almost to surpass their expectations. They had the good fortune to find great generals; in Southern Germany the Archduke *Charles* was victorious, in Italy the redoubted *Suwarrow*. Still further, in the course of the summer the French armies were driven back across the Rhine and the Alps; Switzerland was left only half occupied by their troops.

But the year was not to end without the sky which had thus brightened up becoming again overcast; and the germs of dissolution already developed themselves in the confederacy. The apprehensions which the capricious policy of the Russian sovereign necessarily excited were too soon to be realized. What it was which disturbed the relations with Austria, whether the disasters in Switzerland, or the occupation of Piedmont, without its being immediately restored to its legitimate king, has not been cleared up; those with England were deranged by the ill-combined and ill-conducted enterprise against the north of Holland;[1] which afforded the strongest proof that without the co-operation of Prussia no effective attack upon France could be made from the north. Paul I. withdrew from the confederacy, and it was not long before there were reasons to apprehend that he would go over to the other side.

The great alteration of affairs in consequence of the overthrow of the Directorial government and the elevation of

[1] Aug. and Sept. 1799.

General Buonaparte, after his return from Egypt, to the post of first consul, or regent of the French state, could not immediately exercise any considerable influence on the continental relations of England. The peace which he offered to England in a letter to the king, altogether at variance with the customary forms of diplomacy, clearly could not be brought about, for this reason, because it was scarcely credible that the proposal made in this manner was seriously meant. The relations of England with Russia were virtually dissolved; those with the Porte had only reference to Egypt; those with Austria and the states of Southern Germany were all, as far as regards the continent of Europe, she could reckon upon. But even these were destined to be torn from her by the campaign of 1800. The battle of Marengo restored the ascendency of France in Italy; the advance of Moreau through Suabia and Bavaria, and last of all his victory at Hohenlinden, opened a passage to the Austrian provinces. Austria saw herself driven to negotiations, which brought on the peace at Luneville, and the breaking off of her connexions with England, which, without this, would have naturally followed, was made a preliminary condition of this treaty.[1]

Thus with the exception of the Porte and Portugal, this second confederacy against France was also dissolved; and England for the second time stood almost alone: unconquered to be sure as formerly, as inaccessible to assault as ever, and with the confident expectation that the liberation of Egypt would sooner or later be effected, of which, indeed, the capture of Malta, compelled by famine to surrender,[2] seemed to afford her a pledge. But the implacable hatred and indefatigable policy of her adversary found means to set new enemies upon her; and to raise a new storm, of which the altered relations with Russia formed the materials. A league of the northern powers against England was now effected.

The notion of the armed neutrality, which Catharine had originated, was not extinct. It was in the nature of things that so long as peace continued, during which there were no enemies, and therefore no neutrals, it should slumber,

[1] England exempted Austria herself from her engagements Dec. 31, 1800; which, according to the last subsidy and alliance-treaty, June 20, 1800, would have continued to the end of February, 1801. [2] Sept. 1801.

because it admitted of no practical application. But it was obvious that it would not be neglected in new wars, in which circumstances should favour a revival of the scheme.

England had certainly given occasion for its restoration: not only were the old subjects of controversy renewed, they were even multiplied and augmented. The meaning of contraband was extended to a degree unheard of before; even corn and provisions were reckoned as such, in the vain hope that France might be reduced to submission by famine. One of the favourite ideas of Pitt was to ruin the commerce, and above all, the maritime commerce, of France, because he fancied he had discovered the means thereby of forcing her to a peace. The allied powers readily concurred in his views; it was a standing article in the leagues which were formed to close their harbours against the French shipping. The only alternative, therefore, that France had left, was to carry on its trade in the ships of neutral nations; but never was England less disposed to tolerate this than at the present time. The pressure, therefore, necessarily fell on those neutrals which had a traffic of their own, in which class only the northern powers of Europe could be reckoned. No sooner was the principle once admitted, that an enemy's goods in neutral ships was fair booty, than the claim to search neutral ships became a direct consequence of this admission; and who could fail to perceive what disputes and altercation such searches must lead to, whether the property of an enemy should be discovered or not.

The assertion, *that the neutrality of the flag protected the cargo,* even though the property of an enemy, cannot be proved from the law of nature, but rests upon conventional principles of international law, founded either on mere custom or positive compact.[1] The idea of neutrality, according to our conception of it, extends only to the notion that every neutral ought to be at liberty to offer for sale, to belligerent parties the products of its own country, (so far as they are not acknowledged to be contraband,) as its own

[1] In order not to interrupt the thread of the inquiry, I have thought it better to investigate the claims of the armed neutrality, considered in this point of view, in an appendix to the present treatise; the more so because, with the majority of readers, the ideas on this subject can hardly be sufficiently accurate.

property; as well again as to fetch, as its own property, the goods which he has bought of these and paid for, but not to offer them for sale to others as the property of the people engaged in the war. As far as practical policy is concerned, it is most important to observe, that the whole question may be of greater or less importance according to the different relations and the position of the belligerent nations; and that it is therefore scarcely to be expected, that the conventional policy on the question should be always consistent and universally agreed upon. Let us consider, for example, the case of a people whose wealth and power chiefly depends upon its maritime commerce, and, above all, upon an active trade with its colonies; can it be supposed for a moment, that its opponent, in case it be powerful enough to hinder it, will quietly suffer that commerce now to be carried on in foreign ships instead of in its own? And, above all, will it quietly suffer this trade not only to be carried on to the extent which was customary in time of peace, but even to a still greater, from the ports of the colonies, which were formerly closed against foreigners, being now thrown open by the colonists for the conveyance of their products; their own ships being excluded from trafficking.[1] Would a naval power at war with Spain, allow foreign ships to convey to her stores from Peru and Mexico, without which perhaps she would be obliged to give up the contest? We are here speaking only of the general principle and the consequences which flow from it; far be it from us to vindicate the abuse to which the rejection of it has led. Far be it from us to justify it, if more than the goods which upon search have been found to belong to the enemy, if perhaps even the ship itself has been confiscated, with all its cargo.

The revival of the project of an armed neutrality was a consequence of the perfect unanimity into which the regent

[1] On the British side, the question is best elucidated by Pitt in his speech on the 2nd Feb. 1801. *Speeches*, iii. p. 220, sq. *First*, on the ground of international law, because the admission of the right of neutral flags in specific treaties is only an exception to a right recognised as a rule. *Secondly*, on the ground of convenience, because the greatness and preponderating weight of England as a naval power, and consequently her greatness generally, rests upon the maintenance of the principle hitherto received; since otherwise her enemies would have uncontrolled supplies of naval stores from the Baltic. *Thirdly*, on the ground of positive compacts which are opposed to it. See below in the Appendix.

of France had succeeded in drawing the then sovereign of the Russian empire. The revival of this measure might seem the more surprising since it was a measure of Catharine II., which Paul I. was otherwise certainly not disposed to revive. It was now followed up with all the impetuosity which marked his character: not only Denmark and Sweden, but Prussia also was obliged to accede to it, or to run the risk of being treated as an enemy. The claims were the same as under Catharine, only in consequence of a remarkable incident, a new one had been annexed. A Danish convoy, accompanied by a frigate,[1] was compelled to undergo a search; whereas according to the maritime laws in force up to that time, the convoy of a man of war furnished security, that the vessels under her protection had no contraband goods on board.

By the institution of this league England was placed in a state of hostility towards this half of Europe. The determination of the question, whether the claims of the armed neutrality are, on a general view, compatible with the law of nations or not, we will leave to theorists; that England, under existing circumstances, could not suffer the commerce of its enemy to be freely carried on under neutral flags, we believe no practical statesman, whose judgment is unbiassed by party prejudice, will deny. Indeed we have no hesitation in asserting that an international maritime law will never be established further than on paper, so long as that principle shall be maintained in its full extent; the present vast importance of maritime commerce to many of the states will not permit more. The just censure to which England was amenable in those times does not lie, in our opinion, in her refusal to recognise that principle, but in the unjust extension which she gave to her claims and to her proceedings respecting prizes. If she had only confined her claims to the seizure of the enemy's goods; if she had exercised strict justice in every thing else, and treated neutrals as neutrals, the whole contest might perhaps have been superseded.

Be that as it may, it was no longer possible for England to avoid the conflict. The measure which Paul I. employed in seizing upon all English ships in his ports, was equivalent to an act of hostility; and in politics as well as

[1] The frigate Freja; she was taken and brought to England.

in private life it is an acknowledged principle, that a state cannot submit to an affront without degrading itself. A British fleet passed through the Sound; the attack upon Copenhagen followed;[1] and perhaps no blood would have been spilt if it had been known on the 2nd April at Copenhagen what had transpired on the 24th of March at Petersburg.

The succession of Alexander to the Russian throne had the happiest effects on the continental relations of England. The northern league dissolved of itself (there had indeed been only a partial acquiescence in its formation) immediately the new emperor offered the hand of friendship to England. It fell to the ground without leaving behind any permanent traces of its existence; nothing was determined respecting the principles of international maritime law; even the claims of England were, to a certain extent, tacitly recognised. She had, though not strictly allies, yet at least friends, in the North. The armed neutrality now survives only in history; it is scarcely possible that it should again exist in Europe; though it may possibly be recalled into being by America.

The British policy was directed to other objects. The time approached when England was to retire from the conflict, which she had now carried on for nine years without intermission. The deliverance of Egypt had removed out of the way a main obstacle, and facilitated the negotiations; preliminaries of peace were signed in the autumn of the same year,[2] and its final ratification at Amiens was only delayed by the determinations respecting Malta to the spring of the following year.[3] Even on this occasion the peace was not concluded by the same minister who had conducted the war. *William Pitt* had previously made way for his successor Addington; though not by compulsion as formerly, but voluntarily. In full possession of power, and of a majority in parliament, he resigned his post, because his opinions on Catholic Emancipation, which was to crown his great and newly achieved work, the union of Ireland and England into one kingdom, did not harmonize with those of his sovereign. And if George III. did not hesitate to accept the resignation of his long-tried counsellor and friend, rather

[1] April 2, 1801. [2] Oct. 1, 1801. [3] March 25, 1802.

than wound his conscience, the minister showed no less tenderness for the dictates of his, by quitting office, when his measures were no longer approved:[1] though poor and in debt, notwithstanding the treasures of the world had passed through his hands, he preferred retiring from the glory of supreme power into private life.[2] The peace of Amiens, however, may in some measure be considered as his peace, inasmuch as it was not concluded without his approbation and advice. His successor was not his opponent, but the friend of his youth; the ex-minister did not take his seat, as was usually the case, on the opposition bench, but on the right-hand side, on which for so long a series of years he had directed and determined the destinies of Great Britain, and not unfrequently of Europe.

By virtue of the peace of Amiens, Great Britain ceded all her conquests in the colonies, together with Malta, to their former possessors, with the exception only of Trinidad and Ceylon, which Spain and the Batavian republic were obliged to cede to her; very dear conquests in return for a debt of 300 millions sterling, which the war had cost![3] But who will take so narrow a view of this peace? We have already on another occasion given our opinion of the criterion by which the value of this peace should be estimated; namely, how far the object for which the war had been commenced and carried on was attained by it. This was not merely the conquest of a few islands; but two objects of a much higher character; the maintenance of the constitution and independence of Great Britain, and the freedom and independence of Europe against the encroachments of France.

[1] That this was the real cause, there is not a shadow of doubt. The very expressions of the great statesman on the subject, with the tenderest forbearance to his sovereign, may be seen in the speech of May 13, 1805. *Speeches*, iii. 420, sq. [2] Feb. 9, 1801.

[3] That portion of these sums which went abroad consisted partly of loans which England guaranteed—capital as well as interest, and which, until their reimbursement, make up a part of the national debt; partly in subsidies, that is, sums granted by virtue of compact for certain services, which cannot therefore be reclaimed. Only two loans were advanced during the two administrations of Pitt to Austria, in 1795, to the amount of £4,600,000; and in 1797, to the amount of £1,620,000. The loan to Portugal, amounting to £600,000, was first made in 1809. *Hamilton, National Debt*, p. 133. The whole amount of the subsidies and loans, which flowed to the continent on account of the government, is computed at £45,800,000. *Nebenius on Public Credit*, in German, sect. 13, note. I know not from what data; and I question whether the amount of the subsidies admits of being so accurately determined, since it cannot be known in what instalments they were really paid.

The first of these objects was accomplished; but not the other: the predominating power of France was so far from being broken, that it was greater than ever; considered in this point of view, the peace of Amiens can only be considered as a disgraceful one. All that can be alleged in vindication of it will be found in the speech which Pitt delivered after the ratification of the preliminaries;[1] his opinion on this point is the more impartial because, being no longer minister, he is not vindicating his own measures.

His main argument is; "One object we must give up, which is no longer attainable; we are disappointed in our hopes of being able to drive France within her ancient limits; but we have fulfilled our obligations towards our allies; the glory of the English arms has not been tarnished; and Great Britain possesses the means of opposing France if she should further extend her ambitious views. Further: the re-establishment of the French monarchy is equally impossible, but we have survived the violence of the revolutionary fever, we have seen Jacobinism overthrown; and its new government is only a state of transition towards a monarchy."[2]

But, with all that, it is difficult to palliate the impolicy of neglecting to make some definitive arrangements in the treaty respecting the relations of the continent; and of at once stipulating for the evacuation of the Batavian republic by the French. England remained virtually excluded, in a political sense, from the continent; she could no longer interfere in its affairs; she could only look on in silence, while France might lay down regulations at her pleasure, affecting the continent from the Tagus to the Vistula. The moment she attempted to raise her voice, she was met with the contemptuous answer, "The peace of Amiens, and nothing

[1] On Nov. 3, 1801.—*Speeches*, iii. p. 270, sq.

[2] *Speeches*, iii. p. 270, sq. That this, and, if possible, the restoration of the old monarchy, or at least, of the reigning family, had always been the object of his wishes, the minister does not dissemble. It was not without the most painful struggle that he could abandon this hope:

> Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
> Auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas:
> Urbem Trojanam primum dulcesque meorum
> Reliquias colerem; Priami tecta alta manerent;
> Et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis!

he exclaims with Æneas. What would his great spirit have felt if fate had permitted him to look for the space of ten years into the future!

but the peace of Amiens." The question was, whether such a state of things could last?

The question soon became answered; in the short space of a year the war again broke out; it was declared by England. The first consul, occupied with the consolidation of his power, and the re-conquest of St. Domingo, could hardly wish for it at this moment! and although some of his proceedings might with justice be made the subject of complaint, they could hardly be considered sufficient to furnish ground for a new war. We certainly do not mean to deny that a war might also have been wished for by him, while he was preparing the steps on which he mounted to the great object of his ambition—the imperial throne. But, notwithstanding this, it still seems certain that he could not have wished it to break out so soon. It indeed becomes a question, whether, according to the particular plans of the British ministry, the peace was intended to be any thing more than an armistice, which they only wanted for the purpose of collecting new forces; and this question we could scarcely help answering in the affirmative, if another and a much more natural solution did not present itself. It was not till after the peace that the English discovered they had committed an error—an error which they now saw with all its consequences. When the surrender of the conquered colonies as stipulated for was made, only one condition remained unfulfilled, the surrender of the rocky island of Malta. The reasons why the evacuation of this was refused will scarcely be regarded by an impartial posterity as any thing more than so many subterfuges; and the true ground can now only be sought in the awakened consciousness that more had been conceded than ought to have been. This was incontestably a political blunder which we are not disposed to justify; although aware that the renewal of the war was the only possible means of repairing it; the war, however, would nevertheless have been continued if this had never happened.

England commenced this new contest without a single ally on the continent; and the terror of the overwhelming power of France could afford her but little hope of procuring any, unless perhaps the haughty spirit of the French ruler should produce them. The occupation of Hanover, a neutral power, proved the complete nullity of the German

empire, but was also a proof how much the Prussian cabinet of that time could submit to, in admitting without hesitation the army of a conquering power into the heart of its states, in order to maintain its precarious neutrality.

The first great effect of this war on the continent, was the erection of the French imperial throne. The formal restoration of an hereditary monarchy in France, could not, considered in itself, be repugnant to the views of England; but the claims which were involved in this new title, were of such a nature, that they defeated the prospect of peace, and must have inspired England with hopes of soon being able again to find allies on the continent; and who, indeed, could doubt that every exertion would be made to effect this object, when Pitt, for the second time, with the same principles, the same powers of mind, though not of body, was placed at the head of affairs.[1] The war itself bore altogether a peculiar character. Here were two hostile powers determined to wreak on each other all the mischief they could; and yet, one being strong at sea, the other by land, they could scarcely come at each other. In France, the popular mind had been so accustomed, during the preceding war, to the loss of colonies, which had scarcely been restored, that the operations of the English in this respect could hardly move it. No field of battle offered itself on which the British troops could disembark. Great preparations, however, were made for effecting a descent on England. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite coast; a whole fleet of armed and unarmed transports were built to carry it over. But that, without a fleet to keep open the communication with France as well as to cover the passage and landing, an invasion was impracticable, or, if indeed effected, that it would end in the defeat and capture of the invading army, was obvious to every one, as was, consequently, that such a design could never have been seriously planned; still there were not wanting political, and even military writers, who believed it! But on the other side, it was not less certain that the threatening attitude assumed could not last for ever, nor even long; that the interest of the new ruler of France required a new war; and experience has now shown, that the descent upon England was

[1] On 28th May, 1804.

only a mask, under which he might prepare for another object.

Its effect upon England, however, was to drive the whole nation to arms. The military spirit was not only every where aroused, but it breathed a new power; a different kind of enthusiasm was naturally kindled in the breasts of troops who were to fight for their country, their families, and their homes, to that felt by men enlisted for foreign war and conquest.

The labours of Pitt were not in vain. He succeeded in the summer of 1805, in bringing about a third confederacy against France. The transfer of the left bank of the Rhine to that country; the distribution of all the ecclesiastical states, on the German side, among those whom she wished to favour; the powerful movements upon Switzerland, and above all, upon Italy, rendered it no longer problematical, that with this predominating power of France and the use she made of it, an independent European state-system could not possibly exist. To the aid of these sound political considerations, there came about this time an event, no less powerful, which roused the moral indignation of nearly all Europe—the arrest and murder of the Duke d'Enghien. This was not only, as it has generally been admitted, a crime, but unquestionably a great political error, which cannot find an apology in the design of renewing a continental war, as that might have been effected without it.

From this moment the sullen spirit of Prussia began to work, and, much increased by the contumelious dismissal and treatment of her ambassador, communicated itself to the cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and, above all, to Sweden. The more keen the sense of justice that prevailed in the dispositions of those princes, the more deeply must they have felt the wound thus given it; and however undefined the plans of these sovereigns, a party from this time soon became formed, not only of men, but even among women of the first rank, in the courts of Vienna and Berlin, as well as of Petersburg, which preferred a renewal of the war to a dishonourable peace. Thus when Pitt re-entered the ministry he found the national feeling and cabinets of the continent favourable to his designs. How much was done by British ambassadors to win over completely, posterity perhaps

will discover, when their official reports shall at some future time be intrusted to a second Coxe.[1] England thus became, in the fullest sense of the word, the centre of the third confederacy against the domination of France, as Russia, Austria, and Sweden, entered into a treaty of alliance with her, upon conditions of receiving certain subsidies; unfortunately, the wavering policy of Prussia placed the same obstacles in the way as had occurred before. The disastrous issue of the campaign of 1805, which, after the battle of Austerlitz, was followed by the peace of Presburg,[2] rent asunder the alliance with Austria; that with Russia was prolonged in little more than in form; that with Sweden was rather more trouble than profit; and new relations with Prussia soon followed, which led to war, or at least to a warlike attitude.

Pitt was destined to live just long enough to see his hopes and his plans frustrated. Intelligence of all these misfortunes, for which the recent victory at Trafalgar (21st October) could not compensate, reached him while yet on his death-bed.[3] However deeply this may have distressed him, he had still two grounds of consolation left. First—The consciousness that his life had been devoted to a good and just cause; and next to that, the certainty that his principles would survive in the school of statesmen which he himself had formed.[4] But dismal as were the prospects when his eye closed in death, they became still darker soon after his departure; and it became of the greater importance that his principles died not with him.

A most striking proof of this was afforded by the administration which succeeded, and which wished to follow a different line of policy. This was a coalition ministry; that is to say, one formed of men of opposite parties and professing different principles; a ministry which can hardly ever succeed for any length of time in England. At its head were placed Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Fox, as secretary of state for foreign affairs.[1] By this arrangement the foreign policy of England was intrusted to one, who, all his life, had been the distinguished antagonist of Pitt. Even since the death of both, public opinion has been divided in England as to which has the higher claim to praise; a question the more difficult to settle, because party spirit almost necessarily exercises an influence over all who seek to answer it. With all his genius, with all his brilliant talents as a speaker, Fox, nevertheless, wanted that calmness of mind which is indispensable to the great man of business in practical life. He saw through the medium of his passions, and spoke under their influence; while the steady coolness of Pitt is displayed no less in the details of business than in his speeches, which, never overcharged, seem only designed to convince. Which of the two took the most correct view of the great objects which, in their time, excited so much interest, is perhaps no longer a matter of doubt. We may admire Fox as a speaker and as an historian; but who will now attempt to rank him beside his great rival as a statesman? Even great good nature in him was dangerous, as it inclined him too much to judge of others by himself.

When Fox was placed at the helm of affairs, the continental relations of England, with the exception of those of the North, were dissolved; in Germany they could not be easily renewed, as the southern states had leagued themselves with France, and the confederation of the Rhine, which was afterwards formed, rendered it altogether impossible. With Spain the war was again renewed; with Prussia the relations were doubtful.[2] They soon, however, became decidedly hostile, as Prussia, in compliance with the dictates of France, took possession of Hanover. Fox rightly judged

[1] On the internal relations of the court of Vienna, at that time, and the English ambassador, Lord Paget, some interesting information will be found in the treatise, *Die Franzosen in Wein*, 1805, *in Europëische Annalen*, 1809, st. 6, the authenticity of which, however, we cannot vouch for, as we are unacquainted with the sources from which they are derived.

[2] December 26, 1805.

[3] His death, the 23rd January, 1806, happened on the same day of the month as that on which he had taken his seat in the House of Commons twenty-five years before.

[4] A Portland, Liverpool, Sidmouth, Canning, Perceval, Castlereagh, Vansittart, etc.

[1] In February, 1806.

[2] After the capture of the Spanish galliots, (4th October,) the relations of England and Spain have been so diligently investigated by a celebrated writer, that I deem it only necessary to refer to them:—*Fr. Genz authentische Darstellung der Verhältnisse Zwischen England und Spanien*, 1806. I agree with the author, that England was justified in treating Spain as an enemy at any time, yet not without a previous declaration of war. The more strenuously England contended for the maintenance of international law, the more important it became that she should observe its forms.

that such an insult to his sovereign was not to be tolerated. The declaration of war which ensued, was unanimously approved in parliament, in the address of thanks voted in reply to the king's speech. A terrible blow to Prussian commerce.

Fox was scarcely settled in the ministry, before he showed his desire to negotiate a peace; and accordingly he availed himself of the first opportunity of communicating his sentiments to the enemy. A plan having been formed for the assassination of Napoleon, Fox sent information of it to him, and thus had the opportunity he wished for of entering upon negotiations with that potentate. Their many interruptions and slow progress during the whole summer, only served to evidence the weakness of the declining minister; while, by the overthrow of the German empire, the establishment of the confederation of the Rhine, and the more and more warlike attitudes assumed towards Prussia, Napoleon clearly betrayed his ulterior designs. Fox continued to negotiate, and suffered himself to be put off with one proposal after another, which, from their very absurdity, ought to have convinced the most short-sighted politician that they were only meant to delude. A short time before the breaking out of the war with Prussia, he expired.[1] His administration had merely served as a foil for that of Pitt. The war against Prussia and Russia, which was terminated by the peace of Tilsit, (July, 1807,) only falls within the sphere of this inquiry, from the influence which it had upon the continental relations of England opening negotiations with that potentate. The emperor of France succeeded in drawing Russia over to his side; and had not Gustavus Adolphus, with untimely pertinacity, which soon cost him Finland, and even his throne, adhered to his engagements, every tie by which England was still connected with the continent, would have been snapped asunder; and even this last was soon broken.

Of all the states of the North, Denmark alone—a power both military and naval—had been able to maintain its neutrality; but even this was destroyed by England's demanding the surrender of her fleet, and enforcing this demand by the bombardment of her capital.[2]

[1] On 16th September, 1806.

[2] September 7, 1807.

Whether or not this transaction was a breach of the law of nations, still remains undecided, even among the English themselves. If the British ministry had, as they alleged—and in all probability such must have been the case—positive intelligence, that, by express stipulations in the late treaty, Denmark was to be forced into the war, and that Copenhagen was to become the rendezvous of the naval and military forces of the North, could it be an infraction of the law of nations to anticipate this event, especially as England only required the surrender of the Danish fleet, on condition that it should be restored at the end of the war, and did not proceed to enforce its surrender till this had been refused? The course of events will always bring on cases respecting which nothing has been determined in any code of international law. Those proofs, however, have not been made public; and even if they were, who could blame the Danish government for refusing to comply with such a demand? Who, indeed, could blame that nation for regarding the attack as a violation of the law of nations? Be this, however, as it may, it would have been more noble for England to await the attack on the open sea, the theatre of her glory, especially as there could be no possible doubt as to the issue.

Thus the celebrated *continental system* of Napoleon might be said to be realized against England, who was now shut out from every port of the continent, from Petersburg to Cadiz. An armed neutrality was now no longer the question, for, generally speaking, neutrality was no longer tolerated, but the great commercial war was set on foot against England, which gave rise to a tissue of decrees, every where characterized by passion and hatred. These, in the end, had no other result beyond that of warning politicians, that if they listen to any voice, save that of reason and reflection, they must expect the blow, intended for others, to fall at last, with increased force, upon their own heads. Napoleon's continental system, which was to exclude the English from every port, had eventually the effect of re-opening them all to her.

As in the physical, so in the political world, no unnatural condition can last for ever; and if Napoleon had not hastened the catastrophe by new deeds of violence, it must, in some way or other, however tardily, have come to pass at

last. The designs upon the Spanish peninsula were the first, and those against Russia the second step towards it. In the former, England had, if not an ally, at least a friend, in Portugal. Though it was impossible to save this state, yet here, nevertheless, the British continental policy celebrated its first triumph by its success in persuading the court to emigrate to Brazil,[1] and found a new kingdom on that side the Atlantic. A greater triumph, however, awaited it. The ill-treated Spain was roused by her injuries, and a new kind of league was formed, not with a cabinet, but with a nation,[2] which, notwithstanding the frequent vicissitudes of fortune, could not be dissolved. In Spain, the first abyss opened itself, which swallowed up the stores and the armies of Napoleon; a second still more terrific he himself prepared in Russia. It would be superfluous to recount the history of those great events, which rendered it possible for armies advancing from the Tagus and the Volga to combine and co-operate in the heart of France; which hurled the despot from the tottering but imperial throne, and brought about that which Pitt had expressed as the object of his wishes, though no longer of his hopes—the restoration of the ancient dynasty to the newly-erected regal throne of France. Let us rather be permitted to conclude this treatise with some general observations on the co-operation of England in the re-establishment of the European state-system, and on its present relations with the continent.

After the inquiry which we have instituted, no one will dispute the title of England to the glory of having taken the greatest and most effectual part in the liberation of Europe, and the restoration of an independent state-system to our part of the globe. Her share, however, has often been much exaggerated, particularly by Englishmen. England certainly achieved much; but England did not, and, as repeated experience has shown, could not, achieve it alone. It was utterly impossible for her to do so, without the co-operation of continental allies, such as Spain and Portugal, Germany and Russia.

After the catastrophe in Russia, which took place without the participation of England,—when the oppressed began to burst their bands asunder,—it was perfectly natural

[1] November 30, 1807. [2] January 14, 1809.

that the old allies of England should again rally around her; and history will never forget the almost incredible exertions which she made from the years 1813 to 1815,[1] which plainly prove that she did not think the liberation of Europe could be purchased too dearly.

Even Pitt, had he survived the glorious triumph of his principles, could hardly have done more! Yet, all this could only succeed by a uniting of the various powers; for what could gold, however indispensable, do alone; iron, after all, was to decide the contest.

England certainly prides herself, with justice, on being the only power that never bowed her neck during the whole course of that tempestuous period. But England should not forget that she is mainly indebted for this to her insular position. During that political storm, which periodically, as it were, desolated the countries of the continent, she alone could assure to herself that internal tranquillity, without which those peaceful arts, from which alone she derives resources for her great exertions, could not have been continued with such unexampled vigour and prosperity. Besides this, it was undoubtedly of peculiar advantage to all Europe, not only that the wooden walls of England rendered her impregnable, but that she was precisely the state, above all others, fitted by her constitution to keep alive those political opinions, the decline of which could never have been more injurious and lamentable than at this particular period. By this, too, was prepared the amazing influence which England has had, since the struggle for constitutional governments has become general in Europe. Her example was held forth, not in order that her constitution should be adopted as a general model, (which heaven forfend,) but as one from which proper notions might be formed of liberal institutions of this kind; such were now introduced into France, the Netherlands, and several German states.

England is now ranked as one of the five leading powers who determine the relations of the European state-system. It has connected itself with them without any surrender on its own part; it has therefore reserved to itself the power of

[1] The aggregate of the loans advanced in the three years, amounted to no less than £142,000,000 according to the real, and £222,000,000 according to the nominal value.—*Nebenius* über den credit. Anhang, § 5.

stepping forward as a mediator whenever it may be necessary. A continental policy like the last, founded upon loans and subsidies, can hardly ever occur again, at least to the same extent; but if this, as we think we have shown it to be, was, on the whole, beneficial for Europe, are we not thereby justified in hoping, that she will become still more, in future, the mediating power. Thus, then, we think we may conclude this treatise, without exposing ourselves to the imputation of blind partiality, with a wish for Britain, which is, at the same time, the best we can form for the continent and for our native country.—ESTO PERPETUA!

APPENDIX.

(P. 449.)

An Examination of the Questions respecting the claims of the Armed Neutrality.

THE claims of the armed neutrality embrace four questions, which must be kept quite distinct, if we wish to examine them properly. The first is: Whether free ships make free cargoes? The second is, The determination of what are called contraband or forbidden wares? Thirdly, Whether a convoy is a protection from search? Fourthly, When are ports to be considered in a state of blockade? We shall proceed to examine each separately.

I. *Whether Free Ships make Free Cargoes?*

This celebrated maxim, which may be regarded as the basis of the new maritime code, which the armed neutrality wished to introduce, involves two distinct propositions. First, that neutral ships may carry their own wares, (provided they are not contraband, of which below,) to all ports, whether belonging to neutral or belligerent parties, provided they are not in a state of blockade. By virtue of this principle, therefore, the neutral powers wished to have the free navigation and conveyance of their own products, (with the above restrictions,) not only to the ports of all neutral states, but also to those of France, Spain, Holland, etc. But what was of still greater consequence, they desired also, in the second place, free permission, not only to carry to those countries their own wares, and to bring away what they had purchased there, but also to convey, where and how they pleased, the goods of the belligerent parties; thus, for example, freely and at discretion to take in French wares and French property, without let or hinderance from British ships or privateers; and British wares, without let or hinderance from the enemies of England.

The great practical importance of this question will become apparent at once to all who bestow the slightest reflection upon it. Were it generally recognised by maritime powers, maritime wars would no longer exercise any very considerable influence on the trade and commerce of nations. It is true, a war might, perhaps, hinder the belligerent powers from continuing their trade in native vessels, unless, indeed, sufficiently strong at sea to protect it; but this evil would be easily remedied, as neutral vessels would naturally hasten in sufficient numbers to their ports, in order to transport their merchandise to whatever part of the world it might be destined. Instead, therefore, of a maritime war being, as it is now, extremely prejudicial to neutrals, from the many annoyances it occasions them, it would, in this case, be advantageous to them, as they could not fail to be employed in the transport of merchandise, and consequently to draw a large share of the carrying-trade to themselves.

From this it will readily be perceived why England, in her present position, was so deeply interested in withholding her assent to this principle. England is powerful enough at sea to protect her own commerce, and to carry it on, even in the midst of war, without any considerable

interruption. Her enemies are notoriously too weak to do the same, consequently in war their trade is almost annihilated. Had England, then, recognised this principle, the trade of France, Holland, etc., would have immediately revived, which England, who naturally regards her commerce as the mainspring of her power; is, for that very reason, anxious to repress. Those countries, it is true, would not have been able, had England given way, to carry on their trade in their own bottoms; but they would have carried it on in the ships of neutrals, or under neutral flags.

The extent, as well as the importance of this principle, being then sufficiently obvious, let us now see what may be determined respecting it; whether it is founded on the principles of natural law, upon the tacit agreement of civilized nations, or finally, on express stipulations between the now contending powers.

The law of nature, as applied to war, or pure military law, recognises no further principle than "I injure my enemy wherever I can," and in this is comprised, "I take from him his property wherever I can." The principle of free ship, free cargo, in its full extent, that is, if it means an enemy's goods are to be free in neutral ships, is, therefore, not recognised by pure military law. It would be difficult, therefore, to prove from the law of nature, that if Englishmen and Frenchmen wage war with each other, they are, notwithstanding, obliged to spare each other's property. This does not, however, imply, that if an Englishman finds the goods of an enemy in a neutral ship, he is immediately justified in taking possession of the *ship*, for the mere conveyance of an enemy's wares, obviously involves no act of hostility towards him; but it cannot, with any truth, be asserted, on the principles of natural law, that he is bound to let the property of an enemy escape free.

But why this appeal to the law of nature? It is, happily, now universally understood, that this is no longer admitted as a rule in modern warfare. It is one of the fairest fruits of civilization, that states only war with states, not with private individuals, to which, unhappily, privateering (and that, viewed in the most favourable light, is nothing better than piracy on a limited scale) still forms an exception. It is, therefore, evident, that in determining this question, we must not have recourse to the law of nature, but to conventional law or express compacts.

The next question, therefore, is, whether the principle, "free ship, free cargo," has *ever* been generally observed? this *ever* being limited to what has been introduced among the civilized nations of Europe in the two last centuries. In order to determine this, we need only cast a glance over the history of the wars since the treaty of Westphalia, and we shall find this question answered in the negative thus far: Neutrals have certainly generally laid claim to it, but belligerent powers, *during war*, have never been willing to recognise it.

In the great war which Lewis XIV., in 1688, commenced with almost the whole of western Europe, the right of neutral flags was expressly denied on the side of England, while William III. went so far as at once to forbid all communication with France. It was also in vain that the Dutch, who were the greatest sufferers, made representations to him respecting it. He gave the most suitable answer which could be given to these representations—"Let this be the canon law."

In the eighteenth century, the question respecting the rights of neutral flags was not agitated till after the close of the war of the Spanish

succession. It was first brought forward in the great northern war which still continued. That it did not arise during the Spanish war, was owing to the peculiar situation of the parties; in the west of Europe there were no neutrals, and the eastern powers had enough to do amongst themselves. Another and a stronger reason was, that Holland, during the war, though hostile to France and Spain, still carried on a tolerably extensive trade with these two countries, which England either could not, or would not, hinder. But the trade which the Dutch, as neutrals, carried on in the Baltic, soon brought the matter to a crisis. Charles XII. refused to recognise the right of neutral flags; the Swedish privateers captured indiscriminately all vessels bound to ports of the enemy, so that Holland and England were obliged to send, 1715, a combined fleet to the Baltic for the protection of their commerce.

On the breaking out of the war between Spain and England in 1739, and the war of the Austrian succession in 1740, in which Holland remained neutral as long as she could, the dispute was again revived. The English having captured a great number of Dutch vessels on their way to Spain, the latter complained, and appealed expressly to the commercial treaty of 1674, in which England had recognised the principle of "free ship, free cargo," in respect to them; but nothing of any consequence was settled.

No further progress had been made, when, in 1743, the war between Russia and Sweden broke out. The latter power again refused to concede to the Dutch the right of neutral flags, and the latter were once more compelled to send a fleet to protect their trade in the Baltic.

The seven years' war had scarcely broken out, in 1756, before the Dutch renewed their old complaints against England. Desirous to turn their neutral position to account, and that under the protection of the neutral flag they might be allowed to carry on the trade between France and her colonies, more especially the West Indies, the latter again appealed to the commercial treaty of 1674. But the English, admitting their claims just as little as before, made prizes of their merchantmen whenever they found them bound to an enemy's port, or laden with an enemy's goods.

Thus matters went on till the breaking out of the American war. During its course the complaints about the oppression of neutral shipping became again very loud. An armed neutrality was negotiated in 1780, by Catharine II., the basis of which was the maxim, "*free ship, free cargo.*" England certainly did not formally recognise this principle; but she tacitly submitted to it, as she felt herself obliged to succumb to the circumstances of the time.

This survey, we think, will make it quite clear that this principle was very far from having been ever generally recognised in the course of the war by tacit agreement, though it certainly was, once and again, by separate treaties between individual powers, but concluded, for the most part, in time of peace. *Büsch*, in his Geschichte der Zerrütung des Seehandels, (*History of the Obstructions to Maritime Commerce,*) has taken the trouble to enumerate these singly, and has found thirty-six treaties for, and only fifteen against, this principle. But what remedies did these treaties provide? No sooner did a war break out than the nations who had contracted them felt themselves at liberty to violate their obligations, and made such partial arrangements as suited their own interest. This was done, not only by England, but by most of the other states,

whenever they felt themselves sufficiently strong to do so; and who can say that the like will not happen again.

Let us now address ourselves to the *second* question, which is closely connected with this.

II. *What is Contraband?*

When two states are at war with each other, it is scarcely possible for any obligation to arise out of it affecting a third party in respect to its commerce, so as to preclude it from selling certain articles, even though they should be directly intended for carrying on the war, provided it supplies them fairly to the highest bidder. But supposing the said state should be willing to sell them to one state and refuse them to another, this would expressly indicate a disposition to favour one at the expense of the other; and the state thus acting could no longer be regarded as a neutral power. According to the principles of natural law, therefore, nothing contraband, under the above-stated condition, can exist. This, however, is not the place for investigating this question further; it is, besides, a matter of perfect indifference what opinion may be formed respecting it, as the conventional law of nations has long since decided otherwise respecting it. In this, to wit, an important difference is established between various articles: I. Those directly used in warfare, such as ammunition, arms, and all kinds of ready-made weapons. II. Those which only indirectly serve for that purpose, such as unwrought iron, copper, ship-timber, etc., from which must be distinguished, III. Those which have properly no reference to the war, such as provisions, fine linen, cloths, etc.

All treaties of commerce, without exception, which have been concluded during the last few centuries, between European states, and have contained definitions of what is contraband, agree in this, that the articles, No. I., are interpreted as such. The agreement in this is so general, that the more precise definition of it, or the enumeration of the several articles, has become a standard formulary, which always recurs *totidem verbis*, as may be seen in the various acts of neutrality which have been published. Consequently it is a generally recognised principle of positive European international law, that all articles directly used in warfare, attempted to be conveyed by neutrals to nations engaged in war, immediately become contraband.

But however general the agreement may be, that these articles are interdicted, it is by no means so generally agreed that they are exclusively so. It has more frequently happened, indeed, that the European powers, especially on the breaking out of a war, have interpreted as contraband whatever they thought proper, and have consequently made No. II., and even No. III. so, just as it might happen to suit their convenience. The English, it must be confessed, were not behind-hand in doing this; but then it must not be supposed that they did it alone. Others, as for example, Sweden, have gone as far, or even farther; but, as they had not the same power to enforce their views as the English had, the inconvenience resulting therefrom was not so sensibly felt.

Several circumstances, and particularly the following, have contributed to extend the meaning of the word contraband: First, It is quite natural that a belligerent nation should feel sore in seeing articles conveyed to its enemies, which, though not yet wrought into arms and implements of war, may soon become so, and in all probability are designed for that purpose. Secondly: It is well known, that in the present day, the western maritime powers obtain the greatest part of their ship timbers from the northern and eastern countries of this part of the world. In naval wars, the aim for a long period has been, and never more so than at the present moment, not only to annihilate the enemy's fleets, but to obstruct as much as possible the building of new ones. The ardour with which England has pursued this object is known to every one. For this reason, therefore, ship-timber is one of the articles which England insists upon being included in the list of contraband goods; while, on the other hand, the northern powers are especially interested in having it omitted, as it forms the bulk of their exports. If to this we add (as was the case in the war of the Revolution) the endeavours made to embarrass the enemy by impeding the conveyance of provisions, or generally to weaken him by the complete annihilation of his commerce, without respect to the losses which neutrals may thereby sustain, it will easily be perceived that, eventually, every thing will be reckoned as contraband which is not ballast, and, consequently, that all trade with an enemy's country will be virtually suspended.

Whatever opinions may be formed as to the legality and good policy of this proceeding, the following points we think will now be clear: In the first place, according to the generally recognised international law of Europe, only the immediate necessaries of war can possibly be regarded as contraband; and if, in the second place, other articles should also be interpreted as such, this must be settled, as an exception to the rule, by express treaties between the several nations, unless mere force is to supersede right.

These principles appear to be at present actually recognised by both parties. For not only is the restriction, which the existing special treaties of individual powers exhibit, expressly recognised in the act of neutrality, in the definition of contraband; but, on the other hand, the minister in the debates of the British parliament, appeals also expressly to the existing treaties of commerce with the northern powers.[1] An analysis of these, therefore, can alone afford us a deeper insight into the question.

The treaties of commerce quoted in parliament were that with Sweden of 1661; that with Denmark of 1670; and that with Russia of 1793. The continuance of these was expressly asserted; whether it was recognised on the other side or not, is irrelevant to the question, which entirely turns upon the stipulations which the treaties contained.

In the treaty with Sweden,[2] the following articles are those which require to be noticed:

Art. V. "The ships, goods, and ships' crews of either nation, shall, under no pretence, either publicly or privately, either by general or special command, be laid under arrest, detained, or in any way treated with violence in the ports of either country."

Art. XI. "Although it has been settled between the two powers, that neither shall succour the enemy of the other, this is not to be so understood as that all commerce and traffic with the enemy of a belligerent party shall be interdicted to a neutral ally. It shall only be de-

[1] Vide the speech of Pitt, February 2, 1801, in *Speeches*, iii. p. 229.

[2] It will be found at length in Schmauss, Corpus Juris gentium Academicum, p. 2302, and in the other well-known collections.

cided that no wares which are contraband, and of course no gold, provisions, arms, (here follows the usual form,) shall be conveyed to the enemy of the other ; otherwise, if they should be captured, they are to be considered lawful booty. Neither of the contracting parties is to support the enemy of the other, either by selling or lending him ships ; yet each of the parties shall be at liberty to trade with the enemy of the other, and to convey to him wares of every description, with the exception of those above specified, without molestation, excepting to harbours and places in a state of blockade."

Art. XII. "But in order that an enemy's goods may not be concealed under neutral names, ships, as well as stage waggons, shall be provided with passports and certificates (the formula of which is inserted at length). If in this case the ships of neutral powers shall fall in with the ships of war or privateers of the others, the first shall only be required to produce their papers, without being liable to further search or molestation. Should they not be provided with papers, or if otherwise there should be any urgent cause for suspicion to warrant the searching of the ship, (which is only to be permitted in these cases,) then, if an enemy's goods shall be discovered, these shall be lawful prize, but the rest shall be immediately restored."

If, then, this treaty was recognised as the basis of the maritime law between England and Sweden, by both these powers it will follow :

First. That the principle, "free ship, free cargo," had not, between England and Sweden, the extent which was conceded to it in the armed neutrality. It must be admitted, certainly, that Sweden is allowed to carry on a free trade in neutral property (not contraband) to an enemy's port, which is not blockaded ; yet *not* to convey an enemy's property. Sweden would not dare to convey French or Dutch merchandise under her flag.

Second. The definition of contraband admits this further extension, that besides the direct necessaries of war, money also and provisions are included under it; but not the indirect necessaries of war; not the principal products of Sweden, iron, copper, and ship-timber. Sweden would certainly at the present time readily acquiesce in this extension, because she wishes to check the export of specie, and is no longer in possession of the rich corn-lands about the Baltic, which she had in 1661.

Such, then, are the relations between England and Sweden, according to those treaties : now follow those between England and Denmark. They are founded, according to the speech of the minister in parliament, on the treaty of 1670.

In that, the commercial treaty which was concluded between Charles II. and Christian V., the articles X. XI. contain the definition of what was contraband. But we need not go back even to that source, for by a later convention, which was signed on 4th July, 1780, (a few days before Denmark acceded to the first armed neutrality,) an explanation of that article has been given, which here follows :[3]

"But in order to leave no doubt respecting what is understood by contraband, it is agreed that this designation comprises nothing but arms, as cannon, etc. etc., (here follows the usual formula,) as well as timber, pitch, copper in plates, sails, hemp, cordage, and, in a word, every thing which serves for the equipment of a ship ; yet with the exception of unwrought iron and planks. As for the rest, it is expressly

[3] Vide Marten's Recueil, etc. etc., ii. p. 102.

declared, that under the designation of contraband shall not be comprehended any kind of provisions, such as fish, flesh, corn, etc. etc., the conveyance of which to hostile ports, if not under blockade, is always to be allowed."

Now, although Denmark, as early as 9th July, 1780, acceded to the armed neutrality, yet this document was not abolished nor infringed, since in that convention the definition of contraband was expressly referred to the existing treaties between the several powers ; so again the acceding to the second armed neutrality did not abolish it, since, notwithstanding the general restriction of contraband to immediate necessaries of war, yet the annexation of this proviso, without infringing the existing compacts between the several powers, leaves it in full force. It is obvious, therefore, that Denmark, by her commercial contracts with England, was, with regard to contraband goods, so far bound more strictly to consider every thing which has reference to the building and equipment of ships as comprised in the definition ; but not, on the other hand, provisions and money, which Sweden had recognised as such.

Lastly, as regards Russia, the British minister referred in his speech to the convention of 1793. This convention is the treaty of alliance which Catharine II. at that time concluded with England against France.[4] It contains, Art. XI., the definition : "That not only all kinds of supplies and provisions are to be regarded as contraband, but that they will also, on both sides, generally injure, in every possible way, the French commerce," so that the idea of contraband is certainly here taken in its widest extent.

After this investigation there still remain to be considered the two other points which formed the subject of controversy, viz. :

III. *Are Neutral Ships under Convoy liable to Search or not?*

This question was, as is well known, affirmatively answered on the part of England, and negatively on the part of the other states ; and although Denmark promised in the last contest not to allow her ships, for the present, to convoy, she nevertheless refused, in any way, to recognise the principle of search. The whole tone of the proceeding rather showed that the Danish government regarded the assertion of the opposite principle as a main point, on which not only the interests of commerce, but also the honour of her flag, and, indeed, in some degree even the independence of herself as a state, was concerned.

But in order to exhibit this subject in its true light, it is necessary to explain first somewhat more distinctly what the idea of convoy involves in maritime affairs and in maritime law.

A convoy is well known to be a guard of one or more men-of-war, which the state grants to a number of merchant vessels for their protection. It is not, therefore, a private, but a public affair. But the granting of a convoy according to the received maritime law, involves the following :

I. When the state grants it, then only armed ships in the service of the state can be used for that purpose, in which case it is however of no consequence to what class they belong. Therefore, privateers, which perhaps are bought for the purpose, or even other armed vessels, which private persons cause to be fitted out, would have no legitimate claim to

[4] Politisches Journal, 1793.

the privileges of a proper convoy. II. When the neutral state grants a convoy, it immediately gives security that the merchant vessels contain no wares which, according to general maritime law, or specific treaties with particular powers, are contraband. In short, the merchant vessels, before they are taken under convoy, must be previously subjected to a strict examination of their papers, which must be conducted by the commanding officer of the convoy. In Denmark, probably also in Sweden and Russia, the commanding officer himself is even made responsible for it. III. It is not, therefore, every ship which can, at its own discretion, obtain convoy even if its papers are in perfect order. The state does not readily undertake the responsibility for foreign ships. It is more usual for each state to allow only its own ships to convoy. Agreements, however, may easily be entered into, especially where several powers bind themselves to an armed neutrality, which may occasion deviations from the rule.

Hence it will be clearly seen why this disputed point is regarded, especially by neutrals, as a question of honour. The search of a convoy is tantamount to a refusal to accept the given security, and the pledged word of honour of a state, and the denial of a right which has been hitherto conceded to every independent state as such. The correspondence which passed between the Danish government and the British Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen, perhaps exhausted every thing which can be said on this subject.

Some readers will perhaps ask whether something has not been determined on this point in the commercial treaties. But in no single known treaty, and not even once in the acts of the armed neutrality of 1780, has there been the slightest mention made of it; doubtless because in the European maritime law which existed before that time, the freedom of a convoy was taken for granted. That is to say, it is obvious that the opposite claim could never be preferred by any European power which is not possessed of a similar decisive preponderance at sea to that which Great Britain has at present.

IV. *When are Harbours to be considered as Blockaded?*

In the earlier treaties nothing was decided on this point, because the answer was self-evident: *when they are really blockaded.* But England gave to the phrase an extension of meaning which few will be prepared to justify, that the bare declaration, 'that a port is blockaded, at once constitutes a blockade.' Indeed this was then extended even to the whole line of coast. In consequence, the Act of Neutrality contains this just definition, Art. III. "That the name of a blockaded port belongs only to that which is blocked up by a number of ships of war lying before it and stationed sufficiently near, that the entrance cannot be hazarded without manifest danger; and that the vessel which steers its course in that direction shall not be regarded as acting in opposition to the convention until it makes the attempt to effect an entrance, either by force or stratagem, after it has been apprized of the condition of the harbour by the commander of the blockading squadron."

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

INDEX

TO

ANCIENT GREECE.

Acarnania, geographical view, 16.
Achæans, a tribe of the Hellenes, 22. confined by the Heraclidæ to Achaia, 23.
Acusilaus of Argos, 211.
Ægean Sea, circled with Grecian colonies, 64.
Ægina, 19. money first coined here, 130.
Æolians, a tribe of the Hellenes, 22. chiefly mingled with the Dorians, *ib.* early established themselves near the ruins of Troy, 63. and in Lesbos, 64.
Æschines, 189.
Æschylus, the father of the drama, 221.
Ætolia, geographical view, 16.
Agesilaus, 156. the change he made in Grecian tactics, 162. the first to form a numerous cavalry, *ib.*
Agriculture, state of, in the heroic age, 56. its estimation among the Greeks, 126.
Alcibiades, 102. his public character, 182.
Alexander the Great, 189.
Alps, The, their influence on the history of our race, xi.
Alyattes, the first foreigner who made application at Delphi, 83.
Amasis, probably king of Egypt when Pythagoras visited it, 195.
Amphictyonic Assemblies, their influence on the political union of the Greeks, 87. their origin, 89. the Assembly of Delphi, *ib.* who took part in it, 90. its duties, 91. its influence on the nation, 92.
Amyclæ, 4.
Anaxagoras, 194.
Andocides, 186.
Antiphon, 186.
Antisthenes, 205.
Apelles, 232.
Arcadia, 2. its inhabitants pastoral, 3.
Archelaus of Abdera, 222.
Architecture was confined to public buildings, 228. begun with the construction of temples, *ib.* theatres, &c., 229. the distinction of domestic and public architecture, 229.
Archons, The, at Athens, 120.
Archytas, 198.
Areopagus, the most ancient Grecian court, 147.
Argolis, geographical view, 4.
Argonauts, date of their expedition, 51.
Aristides, treasurer of the national treasury, 99. his character and influence, 177.
Aristippus, 205.
Aristocracies, among the Greeks, 107.
Aristophanes, 225, 226.
Arts, The, their connexion with the state, 227. were exclusively public among the Greeks, 227, 233.
Asia Minor; the Dorians early flourished on its coasts, 23. the people of this country early devoted to commerce and the founding of colonies, 44. within a century after the Trojan war, its western coast occupied by Grecian cities, 63.
Assemblies among the Greeks, 111.
Athens, geographical view, 11. gradual change in its constitution, 66. shakes off the Pisistratidæ, 93. alone repelled the invasion of Darius Hystaspes, 95. Greece was indebted for its freedom to Athens, *ib.* burnt by Xerxes, 96. gains the supremacy in the Persian wars, 98. establishes a general treasury and common fleet, 99. acknowledged to be the first city of Greece, 100. how her power was exercised, 101. change in her relations with various states, *ib.* the tribute fixed on the conquered states, 102. her assumption of judiciary power, *ib.* its sources of revenue and taxation, 137. the army was subordinate to the navy, 157. the political divisions were military in their origin, *ib.* had little cavalry, and that expensive, 158. directed the taste of other cities, 222. the architectural grandeur confined to public buildings, 228.
Attica, geographical view, 9.

Bards. See *Poets.*
Bias, 174.

Bœotia, geographical view, 14.
Βουλαί, among the Greeks, 113.
Brasidas, 156.

Cadmus, his migration into Greece, 45.
Cadmus of Miletus, 211.
Callimachus, 161.
Cavalry, the Grecian states had little or none, 159. their equipment, *ib.* a numerous one first formed by Agesilaus, 162.
Cecrops, his migration into Greece, 45.
Charon of Lampsacus, 211.
Chilo, 174.
Chios, a school of bards, the Homeridæ, formed here, 76.
Choruses, were the chief ornament of the festivals, 219. their antiquity, 220.
Cimon, 162. his character and influence, 178.
Citizenship, among the Greeks, 109. in the colonies, 110.
Clearchus, 166.
Cleobulus, 174.
Coining, the art probably received by the Greeks from Lydia, 130.
Coins, Grecian, extant, 129. their exceeding beauty, 130. at first were probably of silver only, 131. alloyed in the time of Solon, *ib.*
Colonies, in Greece, 44. that of Cecrops, 45. of Danaus, *ib.* of Cadmus, *ib.* that of Pelops, 46. their influence on the Greeks, *ib.* in Asia Minor, 63, 64, 94. these delivered from Persian supremacy, 96.
Columbus, viii.
Comedy, among the Greeks, 224. its political influence, 225. its licentiousness, *ib.*
Constitutions of the Grecian cities and states, 104, *et seq.* their value, 121. their great variety, 122. their essential defects, 236.
Corcyra, 18.
Corinth, 8. the extent of its district, 105.
Cosmi, The, of Crete, 119.
Councils among the Greeks, 113.
Cratinus, his plays, 226.
Custom Duties among the Greeks, 141.
Cylon, 197.
Cyme founded by Æolians, 64.
Cythera, 19.

Danaus, his migration into Greece, 45.
Darius Hystaspes, his invasion of Greece, 95.
Delos, 19. the temple at, a national temple, 82. the common treasury of Greece fixed here, 99.
Delphi, the temple and oracle of, founded by a Cretan colony, 47. a national temple, 82. the Pythian games at, 84. the Amphictyonic council held here, 89. its treasures, 134.
Democracies among the Greeks, 107.
Demodocus, 68.
Demosthenes, 127. his history and character, 187.
Diotogenes, 198.
Diphilus, his plays, 226.
Divinities, of the Greeks not of native origin, 28. but they altered them and made them their property, 29. those of the East represented the objects and powers of nature, 30. those of the Greeks moral persons, 31. they were transformed by the poets, 32. their symbolical meaning preserved in the mysteries, 38. exercised a great influence on the spirit of the nation, 39.
Division, the political, from the earliest times a peculiarity of Greece, 53. causes of this division, *ib.*
Dodona, the oracle of, 82.
Dorians, a tribe of the Hellenes, 22. with the Ætolians occupied nearly the whole of the Peloponnesus, a large part of the rest of Hellas, and several islands in the Archipelago, and flourished on the coast of Asia Minor, in Lower Italy, and Sicily, 23, 64. their general characteristics, 24.
Drama, The, was the result of the choruses at the festivals, 220. how encouraged at Athens, *ib.* Æschylus the father of the drama, 221.

East, The, its inferiority to Europe, vii.
Ἡγεμονία, came to signify the same as dominion of the sea, 100.
Ἐκκλησίαι among the Greeks, 111.
Elis, geographical view, 4.
Empedocles, 199.
Epaminondas, 163.
Ephesus founded, 64.
Ephori, The, 116.
Eubœa, 19.
Euclid, 205.
Eupatridæ, 108.
Europe, her superiority over the other parts of the earth, vii. always inhabited by white men, ix.
Eurotas, The, 3.

Families, regulations of, in the heroic age, 58.
Festivals among the Greeks, 83. Hellenes alone could contend for prizes at them, *ib.* received a national character, 84. the honours paid to the victors, 85. whatever was glorious and beautiful was here produced, 87. their importance in the estimation of the Greeks, 133. nearly all religious ones, *ib.* their cost to the public, 134.
Finance, at first little known in the Grecian cities, 132. the public cost of temples, 133. festivals, 134. and the magistracy, 135. military and naval establishments, 136. accurate information on this subject respecting Athens only, 137.

Gama, Vasco de, viii.
Γερουσία, in various Grecian cities, 115.
Gorgias, 201.
Greece, geographical view, 1. so divided that one state could scarcely gain supremacy over the rest, 19. favoured by nature and position, 20.
Gythium, 4.

Harpalus, 189.
Hecatæus of Miletus, 211.
Heliæa, at Athens, 151.
Hellanicus, the Lesbian, 211.
Hellas, geographical view, 9.
Hellenes, The, their earliest condition, 21. their power gradually increased, 22. the tribes composing them, *ib.* received their divinities from the Pelasgi, 28. their character was no where obliterated among the Greeks, 80. their unity as a nation probably maintained by the Homeric poems, 81. religion another bond of union, *ib.* they alone could contend for prizes at the festivals, 83.
Heraclitus, 199.
Herodotus alleges that the Grecian divinities were of Egyptian origin, 28. that Hesiod and Homer invented the Grecian theogony, 32. and designated the forms of the gods, 33. his history, 212.
Heroic Age, The, 50. the dates of its commencement and close not clearly defined, 62.
Hesiod, alleged by Herodotus to have formed, with Homer, the divine world of the Greeks, 33.
Hippias, 201.
Hippodamus, 198.
History of the Greeks, its source and progress, 208, 211. was originally poetical, *ib.* Herodotus, 212. Thucydides, 214.
Homer, alleged by Herodotus to have formed, with Hesiod, the divine world of the Greeks, 33. he established the popular notions of the gods, *ib.* the best source of information respecting the heroic age, 50. the obscurity of his history, 71. conditions, character, and influence of his poems, 72. he formed the character of the Greek nation, 75. his songs carried by Lycurgus into the Peloponnesus, 77. his influence on the language, the spirit, and the political character of the Greeks, 77, 78. his poems arranged and committed to writing by Pisistratus, 79. his poems and those of the Homeridæ probably maintained the unity of the nation, 81.
Houses of the Grecian heroes, 56.

Infantry among the Greeks, 159. their accoutrement, *ib.*
Ionians, a branch of the Hellenes, 22. retained possession of Attica, Eubœa, and several islands, 23. colonized parts of Asia Minor, and the coasts of Italy and Sicily, 24. their general characteristics, *ib.*
Isocrates, 103.
Isthmian Games at Corinth, 84.
Ithaca, 18.

Judicature, not an independent branch of the Grecian constitutions, 146. formed by time and circumstances, 147. the general form, 148. difference of public and private courts, 149. general process of suits, 150.
Justice. In the free Grecian states the notion prevailed that citizens must take part in the administration of justice, 148.

Laconia, geographical view, 3.
Lada, naval battle of, 170.
Laurium, its silver mines, 131.
Λειτουργίαι, among the Greeks, 139.
Leonidas, great as a man, not as a general, 156.
Leuctra, battle of, 164.
Linus, 68.
Locris, geographical view, 15.
Lycurgus, carried the songs of Homer into the Peloponnesus, 77, 78. did not attempt to form a new constitution, 106.
Lysander, 156.
Lysias, 186.
Lysippus, 231.

Magistracy, The, in Grecian cities, 115. eligibility to office, 118. the different kinds of magistracy, 119. its cost to the public, 135.
Mantinea, battle of, 164.
Marathon, battle of, 95. the Athenian army did not exceed 10,000 men, 155. the victory due to the heroic spirit of Miltiades, 161.
Martel, Charles, viii.
Melos, 19.
Menander, his plays, 226.
Mercenaries, introduction among the Greeks, 165.
Metals, abundance of, in ancient Greece, 57.
Micon, 232.
Miletus founded, 64.
Militia in the Grecian states, 154. the poorer classes nearly excluded from military service, 155. that of Sparta resembled a standing army, 156. where a militia exists, the political divisions are usually military in their origin, 157.
Milo, the wrestler, 197.

Miltiades, 157. his heroic spirit, 160.
Mitylene built, 64.
Mnesiphilus, 198.
Money, when first coined among the Greeks, 128. silver coined money known in the time of Solon, 129. its use extended by colonies, 130. first coined at Ægina, *ib.*
Monuments, their importance in the estimation of the Greeks, 133.
Mysteries, Grecian, preserved the religion of the initiated, 37. were introduced from abroad, *ib.* preserved the symbolical meaning of the gods, 38.

Navy, its predominance over the army in the Grecian states after the battle of Platææ, 155, 166. naval science among the Greeks, 167. the expense of building ships, *ib.* difficulty of manning the fleets, *ib.* operations limited to the Ionian and Ægean Seas, *ib.* shape of the most ancient ships, 168. invention of triremes, *ib.* fleets first supported by the Grecian cities in the 7th century, 169. naval architecture no further advanced till the Macedonian age, *ib.* naval tactics of the Greeks, 170.
Naxus, 19.
Nemean Games at Argos, 84.
Nonus, 78.

Olympia, the temple at, a national temple, 82. the oracle hushed, 83. the games of, 84.
Optimates, 108.
Oracles among the Greeks, 82. the connecting link between politics and the popular religion, 83.
Orators in the Grecian states, their origin, 184.
Orpheus, 68.
Ostracism at Argos and Athens, 120.

Painting among the Greeks, 232.
Paper Money unknown in Greece, 131.
Parmenides, 199.
Paros, 19.
Pausanias, his fall, 98. the causes which led to his treachery, 156.
Pelasgi, their earliest condition, 21. gradually reduced and finally lost, 22.
Peloponnesus, The, geographical view, 2. occupied chiefly by the Dorians and Ætolians, 23.
Pelops, his migration into Greece, 46.
Periander, 174.
Pericles, 100, 179. the principle by which he was actuated, 180.
Persian Wars, after the Trojan war the first grand object of common interest among the Grecian states, 94. their influence on the foreign relations and internal condition of Greece, 97.
Persians, their prevailing idea was to take vengeance on Athens, 96.
Petalism at Sparta, 120.
Phemius, 68.
Pherecydes of Syros, 211.
Phidias, 230.
Philip of Macedon, 188.
Philosophy, not enthralled by the religion of the Greeks, 43. its connexion with politics, 194. its conflict with the popular religion, 194, 199. Anaxagoras, 194. Pythagoras, 195. first applied to political science by the sophists, 198. after the time of Pythagoras philosophy applied solely to metaphysical speculations, 199. the philosophy of Socrates, 203, 204, 205. of Plato, 206.
Phocæa founded, 64.
Phocis, geographical view, 14.
Phœnicians, The, early devoted to commerce and the founding of colonies, 44.
Pindar, 84.
Pisatis, a division of Elis, 6.
Pisistratus, arranged and committed to writing the writings of Homer, 79.
Pittacus, 174.
Platææ, battle of, 96. the tactics of the opposite forces, 161.
Plato, banished from his republic Homer's narrations respecting the gods, 79. his character and philosophy, 206.
Poetry, Epic, its importance among the Greeks, 68. it emigrated with the colonies to Asia, 70. its influence on the state, 217. a chief means of forming the character of youth, 218. connected with music, *ib.* the connexion of lyric poetry with religion, 219. dramatic poetry concerns the state most nearly, 220.
Poets, The, created the special characters of the Grecian divinities, 32. the probable character of those who preceded Homer, 69. changes in their relations after the time of Homer, 76.
Political Science, its condition among the Greeks, 123. the influence of slavery, 125. the mercantile and restrictive system unknown, 128. coinage, 129. paper money unknown, 131. taxation, 138. customs, 141. farming the revenue, 143. who fixed the taxes, *ib.* the connexion of philosophy with politics, 194, 198.
Polygamy, not directly authorized in the heroic age, 58.
Polygnotus, 232.
Population of Greece in the heroic age, 56.
Praxiteles, 230.
Priests, no distinct caste of, among the Greeks, 27, 82, 208. their situation and character in the nation, 40. the office not long filled by the same person, 42. had no secret system of instruction, 43.

Protagoras, 201.
Pyrrho, 205.
Pythagoras, 195. his philosophy and policy, 196—198.
Pythian Games at Delphi, 84.

Quintus, 78.

Religion, the foundation of, 26. the popular religion of the Greeks, 27, 82. its character and its influence on the morals of the nation, 34, 82. it was thoroughly poetical, 36. never became in any considerable degree a religion of state, 44. its conflict with the philosophers, 194, 199, 239. its desecration in the later ages, 238.
Rowers, in the ancient Grecian ships, sat in one line, 168.

Salamis, 19. battle of, 96.
Samothrace, 19.
Sanctuaries needed for celebrating the common festivals among the Greeks, 88.
Sardis, burning of, 96.
Sciences, their influence on government, 192, 193. the public provision made for their advancement, 193.
Sculptors, Grecian, represented their divinities in human shapes, 36.
Sculpture among the Greeks, 230.
Senate, in various Grecian cities, 114.
Seven Wise Men, The, were rulers, presidents, and counsellors of state, 174.
Sicyon, 8.
Slavery, its prevalence among the Greeks, 124. its influence on their political science, 125. and on the character of the citizens, 127.
Smyrna, founded by Æolians, 64.
Socrates, 203. his philosophy, *ib.* his mode of teaching, 204, 205.
Solon, established regulations for the recitation of Homer's rhapsodies, 78. did not attempt to form a new constitution, 106. in his name statesmen first appeared, 174. was a poet and soldier, as well as law-giver, *ib.*
Sophists, The, first applied philosophy to political science, 198. first gave instruction for pay, 200. their course of instruction, 201. their lax moral principles, 202.
Sparta, built, 3. before the Persian wars always asserted a kind of supremacy over the Peloponnesus, 98. loses the nominal supremacy in the Persian wars, *ib.* her government that of an hereditary aristocracy, 108. long without finances, 132. had no popular tribunals, 152. its militia resembled a standing army, 156. scarcity of great commanders, *ib.* had little cavalry, 158. its rivalry with Athens, 237.
States, Grecian, with few exceptions were cities with their districts, 66, 104. had all free constitutions, 105.
Statesmen, Greek, the influences which formed their character, 173. the first who deserved the name appeared in the age of Solon, 174. their objects and influence, 175. their relations to military commanders, *ib.* the age of Themistocles, 176. that of Pericles, 179. that of Demosthenes, 183. when advocates became statesmen, 185.
Sybaris, its destruction, 196.
Syracuse claims to lead the Greeks in the Persian wars, 98.

Tactics of the Greeks, military, 163. naval, 170, 172.
Tarentum founded, 64.
Taxes among the Greeks, 138. they understood the difference between direct and indirect, *ib.* poll-tax levied chiefly on resident foreigners, 139. on property, *ib.* indirect, 141.
Thales, 174.
Thasos, 19. its gold mines, 131.
Themistocles, 95, 98, 170. his character and influence, 176. was a pupil of Mnesiphilus, 198.
Theseus, date of his undertaking against Crete, 51.
Thessaly, geographical view, 16.
Thrace, its gold mines, 131.
Thucydides, his history, 215.
Tragedy among the Greeks, 223. its influence, 224.
Triphylia, a division of Elis, 5.
Triremes, invention of, 168. formed the principal strength of the Grecian fleets, *ib.*
Troy, the effect on Greece of the Trojan war, 61, 63, 65.
Tyrants, the name given by the Greeks to all irresponsible rulers, 105, 120.

Voting, mode of, in the Grecian assemblies, 111.

War, the art of, in the heroic age, 60. reasons for its slow advances, 154. militia, *ib.* the Grecian armies not numerous, 155. after the battle of Platææ, wars were conducted chiefly by sea, 156. troops were not paid, 157. weakness of the cavalry, or want of it, 158. infantry, 159. tactics, 160. the change in the art of war effected by Epaminondas, 163. payment of troops introduced, 164. employment of mercenaries, 165. the results of this, 166.
Weaving, the art of, in the heroic age of Greece, 58.

Xerxes, his invasion of Greece, 95. burns Athens, 96.
Xenophanes, 199.
Xenophon, 166. his Anabasis, 217.

INDEX

TO

HISTORICAL TREATISES.

Addington, 488.
Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, 435.
Alberoni, 400.
Albert of Brandenburgh, 259.
Alexander of Russia, 488.
America, British colonies, war with, 447.
Amiens, peace of, 488.
Anne, queen of England, her policy and continental relations, 395.
Armada, The invincible, its destruction, 377.
Arminians, in the Netherlands, 270.
Assiento, treaty of, 401.
Augsburgh, peace of, 254, 291.
Augustus II. of Poland, his death, 422.
Augustus III., 422.
Austria, the house of, its aggrandizement out of the disturbances of the Reformation, 257. the influence of the Reformation, *ib.* close alliance with England, 393. alliance with Russia, 415. war of succession, 425. her change in her relations with England, 426. war with revolutionary France, 467. peace of Campo Formio, 475. negotiations with Russia, 481. joins the great confederacy, 482. joins the third confederacy, 494. peace of Presburg, *ib.*
Austerlitz, battle of, 494.

Balance of power, developement of the principle in Europe, 285. originated in Italy, 286.
Bartholomew, St., massacre of, 262.
Basle, peace of, 471.
Bengal, the English establish themselves here, 448.
Bodin, John, his work *De Republicâ*, 316.
Bohemia, converted into an hereditary state, 258. the Thirty Years' War commenced here, 293.
Boulogne taken by the English, 371.
Bremen, duchy of, sold to Hanover, 406.
Breslau, treaty of, 302.
Britain, Great, its interests as a naval and insular power, 363.
Brömsebroe, peace of, 403.
Bull, The Golden, 252.
Buonaparte, 474. conquers Italy, *ib.* emperor, 493. his designs on Russia and Spain, 498.
Cabot, John, 373.
Calais, lost by England, 372.
Calmar, The Union of, 271, 273.
Calvin, John, 337.
Cambray, The League of, 251. its dissolution, 369.
Campo Formio, peace of, 475.
Carlos, Don, son of Philip V., 420.
Carteret succeeds Walpole, 431.
Catharine, her marriage with Arthur, son of Henry VII., 368. and to Henry VIII., 369.
Catharine II., her interposition in Poland, 276. institutes the Armed Neutrality, 449. defensive alliance with England, 472.
Chambers, The, the organ of constitutional government, 355. their functions, *ib.*
Charles I. of England, 322. his accession and policy, 384.
Charles II. of England, 298, 322. his subserviency to France, 388.
Charles V., his opposition to the Reformation, 253. his policy as head of the house of Austria, 257.
Charles VI., 421, 422.
Charles XII., his invasion of Poland, 275. his abilities and undertakings, 299. his death, 409.
Charles, Archduke of Austria, 483.
Chatham, 334.
Chauvelin, 464.
Choiseul, 340.
Christian III. of Denmark, 273.
Christian IV. of Denmark, 273.
Christianity, in its doctrines, is unconnected with politics, 279.
Christina, her profusion, 299.
Church, the condition of its union with the State at the time of the Reformation, 249, 250.
Clergy, change in their condition by the Reformation, 281.
Cloth manufactures introduced into England, 374.
Colbert, 284, 391.
Community, Civil, what it means, 325.
Compact, the theory that the state is founded on, 327.
Compact, The Family, 445.

"*Contrat Social*," 345.
Copenhagen attacked, 488. bombarded, 496.
Corpus Evangelicorum, 256.
Cressy, peace of, 371.
Crimea, The, its independence founded, 452.
Cromwell, his conquest of Ireland, 267. his continental policy, 384. his war with Holland and Spain, 386.
Crusades, The, their effect in Europe, 246.

Denmark, progress and influence of the Reformation in, 272.
Dettingen, battle of, 431.
Domingo, St., lost by France, 467.
Dresden, peace of, 433.
Dupleix, 435.

East India Company established in England, 380.
Edward VI., 264. his continental relations, 372.
Egypt, French expedition to, 479.
Ehrenbreitstein seized by France, 478.
Elizabeth, Queen, 264. declines the offers of the Netherlanders, 269, 289. the extent of her power, 281. her death, 290. her reign forms an epoch in the continental history of England, 375. takes a share in the Flemish disturbances, 377. war with Spain, *ib.* her relations with France, 378.
Elizabeth, daughter of James I., 383. her marriage, *ib.*
Elizabeth, queen of Philip V., 413.
Enghien, Duke D', 493.
England, progress and influence of the Reformation, 264, 321. introduction of a new rule of faith, 288. advance of political inquiry, 318. the early history of parliaments, 319. the causes of the civil war, 321. her interference in continental affairs in the middle ages, 368. her continental relations in the reign of Henry VII., *ib.* of Henry VIII., 370. of Edward VI., 372. of Mary, *ib.* importance of the wool she produced, 373. the reign of Elizabeth an epoch in the continental history of England, 375. the accession, principles, and policy of James I., 381, *et seq.* accession of Charles I., 384. the continental policy of Cromwell, *ib.* colonies in North America and the West Indies, 385. the Navigation Act, 386. accession of William III., 388. his policy and continental relations, 392. those of Anne, 395. connexion with Portugal, 396. first grants subsidies, *ib.* effects of the peace of Utrecht, 397. accession of the house of Hanover, *ib.* its continental policy, 398. connexion with the regent Orleans, 401. participation in the great war in Germany, 402. treaty with Sweden, 404. war with Sweden, 406. alliance with Sweden against Russia, 409. policy of Sir Robert Walpole, 412. alliance with France and Prussia, 415. accession of George II., 419. policy of England hereupon, *ib.* intricacy of continental connexions, 422. war with Spain, 424. change in relations with Austria, 426. peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and its results, 435. hostilities in the East Indies, *ib.* predominance of the navy, 436. state of continental relations, *ib.* war in Germany, 440. administration of Pitt, *ib.* close connexion with Portugal, 444. conclusion of the war, 446. disputes with Wilkes, *ib.* war with the American colonies, 447. establishes herself in Bengal, 448. asserts the dominion of the seas, 449. Armed Neutrality, *ib.* altered relations with the Netherlands, 450. the Triple Alliance, 452. general character of her continental policy, 457. joins the confederacy against France, 464. war with France, 465. alliances and negotiations thereupon, 468. alliance with Russia, 472. war with Spain, 473. results of the peace of Campo Formio, 475. negotiations with France, 476. French expedition to Egypt, 481. great confederacy against France, 482. league of the northern powers against England, 484. Copenhagen taken, 488. peace of Amiens, *ib.* renewal of the war, 491.
Estaples, peace of, 369.
Eugene, Prince, 301, 397.
Europe, influence of the Reformation on the general politics of, 277. framed by it into one political system, 295. the states forming it were constituted without any general theory, 310.
Eustace, St., conquered by England, 448.

Fatio, 339.
Fehrbellin, battle of, 299.
Ferdinand the Catholic, 250. joins the holy league against France, 369.
Ferdinand I., 292.
Ferdinand II., 258.
Ferdinand VI. of Spain, 436.
Feudal law, the influence on it of the Crusades, 246.
Filmer, Sir Robert, 323.
Flag, neutrality of, 485.
Fleury, Cardinal, 340, 416.
Fox, Charles, 476, 495.
France, progress and influence of the Reformation, 261. the first to adopt extended views of policy, 298. foundation of absolute power laid by Richelieu, 318. reasons why political inquiry made no progress in France, *ib.* rivalry with France the soul of British policy, 389. the commencement of the Revolution, 459. the Constituent and Legislative

Assemblies, 460. the National Convention, *ib.* execution of Lewis XVI., 464. invades the Austrian Netherlands, *ib.* war with England, 465. with Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia, 467. loses St. Domingo, 468. conquest of Holland, 469. the Directory, 473, 476. conquers Italy, 474. peace of Campo Formio, 475. expedition to Egypt, 479. capture of Malta, 482. great confederacy against France, *ib.* its dissolution, 484. peace of Amiens, 488. renewal of the war, 491. the imperial throne erected, 493. third confederacy against France, *ib.* peace of Tilsit, 496.

Francis I., 261. his alliance with the Porte, 287. his wars with Charles V., 370. his fate at Pavia, *ib.*

Francis of Alençon, 269.

Frederic the Wise, his adhesion to the Reformation, 252.

Frederic II. of Prussia, 425. his conquest of Silesia, 260. examination of his conduct after 1740, 433.

Frederic III., 252.

Frederic III. of Denmark, 273.

Frederic V. Elector, his marriage with the daughter of James I., 383.

Geneva, 318. its influence on the practice of politics in Europe, 336. the changes in its constitution after the Reformation, 338, *et seq.*

George I., his continental policy, 398—419.

George II., his accession, 419.

Germany, the immediate consequences of the Reformation, 252. its condition as a state at that period, *ib.* subsequent struggle, 253, &c.

Gibraltar obtained by England, 397.

Gomarists, in the Netherlands, 270.

Gorz, Baron, 406.

Gregory the Seventh, the temporal authority established by him was broken down before the Reformation, 249.

Grenville, Lord, 495.

Grotius, Hugo, his character and work, 315.

Gustavus Vasa, 271.

Gustavus Adolphus, induced by Richelieu to take part in the Thirty Years' War, 295. his death, 296.

Hanover, accession of the House of, 397. its continental policy, 398.

Hapsburg, House of, its sudden rise, 286.

Henry II., his alliance with Maurice of Saxony, 287.

Henry IV. of France, 291.

Henry VII., his expedition into France, 369.

Henry VIII., 264. his marriage with Catharine, 369. his war with France, *ib.* his part in the wars between Francis I. and Charles V., 370.

Herren-haus, alliance of, 415.

Hierarchy, how far it is a safe-guard to the throne, 265.

"*High Commission*" of Elizabeth, 264.

Hobbes, Thomas, 324.

Hugonots, The, 262. forcibly disarmed, 297.

Hungary, converted into an hereditary state, 258. influence of the Reformation, *ib.*

Indies, East, become the seat of British and French hostilities, 435. increased power of the British, 448.

Ireland, effects of the Reformation in, 267.

Isabella, wife of Edward II., 368.

Italy, the state of its politics at the time of the Reformation, 250. reasons for its little progress therein, 276. political speculation first developed here, 312. defect of political theories, *ib.*

Jamaica conquered by England, 387.

James I. of England, 291, 321. his accession and principles, 381. his war with Spain, 383. his part in the negotiation for the independence of the Netherlands, 382. project of a Spanish match for his son, 383. marriage of his daughter, *ib.*

James II. of England, 298.

Jansenism, 263.

Jassy, peace of, 453.

Jesuits, origin of the order, 282.

John Sigismond, 259.

Joseph II., 284.

Jourdan, General, 474.

Labourdonnais, 435.

Latin language, its prevalence, for the purpose of writing, assisted the progress of the Reformation in Poland, 274.

League, The Catholic, 292.

Lewis XIV., his age, 298. his death, 400.

Lewis XV., his marriage, 413.

Lewis XVI., 460.

Lippe Bückeburg, Count William of, 445.

Locke, John, 329. his writings and influence, 331. his differences with Rousseau, 349.

Louvois, 394.

Lutter, battle of, 295.

Lutzen, battle of, 295.

Machiavel, 313.

Malmsbury, Lord, 476.

Malta captured by France, 482.

Mantua taken by the French, 475.

Maria Teresa, 425, 437.

Marlborough, 301, 396.

Mary, queen of England, 264. her continental relations, 372.

Matthias, King, 258.

Maurice of Orange, 270.

Maurice of Saxony, his alliance with Henry II., 287.

Maximilian I., 253. his war with Charles VIII., 369.

Maximilian II., 292.

Melancthon, his desire for the purifying of philosophy, 307. his work on physics, 308. his "Elements of Ethics," 309. his definition of virtue, *ib.*

Methuen, 396.

Micheli, 339.

Minorca taken by England, 397.

Monarchy, in what it consists, 353.

Montesquieu, his influence on France, 341.

Moreau, General, 474.

Mühlberg, battle of, 254.

Nantes, Edict of, 261. its revocation, 263, 301.

"*Nature, State of*," theoretical foundation of government, 325.

Navigation Act, 386.

Necker, 340.

Neerwinden, battle of, 469.

Negapatuam conquered by England, 448.

Nelson, 481.

Netherlands, The United, influence and progress of the Reformation, 268. accomplish their independence, 269. revolution in, 288. war renewed by Philip IV., 294. their independence recognised, 296. political inquiry made no progress here after the Reformation, 314. the decline of the state owing to its abstinence from interference in the affairs of other states, 366. differences with England, 450. domestic ferments and intervention of Prussia, 451. invasion by France, 464. conquest, 469.

Neutrality, Armed, 449.

Nile, battle of the, 481.

Nimeguen, peace of, 300.

Nystadt, peace of, 410.

Oldenbarneveld, 270.

Oliva, peace of, 260, 297.

Orleans, Duke of, regent of France, 400.

Pardo, treaty at, 416.

Parliament, British, its early history, 319.

Passau, treaty of, 254.

Paul, emperor of Russia, 481.

Pavia, battle of, 370.

Pelham, 437.

People, Sovereignty of the, the basis of Rousseau's system, 351.

Peter the Great, 301.

Philip II., the allegiance of the Netherlands shaken off, 269, 288. his marriage with Mary, 372. his death, 290.

Philip IV. renews the contest with the Netherlands, 294.

Philosophy, the Reformers did not intend to found new systems of, 306. its need of being purified, *ib.* applied by the Reformation to the improvement of morality, 309.

Pitt, William, the first, 432. his administration, 440.

Pitt, William, the younger, his character and administration, 458. his East India Bill, 460. his retirement, 488. accomplishes a third confederacy against France, 493. his death, 494.

Poland, progress and influence of the Reformation in, 274. invasion by Charles XII., 275. interposition of Catharine II., *ib.* fall of the state, 276. first partition of, 452. last partition, 472.

Politics, with religion, the only subjects readily appreciated by the great mass of people, 245. the state of politics at the time of the Reformation, 250. its influence on the general politics of Europe, 277.

Pombal, 444.

Porte, The, alliance of Francis I. with, 287.

Portugal, reasons for the little progress of the Reformation in, 276. close connexion with England, 396, 444. involved in war, *ib.*

Pragmatic Sanction, 302, 421.

Prague, battle of, (1620,) 258.

Presburg, peace of, 494.

Princes of Europe, increase of their power by the Reformation, 280.

Property, Security of, the first object of a state, 325.

Prussia, owes the foundation of its monarchy to the Reformation, 259, 299. raised to a kingdom, 260. keeps securely together the North and South of Europe, 300. alliance with England and France, 415. war with revolutionary France, 467. secedes from the alliance against France, 470. her neutrality in the great confederacy, 482. joins an Armed Neutrality against England, 487. joins the third confederacy against France, 493. occupies Hanover, 495. renewed war with France, 496.

Rastadt, congress of, 478.

Reformation, The, the second great moral revolution in modern Europe, 247. its influence necessarily political in consequence of the union of Church and State, 249. it presented a new and mighty interest, 251. its progress and influence in Germany, 252, &c. in Austria, 257. Hungary and Bohemia, 258. in Prussia, 259. in Switzerland and France, 261. in England, 263. in Ireland, 267. in the United Netherlands, 268. in Sweden, 270. in Denmark, 272. in Poland, 274. in Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 276. its influence on the general politics of Europe, 277. on the organization of society, 278. on the

mutual relations of the European states, 284. first formed Europe into one political system, 295. raised Prussia to a leading place in Europe, 299. its effects on commerce and the colonial system, 303. applied philosophy to the improvement of morality, 309. was the origin of political speculation, 313.
Reformers, did not propose to found new systems of philosophy, 306. speculated as to God, and what pertains to him, 309.
Reichenbach, peace of, 453.
Religion, with politics, the only subjects readily appreciated by the great mass of people, 245. became at the Reformation the mainspring of politics, 251. becomes a part of the constitutional basis of all governments, 278. the pivot of English and European politics when the Stuarts ascended the throne, 380.
Republic, in what it consists, 353.
Restoration, The, in England, 298.
Revolutions, their different characters, 244. determine the fortunes of our race, 246. more extensive in their progress than the originators of them proposed, 306.
Richelieu, 262, 291. lays the foundation of absolute power in France, 318.
Ripperda, Duke of, 414.
Rivalry of nations, a spur to the development of their powers, 389.
Rochelle, peace of, 262.
Roschild, peace of, 403.
Rousseau, 328. his "*Contrat social*," 345.
Rudolf II., 290, 292.
Russia, little progress made by the Reformation in, 276. development of her power, 405. alliance with Austria, 415. its fleets appear in the Mediterranean, 452. negotiations with Austria and with England, 481. joins an Armed Neutrality against England, 487. accession of Alexander, 488. joins the third confederacy against France, 494.
Ryswick, treaty of, 301, 392.

Seville, treaty of, 420.
Sheep, breeding of, the principal employment of the English farmer in the 16th century, 373.
Sheridan, R. B., 476.
Sidney, Algernon, 329.
Silesia, conquest of, by Frederic II., 260.
Slave Trade, African, 379.
Smalcald, League of, 254.
Society, effects of the Reformation on its organization, 278.
Socinians, formally established in Poland, 274.
Sovereignty, of what it consists, 353.
Spain, reasons for the little progress made by the Reformation in, 276. vacant succession to its throne, 301. withdraws from the alliance against revolutionary France, 471. joins France, 473.
Speculation, political, the causes of its existence, 311. first developed in Italy, 312.
Stanislaus Lescinsky, 413.
State, The, condition of its union with the Church at the time of the Reformation, 249, 250.
Stuarts, their accession to the English throne, 381.
Subsidies first granted by England, 396. operation of them, 428.
Sully, 291.
Suwarrow, 483.
Sweden, progress and influence of the Reformation in, 270. after the Thirty Years' War ranked among the first powers of Europe, 296. treaty with England, 404.
Switzerland, progress of the Reformation in, 261. attacked by France, 478.

Theology, Natural, 308.
Thirty Years' War, 255, 293.
Toleration Act, in England, 266.
Trafalgar, battle of, 494.
Travendal, peace of, 404.
Trinconomale, conquered by England, 448.
Turks, The, their aggressions on Germany, 299.
Tuscany, secured to Don Carlos, 420.

Union, The Protestant, 292.
United States of America, their independence, 268.

Verden, duchy of, sold to Hanover, 406.
Vergennes, 340.
Vervins, peace of, 379.
Victor Amadeus II., 394.
Vienna, peace of, 258, 393.
Virtue, Melancthon's definition of, 309.

Walpole, Sir Robert, his continental policy, 411.
Walpole, Horatio, 419.
Wehlau, treaty of, 259.
Westeräs, Diet of, 272.
Westphalia, treaty of, 255, 260, 296.
Wilkes, John, 446.
William III. of England, 298. his policy, 392.
William IV. of the Netherlands, 436.
Wolsey, Cardinal, won over by Charles V., 370.
Wool, produced by England, 373.
Worms, Diet of, 252.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

This book is due on the date indicated below, or at the expiration of a definite period after the date of borrowing, as provided by the library rules or by special arrangement with the Librarian in charge.

DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE	DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE
	JAN 10 1952		
C28(251)100M			

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
0032261926

930
H363
v.4

07393962

930.
H363 V4 C1
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

APR JUL 5 1965